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THINK TANK REVIEW

Library and Research

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SPECIAL ISSUE

Departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union (Brexit)

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the special issue of the Think Tank Review on Brexit, compiled by the EU Council Library* ([click to share on Twitter](#)).

Now that Article 50 has been triggered, this special issue on Brexit provides links to both the full text and a short abstract of all the papers published by major think tanks world-wide between July 2016 and February 2017. Earlier papers on the same topic can be found in a previous special issue of the Think Tank Review, published in July 2016.

The Review can be downloaded from our blog. As always, feedback is welcome at library@consilium.europa.eu.

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TTR 38 - SEPTEMBER 2016

British Future

What next after Brexit? Immigration and integration in post-referendum Britain

by Sunder Katwala, Jill Rutter and Steve Ballinger

August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (63 p.)

Leaving the EU will have a major impact on almost all aspects of immigration policy. While Brexit will present challenges for decision makers, it also offers an opportunity to get policy right in this area and to help secure public consent for the immigration that UK has.

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

Strengthening the UK's military power in the Baltics

by Euan Godbold

3 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

The aftermath of 'Brexit' can be described with many words, but none more so than "confusing". Almost overnight, the UK's party political system, the strength of the City of London and the UK's platform within Europe seemed unclear. Despite the sensationalism found within European media, the mandate from Downing Street remains clear: "carry on as normal." As the UK continues to formulate plans for its exit from the EU over the next two years, its role within NATO will become increasingly important in order to ensure beneficial relationships with EU member states. With regard to the Baltic states, this will involve a significant role deterring Russian aggression.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Beyond Brexit: hacia una mayor cooperación estratégica entre España y el Reino Unido

by Luis Simón [@LuisSimn](#)

20 July 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (11 p.)

The media noise about the potential implications of Brexit should not be an obstacle to a necessary reflection on the potential of the bilateral relationship between Spain and the UK.

Policy Network / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

The impact of Brexit on the City and the British economic model

by Helen Thompson and Leila Simona Talani

18 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

In this brief the authors consider the impact of Brexit on the City, focusing on two key aspects of the debate: the tensions between the City and democratic politics, and the challenges for the future of the City posed by the vote on 23 June for Britain to leave the EU.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Ein Brexit ohne Schotten und Nordiren? - Großbritannien droht der Staatszerfall – Hintergründe und Auswege

by Sabine Riedel

August 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.)

This article analyses the situation in Scotland and Northern Ireland immediately after the referendum held on 23 June 2016.

Nordeuropa nach dem Brexit-Votum - Die fünf nordischen Länder stellen ihre Beziehungen zur EU auf den Prüfstand

by Tobias Etzold and Christian Opitz

August 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

This article discusses the effects of the UK's referendum in the Nordic countries, including the Nordic positions for the negotiations with the UK.

Die Visegrád-Staaten und der Brexit - Im östlichen Mitteleuropa herrscht Sorge angesichts des britischen EU-Austritts

by Kai-Olaf Lang

August 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

This article discusses the fear of the Visegrad countries with respect to the possible effects of the UK's referendum on their countries.

Brexit into uncharted waters - British referendum initiates complex exit negotiations – and perhaps renewal of the European Union

by Barbara Lippert and Nicolai von Ondarza

July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [German](#) (8 p.)

The British vote to leave takes the EU into new legal and political territory. With the application of Article 50 of the Treaty on EU in the cards for the first time, it is already clear that leaving is not simply the reverse of joining, neither procedurally nor politically. The remaining EU-27 need to develop an "exit doctrine" defining the rules for dealing with the UK now that the UK officially announced its intention to leave. Article 50 leaves ample political options for shaping the highly complex processes for releasing the UK from membership, reshaping its relationship with the Union and revising the treaties for an EU-27.

Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies)

Leaving the European Union, the Union way: a legal analysis of Article 50 TEU

by Christophe Hillion

August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The outcome of the UK referendum on membership of the EU prompted a considerable interest in the modalities of a member state's withdrawal from the EU. This paper examines the specific provisions governing this process (triggering of the Article 50 of the Treaty on the EU) and its function in the European integration process.

Tænketanken EUROPA

Hvordan kan Storbritannien i praksis forlade EU?

by Maja Kluger Rasmussen

13 July 2016

Link to the article in [Danish](#) (11 p.)

Divorces are often complicated and costly. This article discusses how Britain can in practice leave the EU.

Brexit – kompromisellerkaos?

by Jan Høst Schmidt

8 July 2016

Link to the article in [Danish](#) (12 p.)

At a moment when it was unclear what the UK would do, this paper's intention was to reply to the question: Brexit - compromise or chaos?

Terra nova

Brexit: les opportunités d'une Europe sans Royaume-Uni

by Pénélope Debreu

18 July 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (13 p.)

The author analyses the challenges that are emerging for the UK and for the EU, following the referendum of 24 June 2016, and looks at the four challenges the EU needs to face 60 years on from the founding of the European Communities: the crisis of European economic governance, the crisis of natural resources, the crisis linked to the borders protection and the threats to internal security, i.e. terrorism.

Adam Smith Institute

Catch of today: a ten point plan for British fishing

by Madsen Pirie

24 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

This report calls on the government to take back control of UK waters and bring an end to the billions of fish thrown back dead into the sea each year. The report lays out a comprehensive ten point plan for how Britain can replenish its waters following Brexit.

The case for the (Interim) EEA option

22 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Joining the European Economic Area (EEA) was at some point considered as an option for the UK outside the EU. The article discusses 21 points considered immediately after the result of the referendum as favouring the EEA position in the short/medium term.

Rebooting Britain: making the most of Brexit

by Madsen Pirie

20 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (33 p.)

The author claims the decision to leave the EU has proved a real chance for Britain to renew itself, to regain its confidence in itself, and to take decisions that have been put off for too long. Moreover, Pirie thinks Brexit provides a pretext and an opportunity to do things differently, for the nation to reboot itself and bring its policies, practices and its performance up to speed, and in ways that transcend the merely adequate.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

¿Quién liderará la UE post-Brexit? El retorno de la política a Bruselas

by Carme Colomina [@carmecolomina](#)

18 July 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (6 p.)

The author imagines three possible scenarios after the Brexit referendum, looking at (i) containment of damage, (ii) a Union without institutions and (iii) a more political Europe.

Bruegel

Europe after Brexit: a proposal for a continental partnership

by Jean Pisani-Ferry [@pisaniferry](#), Norbert Röttgen, André Sapir, Paul Tucker and Guntram B. Wolff [@GuntramWolff](#)

25 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

This paper leaves aside the issue of EU reform and focuses on the desirable EU-UK relationship after Brexit. Its starting point is the proposition that none of the existing models of partnership with the EU is suitable for the UK. The authors therefore make a new proposal for the EU-UK relationship that is considerably less deep than EU membership but rather closer than a simple free-trade agreement.

Centarza Evropske Politike (European Policy Centre)

Brexit or not? What consequences for the enlargement policy?

by Milena Lazarević and Sena Marić [@senamaric](#)

1 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The Brexit referendum has left the continent with a number of uncertainties. This paper develops three possible outcomes of the current situation, based on which it discusses potential consequences of the leave vote on the EU enlargement policy.

Centre for European Policy Studies

What does Brexit mean for the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice?

by Sergio Carrera, Elspeth Guild and Ngo Chun Luk

11 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The UK's cooperation with EU in the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' (AFSJ) – also denominated as 'Justice and Home Affairs' – has followed an arduous and rocky path. When thinking of the consequences of Brexit for UK-EU cooperation, the first and striking message is that

the UK was never actually a full participant in these policy domains. Over the last 30 years of European integration and despite often being a key player in EU AFSJ-related negotiations and policy-making, the UK secured the privilege to pick and choose – formally called an 'opt-out' – whether or not to implement EU JHA legislative initiatives. This has led to a large degree of fragmentation and differentiation in European cooperation.

Institute for Fiscal Studies

The EU Single Market: the value of membership versus access to the UK

by Carl Emmerson, Paul Johnson and Ian Mitchell

10 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (50 p.)

This report looks at what the Single Market is and distinguishes between 'membership' and 'access', including the impact on the financial services sector. It also considers the potential for new trade deals beyond the EU and assesses the economic and public finance implications of the various options. This should inform the likely trade-offs between the level of access to the Single Market and other negotiating objectives such as control of immigration and budgetary contributions.

Institute for Public Policy Research

Becoming one of us: reforming the UK's citizenship system for a competitive, post-Brexit world

by Chris Murray

24 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (41 p.)

The British citizenship system has been unreformed for decades, and the Brexit vote has cast the status and security of the 3 million EU citizens living in the UK into doubt. This report reviews the current policy, and sets out the immediate reforms required to reshape a fairer, globally competitive citizenship system that would best serve Britain's interests.

Beyond free movement? Six possible futures for the UK's EU migration policy

by Marley Morris

13 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

This briefing explores some of the options available to the UK government on EU migration policy as it enters the Brexit negotiations. Its focus is on the arrangements for future prospective EU migrants, rather than EU nationals already in the UK. It assesses six different options and discusses how the EU might respond in the negotiations.

One step removed? Six possible futures for the UK's economic relationship with the EU

by Catherine Colebrook

13 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

This briefing written shortly after the result of the referendum was known covers possible options for access to the single market. The author, who is an economist, explores six scenarios: "EU minus", "The Norway option", "Norway minus", "The Switzerland option", "the Turkey option", "The Brazil option".

Institute of International and European Affairs

The elements of a new EU-UK relationship

by John Temple Lang

12 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

This paper discusses some of the elements of a new EU-UK relationship that would reconcile, to the extent to which they can be reconciled, the interests of Ireland, the EU and the UK. This is done on the basis of features of the situation that seem probable. However, the paper is limited by the fact that the Leave campaign in the UK has never had a clear picture of any new arrangements they would try to make with the EU. Even more serious, some of the objectives of the Leave campaign are mutually incompatible. It will become clear, as it became clear when the European Economic Area Agreement was negotiated in the 1990s, that no completely satisfactory solution is possible.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

Brexit and the future of the United Kingdom

by Eoin Tannam

July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

This paper aims to assess the significance of Brexit for the future of the UK as a unitary state and to identify various possible outcomes to the future of the UK. The first part provides an overview of the current status of Scotland and Northern Ireland in the UK and the differences between both cases. The second part assesses the significance of the EU for the devolved administrations and analyses key party responses to the Brexit debate in Scotland and Northern Ireland. In conclusion the impact of Brexit on the future of the UK as a unitary state is analysed.

MTA Közgazdaság- és Regionális Tudományi Kutatóközpont - Világgazdasági Intézet (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS - Institute of World Economics)

A brexitről – hidegfejjel

by Somai Miklós

July 2016

Link to the article in [Hungarian](#) (19 p.)

This paper attempts to explore as much as possible the facts, the reasons behind the vote (or at least some of them), and outlines the expected consequences of Brexit.

Policy Exchange

Immigration & Integration After Brexit: A Policy Exchange Agenda

by David Goodhart

August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

This paper looks at how to phase out freedom of movement and replace it with a work permit system for EU nationals. Recommendations include: a maximum of six weeks to deal with all EU permit requests; a new immigration/integration department; a commission to review employability of UK citizens; new ways of responding to social infrastructure pinch-points in areas of high immigration; and, in the longer run, a population register and more formal two-tier citizenship.

Fundación para el análisis y los estudios sociales (Foundation for Social Studies and Analysis)

La perspectiva jurídica del Brexit

by Fernando Díez Moreno

July 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (10 p.)

From a legal perspective, Brexit affects all areas of EU activity. This paper explains what the terms and legal procedures to be followed in the process of separation from the UK will be, the specific weight of the European Council, the role of the Commission and the European Parliament in the negotiations, and qualified majorities and blocking minorities of the member states which will be required to approve or hinder the final agreement.

Foundation for European Progressive Studies

Rising inequality in the UK and the political economy of Brexit - Lessons for policy

by Özlem Onaran and Alexander Guschanski

26 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

The EU Referendum in the UK on 23 June laid bare long existing divisions in the country. A very divisive campaign for leave deepened the scars in the society further. After decades of deindustrialization, rising inequality, deteriorating working conditions, loss of voice, followed by the Great Recession and austerity, the majority of the working people felt the only way to express their discontent about their living and working conditions was to vote to leave the EU.

The Europeans and the Brexit

by Jérôme Fourquet

18 July 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (24 p.) and to the summary in [English](#) (15 p.)

In the aftermath of the referendum in the UK, how have Europeans reacted to the country's vote to leave the EU? In order to have the benefit of a large-scale opinion poll, the Fondation Jean Jaurès and FEPS (the Foundation for European Progressive Studies) asked French pollster Ifop to conduct an opinion poll among the populations of six EU countries, namely France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium and Poland. This article analyses the results of the opinion poll.

Strategy over speculation - Progressive reactions to the EU referendum in the UK

18 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (41 p.)

FEPS compiled in this publication a series of reactions to the EU Referendum in the UK made by various analysts based in several EU member states.

Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (German Development Institute)

Uncertainty shock from the Brexit vote decreases investment and GDP in the Euro Area and Germany

by Malte Rieth, Claus Michelsen and Michele Piffer

10 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.) and in [German](#) (9 p.)

The Brexit vote has increased economic uncertainty in Europe and beyond. It will likely affect economic performance and in particular investment in the euro area. The article highlights the

importance to stimulate investment in the euro area and in Germany and to minimize uncertainty in the further political process.

Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (German Institute for Economic Research)

Brexit: Was steht für den britischen Finanzsektor auf dem Spiel?

by Jakob Miethe und David Pothier

3 August 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (11 p.)

The UK's exit from the EU will have far-reaching implications for the British financial sector. London is currently the financial capital of Europe, and the UK's financial institutions benefit from passport rights that allow them to provide their services throughout the Single Market. What will happen in the future?

European Policy Centre

Scotland and the European Union

by Graham Avery

14 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

In this paper, the author looks at how the Scottish question relates to the UK's withdrawal from the EU; what factors have changed since the Scottish people voted against independence in 2014 and what Scotland's chances are of remaining in the EU.

Elinkeinoelämäntutkimuslaitos (Research Institute of the Finnish Economy)

Brexit and the Finnish Economy

by Markku Lehmus and Paavo Suni

23 August 2016

Link to the article in [Finish](#) (7 p.)

Leaving the EU reduces the UK output significantly relative to the baseline in all three trade scenarios (EEA, FTA and WTO) analysed in the paper. The WTO scenario assumes the loosest links with the EU and biggest barriers to trade and hence it implies the greatest negative impact on the UK economy, whereas the negative impact is the smallest in the EEA scenario. Brexit affects the Finnish economy via the weakening British economy along with its global impacts. Nevertheless, the effects on the Finnish economy seem to be to some extent more positive than what is observed in other countries.

Institut für Weltwirtschaft Kiel (Kiel Institute for the World Economy)

The response of European stock markets to the Brexit

by Matthias Raddant

August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

This paper reviews the response of the European stock markets to the Brexit referendum. The author analyses the correlation of market indices, stock volatility and the special role of stocks from the financial sector. While the impact of the vote was very similar for the stock markets in France, Germany and Spain, in Italy volatility among financial stocks intensified permanently.

European Centre for Development Policy Management

How will Brexit affect the Caribbean? Overview and indicative recommendations

by Errol Humphrey

August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

In this paper, the author explores how Brexit will affect the Caribbean (impact on Caribbean-EU relations and impact on Caribbean-UK relations).

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Centre for European Policy Studies

EU financial market access after Brexit

by Karel Lannoo [@karellannoo](#)

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

The author opens his contribution by observing that it is understandable why the UK attaches enormous importance to retaining access to the EU's single market, given that financial services account for about 8% of the country's GDP. He warns, however, that putting a mutually acceptable regime in place will take years of negotiations, and the final agreement will clearly allow much less access than UK-licensed firms enjoy today. He further finds that the "equivalence" assessment – the basic tool used under current EU financial services legislation to recognise that a third country's legal, regulatory and/or supervisory regime is equivalent to the corresponding EU framework – offers a fairly bleak basis on which the City might continue to thrive as a global financial centre in Europe.

The impact of Brexit on the EU budget: a non-catastrophic event

by Jorge Núñez Ferrer and David Rinaldi [@Rinaldi_David](#)

7 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

Given that the UK is one of the largest economies in the Europe Union – with per capita income above the EU average and therefore a net contributor – there have been concerns that the country's decision to leave the EU could strongly impact the EU budget. On closer scrutiny, however, this paper finds that the impact will be rather small due to the effects of the UK rebate and to the potential contribution the UK would be obliged to make as a condition to obtain access to the internal market. If the UK remains outside the internal market, tariff revenues would make up a considerable share of the 'net loss'. On balance, the authors conclude that the financial savings for the UK would be negligible and the impact on member states would be manageable. They also note that the impact on the classification of regions in EU Cohesion Policy is projected to be minimal and the European Fund for Strategic Investments is not affected by changes in membership.

Center for American Progress

Moving beyond "us vs them" politics : how progressives should respond to the rise of right-wing nationalism

by Matt Browne and John Halpin

6 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

Since the global financial crisis of 2008, right-wing populist, nationalist, and anti-establishment movements have steadily gained strength across Europe and in the US. This expanding influence

is evident most recently with the presidential election in Austria, the Brexit vote in favour of the UK leaving the EU, and the Republican presidential nomination of Donald Trump in the US.

Fondation Robert Schuman/ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)

The future of Europe

by Thierry Chopin and Jean-François Jamet

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.), in [French](#) (12 p.) and in [German](#) (13 p.)

The major challenges facing the Europeans - such as terrorism, the migratory crisis, and differently "Brexit" as well as the rise of anti-European populism - call for the redesign and revival of the integration of a united Europe. These various challenges should not be treated separately, in a fragmented manner but rather put in perspective and addressed in a structured way. They all bring into play the Europeans' ability to rise together to overcome the series of crises they are facing. However unity cannot be taken for granted. Indeed extremely strong political tension is threatening the cohesion and stability of the EU.

Fondation Robert Schuman

How can we make Europe popular again?

by Jean-Claude Piris

5 Septembre 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.) and in [French](#) (7 p.)

On 23 June 2016 the British electorate, consulted by referendum, voted in favour of their country's withdrawal from the EU. Contrary to expectations on the part of some media, especially in the UK, the result did not immediately lead to contagion in other EU member states. It has been quite the opposite, as polls undertaken since the referendum have shown some increase in the public opinion's attachment to the EU. No member state is planning to leave the Union either in the short or mid-term. The difficulties that have started to emerge for the government and economic operators in the UK is an incentive for the 27 to close rank.

The strategic interests of the European Union

by Pierre Vimont

25 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.) and in [French](#) (6 p.)

European strategic interests exist and are visible to all, but their impact on world affairs remains singularly limited in contrast to the theoretic influence of Europe in the international arena. In order to be operational and concrete, Europe's common interests have to be perceived and accepted as such by the Europeans themselves. The problem is that they often seem to be the last ones to be able or wanting to do so.

Bertelsmann Stiftung / Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

How Brexit opens a window of opportunity for treaty reform in the EU

by Federico Fabbrini

12 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#)(8 p.)

The decision of the UK to leave the EU has important constitutional implications for the EU. Whether they like it or not, after the UK formally withdraws, the remaining EU member states will need to change the EU treaties and other quasi-constitutional EU laws to account for a new Union at 27. Brexit offers therefore a window of opportunity for a broader constitutional reform of the EU.

Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute / Bertelsmann Stiftung / Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

Repair and prepare - Growth and the euro after Brexit

by Henrik Enderlein [@henrikenderlein](#), Enrico Letta [@EnricoLetta](#), Jörg Asmussen, Laurence Boone, Aart De Geus, Pascal Lamy [@PascalLamyEU](#), Philippe Maystadt, Maria João Rodrigues, Gertrude Tumpel-Gugerell and António Vitorino

20 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (p. 40), in [German](#) (48 p.) and in [French](#) (48 p.)

Europe will most likely be hit by a next economic crisis. The authors do not know whether this will happen in six weeks, six months or six years, but they fear the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) will be ill-prepared for such a crisis. The authors propose a strategy that brings together the most compelling proposals of the ongoing discussion on EMU and translates them into a comprehensive reform plan.

Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung (Centre for European Economic Research)

Searching for a Franco-German consensus on the future of Europe – Survey results for Bundestag, Assemblée Nationale and Sénat

by Sebastian Blesse, Pierre C. Boyer, Friedrich Heinemann and Eckhard Janeba

September 2016

Link to article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The Brexit referendum and the decision of British voters to leave the EU have sparked a comprehensive debate on the future of European integration. A key issue in this debate is the appropriate division of responsibilities between the EU and its member states. The EU might still lack certain competencies which are crucial for a functioning Union or resilient euro area. At the same time, however, some of the EU's existing competencies might be better allocated to member states. This policy brief documents results from a survey on the future of European integration conducted in the national parliaments of both France and Germany, including the French Sénat, the Assemblée Nationale and the German Bundestag, between April and July 2016.

CIVITAS - Institute for the Study of Civil Society

The real sterling crisis: why the UK needs a policy to keep the exchange rate down

by Roger Bootle and John Mills

19 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (154 p.)

The fall in the value of sterling since the vote for Brexit has had commentators wringing their hands with concern. The real sterling crisis, however, is not that the pound has fallen in recent months – but that it had previously been priced too high for many years. This was allowed to happen by policymakers overly fixated with keeping down inflation and overly confident that ‘the markets know best’. In fact, markets may systematically misprice financial variables, as is widely acknowledged now in relation to equity and property. The authors argue that the government should now devise a new economic framework that has at its centre an exchange rate policy designed to ensure the pound continues to trade at a competitive level in the years ahead.

Carnegie Europe

How to build a more flexible EU after Brexit

by Heather Grabbe [@HeatherGrabbe](#) and Stefan Lehne [@StefanLehne](#)

8 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The EU needs to combine internal cohesion and flexible integration to cope with external challenges and contain the forces that threaten to tear it apart. Flexibility can enhance cohesion if it is applied pragmatically in an ambitious framework for European integration. Its added value is to accommodate the heterogeneous levels of will and capacity across the member states. If handled well, flexibility will help the EU reach integration goals rather than standing in their way. The EU's leaders should aim for as much unity as possible and as much flexibility as necessary to keep diverse members working together.

College of Europe

'Brexit' lessons from third countries' differentiated integration with the EU's internal market

by Sieglinde Gstöhl

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

The 'Brexit' debate has triggered new interest in the EU's close economic relations with its neighbours. This external 'differentiated integration' has flourished since the 1990s, ranging from narrow, bilateral and static models to broad, multilateral and dynamic models. Major lessons can be drawn from these models for the UK's 'differentiated disintegration'.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

All or nothing? European and British strategic autonomy after the Brexit

by Sven Biscop

5 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

Does it make sense to announce a quest for strategic autonomy, in the new EU Global Strategy, given that the UK voted for Brexit? Sven Biscop argues that the European defence effort, through the EU, NATO and ad hoc clusters, can yet be streamlined and enhanced.

Institut français des relations internationales

Europe: back to the future

by Guy Verhofstadt [@GuyVerhofstadt](#)

5 September 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (8 p.)

Brexit is a symptom of a crisis of the European project. The peoples of Europe do not identify with the Brussels bureaucracy and tend to get back to the national space. However, intergovernmental cooperation works poorly, as shown in particular by the management of the refugees' crisis. The European institutions, as they exist today, are not coping any longer with the current challenges. Only a federal jump could break this deadlock.

Adam Smith Institute

The border after Brexit: how technology can help secure Britain's borders

by Sam Bowman [@s8mb](#) and Ed West

12 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

Britain's Border Force is not equipped to quickly, accurately and securely monitor passengers in and out of Britain. After Brexit it will become even more important for Britain's borders to be secure. After sovereignty, polls have found control of the UK's borders to be the second most important driver of voting for Brexit, and many voters desired sovereignty itself in order to control who comes in and out of the country. The authors argue that the UK government must thoroughly modernise the force and deliver a new, real-time database and biometric scanning system, collaborating with the private sector to deliver a technological solution and paying for results, not trying to build its own system from the ground up

Centre for European Reform

Brexit Britain: the poor man of Western Europe?

by Simon Tilford [@SimonTilford](#)

26 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

The UK has economic strengths, such as a flexible labour market, which ensures that unemployment is low even in many of its economically struggling regions. But contrary to much of the received wisdom, Britain has not been one of Europe's economic stars over the last 15 years. Brexit is set to exacerbate the economy's underlying weaknesses. Britain's problems lie mainly on the supply-side and in the structure of public spending. Three key issues stand out: poor skills among a sizeable chunk of the workforce; weak infrastructure and a lack of affordable housing; and the centralisation of political and commercial power in London. The Conservatives will provide some fiscal stimulus to counter the weakening of growth caused by Brexit, but will not make the long-term investments in infrastructure and skills needed by the UK. They have few MPs in the poorer regions that would benefit most from such spending, while the resulting higher borrowing and/or taxation would be unpopular with their core vote in England's wealthy South.

Centre for Policy Studies

The city boys are here to stay

7 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The UK's strengths will mean that London continues to be Europe's leading financial services centre. London is currently ranked the most competitive in the world for financial services, while closest EU rivals rank at 15th and 19th.

Are we heading for blackout Britain?

29 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

The UK's electricity system has suffered from poor public policy since the late 1990s. Since 1996, there have been 14 Energy Secretaries and 18 Ministers, leading to a confused energy policy. Energy policy in the UK has suffered from a series of damaging state interventions both at the domestic level and the European level. In the post-Brexit world, this paper examines the problems caused by domestic and EU policy, and highlights the pathway that Britain should now seek to follow.

Overseas Development Institute

Brexit: implications for climate change commitments

by Andrew Scott

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

This briefing paper outlines how the commitments necessary to ensure that the goals of the Paris Agreement can be met will be affected by the UK leaving the EU. The paper also discusses the implications for international climate change negotiations and makes recommendations for the UK and the EU to ensure international climate change goals can be achieved.

Overseas Development Institute / UK Trade Policy Observatory

The impact of the UK's post-Brexit trade policy on development: an essay series

by Maximiliano Mendez-Parra, Dirk Willem te Velde and L. Alan Winters

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (76 p.)

This collection of essays offers a number of perspectives on how a new UK trade policy towards developing countries and regions could be designed and implemented, in both the short and longer term. It also conveys the concerns, opportunities and expectations from a group of leading trade specialists from academia, international organisations and think tanks in the UK and elsewhere.

Royal United Services Institute / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

The future of post-Brexit Germany-UK security relations

by Sarah Lain [@sarahlain12](#)

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

On 11 July 2016, the Royal United Services Institute and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung hosted a half-day workshop aimed at bringing together leading German and UK security specialists as well as members of the UK Parliament and German Bundestag to discuss key aspects of European security. This report summarises the major conclusions and talking points of the day's discussions and also suggests areas on which policymakers should focus their attention. It has been supplemented by additional desk research where appropriate. The aim is to highlight knowledge gaps and areas of defence and security policy that warrant further research in order to inform more effective policy, particularly in light of Brexit, and the challenges that these present to both the UK and EU governments.

Institute for Government

Planning Brexit: silence is not a strategy

by Jill Rutter and Hannah White

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

This paper assesses the progress the British Government has made towards planning for Brexit since July to September 2016. It identifies the likely costs of the Government's approach and what capability the Civil Service needs to support it.

Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute

Brexit: between British Europhobia and continental euroscepticisms

by Yves Bertoncini [@ybertoncini](#)

27 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.) and in [French](#) (12 p.)

This paper aims to stress that Brexit is actually a specific case: the Europhobia expressed by a majority of the British people must not be confused with the rise in Euroscepticisms observed across the continent. Yves Bertoncini concludes by noting that, even though it now plans its divorce from the UK, the EU is facing a "crisis of co-owners" arguing over a revision of their co-habitation rules rather than the start of a wave of exits heralded by the Brexiteers.

E3G

You can't deliver a new EU by avoiding energy and climate change

by Nick Mabey [@Mabeytweet](#)

16 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

As the debate over priorities for EU reform post-Brexit ramps up, misguided attempts to avoid political tensions are undermining popular and necessary action on energy and climate change.

Vrije Universiteit Brussel - Institute for European Studies

Russia and the European far right after Brexit: shifting gears in the European parliament

by Antonios Nestoras

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

In the transatlantic community it is widely believed that the Kremlin's manipulation of information constitutes a real threat to EU security. Across Europe, far-right, populist and Euro-sceptic political parties are embracing Russia's information campaigns. In the EP, ENF (Europe of Nations and Freedom) is the main proponent of pro-Kremlin narratives. The absence of British Eurosceptic MEPs may lead to the consolidation of the radical far-right under the banner of the Front National. Hence, the EU may have a rather difficult time gathering the necessary support to confront Russian in the Eastern Neighbourhood.

European Council on Foreign Relations

China and Brexit: what's in it for us?

by François Godement [@FGodement](#) and Angela Stanzel [@angela_stanzel](#)

9 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

This special issue of China Analysis looks at the first comments published in China in the wake of the Brexit shock. The authors suggest that most of the losses from Brexit will hit the EU or the UK, or both, while China will get most of the gains.

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Institut français des relations internationales

L'Europe a besoin de Weimar - Perspectives du triangle de Weimar en période de crise

by Martin Koopmann

4 October 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (34 p.)

Since the EU's Eastern enlargement, the Weimar Triangle has hardly been visible in the political public sphere and it is as best associated with token politics. At the same time the preconditions for a new start have worsened considerably compared to 1991. The EU is confronted with numerous elementary, inner and outer crises, of which the worst has only just emerged since the referendum in UK.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Cologne Institute for Economic Research)

Brexit impacts on Germany?

by Galina Kolev, Jürgen Matthes and Berthold Busch

25 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (3 p.)

How does the depreciation of the British pound and the foreseeable slowdown in economic activity in the United Kingdom affect the German economy? So far, the pending Brexit's short-term impacts on the UK have been less severe than feared. This raises the next question as to what effects can be expected for Germany in 2017.

Reform

The state of the State 2016-17: Brexit and the business of government

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (52 p.)

This report provides a unique, independent analysis of the UK public sector through a business lens. Produced by Deloitte UK in collaboration with Reform, the insight is informed by interviews with public sector leaders, citizen research and an in-depth analysis of government data.

Institute for Public Policy Research

Brexit North: securing a united voice at the negotiating table

by Ed Cox [@edcox_ippr](#) and Scott Dickinson [@SDickinsonAndCo](#)

1 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

This paper considers both the implications of Brexit for the North of England, and a process by which the North can ensure that its needs are recognised within a national negotiation.

Roma communities and Brexit: integrating and empowering Roma in the UK

by Marley Morris [@MarleyAMorris](#)

24 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (31 p.)

As a consequence of the Brexit vote, Roma migrant communities in the UK – already a vulnerable group – face further insecurity over the terms of their residency, and the end of EU funding to support their integration. This report examines the evidence on the disadvantages that Roma

experience, and recommends how cash-strapped local authorities can help them by supporting community cohesion in more strategic ways.

Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Brexit and its consequences: Anglo-Japanese relations in a post-EU referendum world

by John Nilsson-Wright and Kiichi Fujiwara

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Japan and the UK are likely to continue to promote their bilateral relationship, with Japan especially concerned to ensure that existing trade and investment interests for Japanese firms in the UK are not materially affected by the Brexit vote. While the need for strategic partnership between the UK and Japan remains as pressing as ever, the opportunities for bilateral cooperation in addressing critical regional and global challenges are likely to be modest and focused on sustaining existing bilateral security accords.

Policy Network

After Brexit: a new association agreement between Britain and Europe

by Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#)

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

Although Brexit is a huge reversal of fortune for the EU, it has a constitutional device for dealing with the rift – Article 50 – about which much has been said and written, not all of it accurate. This essay looks at the situation in more detail from both the British and European angles. First, it examines why the EU allows one of its member states to leave it and how Article 50 will work in practice. Second, it explores the options for a new relationship between the UK and the EU, and makes a recommendation on what this should be. Third, it argues that Brexit offers the chance of a fresh start for both Britain and Europe.

Centre for Economic Policy Research

What to do with the UK? EU perspectives on Brexit

by Charles Wyplosz (ed.)

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (163 p.)

This publication gathers the opinions of twenty-five authors from sixteen different EU member states. They look at the different challenges that will face not only the UK, but the remaining EU-27.

Centre for European Policy Studies/ LUISS School of European Political Economy

The Brexit negotiations: an Italian perspective

by Stefano Micossi and Riccardo Perissich

25 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

In recent years, Italy has become a country of emigration again, with qualified young people seeking better paid and more rewarding jobs elsewhere in the EU. For this reason, Italy will mount a strong defence of existing internal market rules as an inseparable set of principles. Italy will attach a high priority to preserving the integrity of the basic principles that govern the EU, including the institutional balance, and to the possibility of the Eurozone integrating further. The concern of

the EU as a whole, however, will be that all the uncertainty surrounding Brexit does not impinge on other pressing Union and Eurozone matters.

British Future

Britain's immigration offer to Europe: how could a new preferential system work?

by Sunder Katwala [@sundersays](#), Jill Rutter [@jillongovt](#) and Steve Ballinger [@steveballinger](#)
October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This paper sets out a new proposal for a preferential system for EU immigration to the UK. Such a system could, the paper argues, secure UK public support and work for British business; yet it is also politically deliverable in Westminster and for the EU and its member states too.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Which model for Brexit?

by Michael Emerson

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

The UK government is considering its options for its future relationship with the EU, which will inevitably have an important trade policy content. The Prime Minister announced on 2 October 2016 that Article 50 would be triggered by the end of next March, which has recently happened, and that a 'Great Repeal Bill' would, from the moment of withdrawal, retain in the first instance all existing EU law that was relevant as sovereign UK law. In the event that negotiation of a comprehensive Association Agreement is found to be infeasible, a simpler option might be to achieve free trade by staying in the Customs Union, although there would still be associated conditions and many other issues to resolve.

Centre international de formation européenne

From Brexit to Bratislava. Another EU reform debate emerging

by Hartmut Marhold

19 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

The Brexit vote triggered two debates: the first one is about how the separation between the EU and the UK should be organised; the other one about the future and the reform of the remaining EU-27. The following reflections are not concerned with the former, i.e. the Brexit debate, but exclusively with the second, a debate which has led, in the meantime, to a first common statement from the Heads of State and Government, at Bratislava, on 16 September 2016, and is accordingly now being referred to as the "Bratislava Process".

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

All or nothing? The EU Global Strategy and defence policy after the Brexit

by Sven Biscop

10 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

The public expects European governments and the EU to deal with the security challenges in and around Europe. But should the aim be EU strategic autonomy, without the UK, or can the aspiration still be European strategic autonomy, with the UK? Can nothing be achieved unless all are fully involved? Or are intermediate solutions possible? How EU member states and the UK answer these questions will determine which degree of strategic autonomy the EU will achieve.

Fondation Robert Schuman

Hard or soft Brexit?

by Pierre-Alain Coffinier

24 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.) and in [French](#) (14 p.)

On 2 October 2016 during the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham, three months after the referendum, British Prime Minister Theresa May announced the main outlines of her vision for a UK, that had "won back its sovereignty" after its exit of the EU. According to her, the country would control its immigration and legislation once more, whilst guaranteeing businesses the opportunity of "acting and operating with a maximum amount of freedom in the Single European Market." The Prime Minister's insistence on sovereignty and immigration control, its social overtones, intimate that she would privilege a "hard Brexit" outside of the European Economic Area.

Les relations transatlantiques après le Brexit

by Arnault Barichella

31 October 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (11 p.)

This paper tries to describe the new post-Brexit system of multiple partnerships and alliances that is likely to emerge. While the US will be keen to maintain strong ties with the UK, they will need to strengthen their relations with other member countries of the EU.

Tænketanken EUROPA

Tre paradokser i Mays udmeldinger om Brexit

by Maja Kluger

10 October 2016

Link to the article in [Danish](#) (10 p.)

Prime Minister Theresa May made it clear that the British government would trigger Article 50 by the end of March 2017 and set the stage for a "hard Brexit" where Britain is not part of the free movement of persons and controls its immigration and legislation. However, according to the author, the UK may have to accept a "soft Brexit" in the short term. For example, in order to avoid a legal vacuum the government has to maintain all EU legislation and turn it into British law.

Ulkopoliittineninstituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Brexit's impact on the EU institutions: immediate implications and possibilities for reform

by Teija Tiilikainen

24 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

This paper argues that the direct implications of Brexit for the EU's political system will be less significant than the indirect consequences, opening up possibilities for reform. The treaty rules on a qualified majority in the Council might need to be reconsidered due to Brexit, which will also lead to a major reshuffle of the EU's critical political groups in the European parliament after the 2019 EP elections. The political pressure to consolidate the EMU in terms of strengthening its governance and its own fiscal capacity may grow as a part of the general reform process following on from Brexit. If the treaties are reopened, principled amendments to the institutions and decision-making of the common foreign and security policy as well as further steps within the common security and defence policy are very likely to occur.

Institute for Government

Four-nation Brexit - How the UK and devolved governments should work together on leaving the EU

by Akash Paun [@AkashPaun](#) and George Miller

24 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

This paper argues that it is imperative that Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and England reach agreement on the UK's Brexit terms and negotiating strategy. Imposing a Brexit settlement to devolved governments (while legally possible) would be a reckless strategy. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland cannot be treated like any other lobby or interest group. Equally, the devolved governments will have to accept that Westminster will have the final say.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Gibraltar, "año cero": Brexit, cosoberanía y nuevas oportunidades de España

by Alejandro del Valle Gálvez [@adelvalle_cadiz](#)

20 October 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (17 p.)

Brexit negotiations offer a historical moment for Spain to redefine its relationship with Gibraltar, giving opportunities to formulas seeking new avenues and a solution to this historical controversy.

Bruegel

What consequences would a post-Brexit China-UK trade deal have for the EU?

by Alicia García-Herrero [@Aligarciaherrer](#) and Jianwei Xu

7 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

A China-UK free trade agreement has been extensively discussed since the UK's vote for Brexit. Many supporters of Brexit argue that the UK's regained flexibility to strike trade deals with other partners, and in particular with China, given its economic size, will be a key advantage. This analysis indicates that a China-UK free trade agreement will be neither as easy nor as clearly advantageous as portrayed by Brexit supporters.

Istituto Affari Internazionali / Senato della Repubblica - Servizio affari internazionali

Il libro bianco della difesa tedesco: quali opportunità di cooperazione?

by Ester Sabatino

10 October 2016

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (5 p.)

The White Paper of the German defence is a strategic document that defines the key points of the defence policy of Germany. Published following the "Brexit", the White Paper (while continuing to emphasize the importance of the Atlantic Alliance) finally identifies several priority sectors considered to deepen European cooperation in the field of defence.

TTR 41 - DECEMBER 2016

Institute of International and European Affairs

What does Brexit mean for the energy sector in Ireland?

by Paula Higgins and Roisin Costello

27 November 2016

Link to article in [English](#) (13 p.)

This brief outlines the main areas in which the Irish energy sector could be affected by the UK vote to leave the EU. In particular, it discusses the future of the island of Ireland's shared electricity market (SEM); threats posed to the security of Ireland's energy supply; the implications of Brexit for investments in energy infrastructure as well as on current market oriented and pro-liberalisation EU policy trends; and the associated regulatory, political and legal impacts for Ireland's energy sector.

ResPublica

Beyond belief: defending religious liberty through the British Bill of Rights

by James Orr

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.)

This report reflects on the thesis that in a free and plural society, rights should protect difference and ensure equity between those of different dispositions. A curious legal and philosophical inversion seems to have taken place over recent decades; where once rights were used to ensure diversity, now they are often utilised to erode difference and enforce a uniform conformity on society. This trend is particularly true with the right to religious liberty and the treatment of religious groups.

Friends of Europe

Scotland's choice: Brexit with the UK, independence, or a special deal?

by Kirsty Hughes [@KirstyS_Hughes](#)

29 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

On 23 June, the UK voted to leave the EU, but the majority of voters in Scotland opted for Remain. This paper analyses the latest political developments, sets out a series of scenarios for Scotland, and lays out recommendations to decision-makers in Edinburgh, London and Brussels. The legal and political difficulties linked to any special arrangement mean that Scotland's choice will most probably be binary: remain in the UK and outside of the EU, or to become an independent member of the EU.

The state of Europe 2016. Disruption, disorder and division: crunch time for Europe

10 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

Britain's referendum vote to leave the EU has delivered a profound shock to the continent. The looming departure of one of the EU's strongest economic, diplomatic and military powers has raised doubts about the very survival of a Union already divided over management of the Eurozone, the economy and the refugee crisis. Europe's political certainties are questioned by the rise of populist forces both within and without – the external challenges including Russian belligerence, Middle Eastern turmoil, a truculent Turkey and Trumpism in the US.

Demos

Invest, devolve, liberate. A new economic policy in the light of Brexit

by Tom Startup [@TomSTutor](#) and Charlie Cadywould [@CCadywould](#)

11 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (51 p.)

This report aims to address the question of how domestic economic policy should respond to the long-term economic challenges the UK faces in the light of the British intention to leave the EU. It does not attempt to tackle the complex issues of what the British should aim to achieve from the Brexit negotiations or how they should be conducted. Instead it focuses on what the British know about the long-term economic challenges facing the UK and how Brexit is likely to impact them. Lastly it suggests policy reforms which should help remedy these challenges and prepare the British for life outside the EU.

Foundation for European Progressive Studies / Policy Network / Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute

EU economic governance after Brexit: governing a disintegrating Europe

by Lucia Quaglia and Waltraud Schelkle, with additional research and writing by Colin Hay, Renaud Thillaye and Daniel Bailey

21 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

This brief is the second of a series drawing on the project 'Diverging Capitalisms? Britain, the City of London and Europe' led by FEPS, Policy Network and Speri, which aims to consider the changing nature of the British economy, its place within the European economic space and the consequences of Brexit. This brief provides new insights on how fragmented political and economic interests, both internationally and intra-nationally, have been shaping EU economic policymaking in the wake of the global financial crisis, the Eurozone crisis and the UK's referendum on EU membership.

Centre for Policy Studies

The free ports opportunity: how Brexit could boost trade, manufacturing and the North

by Rishi Sunak

14 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (50 p.)

Brexit provides a new trade opportunity for Britain: the creation of free ports. EU law has long held back the potential of British ports. Already successful in the USA, free ports would provide a fast response to Brexit that would increase manufacturing output, reinvigorate the North, and promote trade. Free ports are areas that, although inside the geographic boundary of a country, are considered outside the country for customs purposes. This means that goods can enter and re-exit the port without incurring usual import procedures or tariffs – incentivising domestic manufacturing.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

L'impatto della Brexit per la difesa europea e transatlantica: tanti dubbi e poche certezze

by Alessandro Riccardo Ungaro [@AleRUnga](#) and Daniele Fattibene [@danifatti](#)

28 November 2016

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (28 p.)

Since the end of the 1990s and the Saint Malo Agreements, the UK has played a crucial role in the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the EU. From a European perspective, London is one of the most important players in the operations, military and industrial fields. The decision of

the British voters to leave the EU will have consequences for Europe's and Transatlantic defence and security. The objective of this article is to identify the most important topics which will be discussed in this regard in the following months and outline some possible future scenarios.

Mapping member states' stances in a post-Brexit European Union

by Eleonora Poli [@Poli_Eleonora](#)

13 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

During the 2016 Bratislava Summit, EU member states concluded that although the UK vote to leave the EU is a serious matter, the EU can survive a British exit. Nonetheless, the current political atmosphere is one of unease. Brexit has exacerbated a general European malaise, highlighting member states' struggle in reaching agreement when dealing with EU matters. This will have a fundamental impact on future negotiations with Britain. In an attempt to foresee the UK-EU negotiating pattern, this paper will map the member states' views, which the EU should take into consideration while discussing the exit deal with the UK.

Institute of Economic Affairs

Free to move. The costs and consequences of restrictions on migration

by Philippe Legrain [@plegrain](#)

17 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (60 p.)

Immigration is perhaps the most controversial political issue in Britain today. Immigrants make a huge contribution to Britain. But the UK has two big problems with immigration: the incorrect negative perceptions of it and the resulting flawed and restrictive immigration policy. The solution is to work towards freedom of movement while seeking to change public perceptions and addressing costs and problems that are due to flawed government policies.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Policy uncertainty and international financial markets: the case of Brexit

by Ansgar Belke, Irina Dubova and Thomas Osowski

29 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (39 p.)

This study assesses the impact of the uncertainty caused by Brexit on both the UK and international financial markets, for the first and second statistical moments (i.e. on the changes and standard deviations of the respective variables).

'Soft Brexit' is not an option

by Stefano Micossi

24 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The more the author examines the issues posed by the result of the referendum last summer, the more convinced he becomes that there are no grounds for the UK to expect the EU to agree to a 'soft Brexit'.

Brexit and social security in the EU

by Elspeth Guild

17 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

Brexit is likely to have substantial consequences for EU citizens, both British and non-British regarding social security. The EU system is complex and designed to ensure that anyone exercising a free movement right does not suffer as regards their social security entitlements as a result of the move. However, British social security rules are designed to exclude all foreigners from almost all social benefits for substantial periods of time. Only a limited number of contributory social security benefits are available to foreigners in the UK. There is no principle of equal treatment applicable to foreigners in British social security law. Similarly, there is no principle of export of benefits. This is only permitted on the basis of a very limited number of bilateral agreements. There is no principle of aggregation of contributions made in different countries to calculate any benefit entitlement. In short, a 'hard' Brexit may result in a bonfire of social security rights for both British and non-British EU citizens.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

EU external action and Brexit: relaunch and reconnect

by Nicole Koenig [@Nic_Koenig](#)

22 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

European citizens, including British ones, have been in favour of a common EU foreign and security policy. However, this policy field will be strongly affected by Brexit. This paper analyses the implications for the EU and the UK in the fields of diplomacy, development and crisis management. Both sides are likely to lose from a clear-cut divorce, therefore this paper suggests ways towards a win-win solution for foreign and security policy cooperation.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

A European "special relationship": guiding principles, interests and options for the EU-27 in the Brexit talks

by Barbara Lippert and Nicolai von Ondarza

25 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [German](#) (8 p.)

Negotiating the UK's departure and future relations will be an extremely complex operation even for the EU, both legally and politically. Both the exit agreement and the special relationship will be new territory for the Union. So the talks are likely to be strongly characterised by insecurity, speculation and perhaps also experiments. Mitigating harm will not suffice as the EU's objective. At the same time the EU side is unlikely to find it easy to maintain a thoroughly consistent and unified negotiating stance towards the UK. Strong conflicts of goals can already be seen emerging – between market interests and freedom of movement, between hard Brexit on economic questions and cooperation in foreign and security policy, and between the national interests of individual member states. It is therefore central for the Brexit negotiators to communicate quickly and clearly which procedures are being applied and which goals the EU and its member states are pursuing. A European special relationship is a realisable project that also gives the EU space to pursue its internal reforms.

Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Increasingly apart: post-crisis growth trajectories in the UK and Eurozone

by Paola Subacchi and Paul van den Noord

7 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

The UK's economy has performed considerably better than that of the Eurozone since the 2008–09 financial crisis. Brexit threatens to undermine the very consumption-centric economic model that has enabled the UK to outperform the Eurozone since the financial crisis.

The EU's crisis of governance and European foreign policy

by Angelos Chrysosgelos

18 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (29 p.)

The three major crises the EU has faced since 2009 - the euro, migration and Brexit - reflect a broader crisis of its intergovernmental governance. This paper defines the characteristics of this crisis of intergovernmental governance and identifies five effects it has had on EU foreign policy: a disproportionate focus in the European Council and among political elites on internal EU matters to the detriment of political attention to external foreign policy issues; a more restrictive political and public opinion environment that opposes greater involvement abroad; constrained resources for international engagement; and the growing commercialisation of national foreign policies.

Asociace pro mezinárodní záležitosti (Association for International Affairs)

Rethinking V4's Eurozone dilemmas after the UK referendum

by Vladimír Bilčík [@VladoBilcik](#), Vít Dostál [@VitDostal](#), Kryštof Kruliš, Tamás Szemplér and Paweł Zerka

10 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

What are the current views of the members of the V4 group on the Eurozone-related topics? Where are the problems and how to solve them? What will the expected departure of UK, the largest EU economy that does not use the common European currency, change? Five authors from the V4 members explain specifics about their country's position and suggest future development in the policy paper "Rethinking V4's Eurozone Dilemmas after the UK Referendum".

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

Brexit and Baltic sea security

by Riina Kaljurand, Tony Lawrence, Pauli Järvenpää and Tomas Jermalavičius

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (46 p.)

The result of the UK's referendum was unexpected and its consequences may be wide-ranging and grave. This report considers the impact of the UK's exit from the EU on the security of Estonia, the Baltic Sea region and Europe more widely. Its focus is hard security – military security and defence.

Institut pro evropskou politiku EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy)

EU enlargement after Brexit: temporary turmoil or the final nail in the coffin of enlargement?

by Marko Stojić

24 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The result of the British referendum on EU membership sent powerful shockwaves across the EU and beyond, throwing the Union into 'an existential crisis' and causing a period of unprecedented uncertainty and confusion over its future. How will the British decision to leave the EU affect the prospects of countries that seek to join the Union? Will EU enlargement, a policy that had lost its momentum long before the British decision, gradually wane? Will member states and candidate countries seize an opportunity to finally reenergize this foundering policy?

TTR 42 - JANUARY 2017

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin / Bertelsmann Stiftung

What millennials think about the future of the EU and the euro

by Anna auf dem Brinke [@Anna_adB](#), Katharina Gnath and Philipp Ständer [@P_Staender](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The Brexit referendum in June 2016 demonstrated that young voters are significantly more pro-European than voters from older generations. While the difference between the old and the young in support for the European Union holds across all 28 member states, our analysis also reveals that the millennials' investment in Europe stands on thin ice for at least three reasons: (1) Pro-European sentiments among Europe's young generation will not easily translate into votes, (2) Old millennials, who have just started their careers, are disenchanted with the euro, (3) Millennials are unlikely to drive reforms.

Fondation Robert Schuman

The "populist moment": towards a "post-liberal" Europe?

by Thierry Chopin

13 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [French](#) (9 p.)

Brexit and the election of Donald Trump raised many concerns in Europe. National contexts are specific and differ from one country to another; it is however hard not to associate the vote in the US with the British referendum. Undoubtedly there are also some shared features in the US and the UK which set them apart from continental Europe: both countries were at the origin of the neo-liberal revolution in the 1980's with the rise to power of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher; it is there that the financial crisis was born, this is also where social clashes are much more violent than elsewhere, and, in all events, more violent than in the countries on continental Europe.

Policy Network

Can the EU spend better? An EU budget for crises and sustainability

by Renaud Thillaye [@RThillaye](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (121 p.)

Amid Brexit, terrorism and the refugee crisis, very few European citizens are aware that the EU is heading towards a new cycle of budgetary discussions. During 2017, it is expected to start discussing the next Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), which will start after 2020.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

What will happen with the capital markets union after Brexit?

by Philipp Ständer [@P_Staender](#)

19 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.) and in [German](#) (18 p.)

When the European Commission drafted its plans for the Capital Markets Union (CMU), it was obvious that the UK would be part of a future CMU due to its fundamental importance in Europe's capital markets. Brexit may be a game-changer because it threatens to detach the EU from the country that hosts its largest capital market.

Institute of International and European Affairs

Brexit and free movement of people

by Blair Horan

13 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

The UK has made control of free movement of people a key objective for a new UK-EU trade agreement. The EU meanwhile will not grant full access to the Single Market without the application of the four fundamental freedoms of the Treaty of Rome. This will make it more likely that the future UK-EU trade relationship will be either a more limited bilateral free trade agreement or trade based on WTO tariffs. This would present significant challenges for the Irish Government in respect of North/South relations, the maintenance of the Common Travel Area and free movement for Irish and British citizens on the two islands.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Scotland knows what it wants with the EU, while London seems still not to know

by Michael Emerson

24 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The author of this paper written at the end of 2016 analyses the two options presented by the Scottish first minister Nicola Sturgeon in her government's White Paper on "Scotland's Place in Europe": (1) Scotland advocates that the whole of the UK should stay in the single market and customs union. This would be a Norway+Turkey option, joining the European Economic Area (EEA) and adding to it continued membership of the EU's customs union and (2) if the UK opts to pursue a lesser agreement with the EU, Scotland would seek continued access to the single market for itself, with the further devolution of powers necessary to do this.

College of Europe

Brexit and trade: between facts and irrelevance

by Phedon Nicolaidis and Thibault Roy

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

This paper examines several claims of Brexit supporters on the UK's post-exit arrangement regarding trade with the EU. It reviews the nature and importance of UK-EU trade links and the possible impact on the UK of leaving the EU customs union. It argues that the claims of pro-Brexit supporters on trade possibilities are based on incongruous arguments which are either logically inconsistent or ignore the extent of commitment required by trade agreements that tackle regulatory barriers, not just tariffs and border restrictions.

Tænketanken EUROPA

Mays Brexit under pres af britisk parlament

by Maja Kluger Rasmussen [@MajaKluger](#)

1 December 2016

Link to the article in [Danish](#) (9 p.)

The article speaks about the decision of the British High Court that Theresa May's government could not trigger article 50 on exiting the EU without the approval of parliament.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

Brexit: Verhandlungsphasen und Verlaufsszenarien eines Dramas in drei Akten

by Valentin Kreiling, Sophia Becker and Laura Maria Wolfstädter

16 December 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (24 p.)

This paper describes the forthcoming Brexit negotiations: it systematises the next steps in the process and examines the individual procedural requirements in order to analyse the legal and institutional context of Article 50 TEU. In order to be able to correctly classify the various legal requirements and political issues, the negotiations can be split into three acts: the withdrawal negotiations pursuant to Article 50 TEU ("the exit"), negotiating and shaping the future relations between the EU and the UK ("the future"), reconfiguring the EU Treaties ("the rest").

Center for Policy Studies

The free ports opportunity: how Brexit could boost trade, manufacturing and the North

by Rishi Sunak

22 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (50 p.)

Brexit will provide the UK with new economic freedom, and the Government should take the opportunity to create Free Ports across the nation. Free Ports will simultaneously: increase manufacturing output, create employment regionally where it is most needed, and promote trade. Using Free Ports to drive economic growth will also re-connect Britain with its proud maritime history as a trading nation and act as a beacon of British values, signalling the country's openness to the world.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Cologne Institute for Economic Research)

Brexit and Europe's Future – a game theoretical approach

by Berthold Busch, Matthias Diermeier, Henry Goecke and Michael Hüther

22 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Following the British decision to leave the EU, the question arises as to how relations should be conducted going forward. The objective of the negotiations between Great Britain and the EU is to ensure which strategy is best – both for the British and the EU. Another important element is what long and short-term advantages can be obtained. The authors examine these questions from a game theoretical perspective.

What next after Brexit? Considerations regarding the future relationship between the EU and the UK

by Jürgen Matthes and Berthold Busch

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

In order to be able to assess the future institutional relationship between the UK and the EU, this study organises the relevant facts systematically by using a framework in which two aspects are compared with each other: On the one hand, the extent of the Single Market access for the EU's current partners, and on the other, the concessions agreed by these partners with the EU with regard to free movement of people, relinquishment of regulatory sovereignty and payments to the EU. On this basis, the authors discuss which concessions the UK might give and what extent of Single Market access the EU might grant in return.

British Future

Report of the Inquiry into securing the status of EEA+ nationals in the UK

by Jill Rutter [@jillongovt](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

In June 2016, British people reflected on their 43 year old relationship with the EU and by a majority decided to leave. Resolving the status of the EEA+ nationals living in the UK will be an extraordinary administrative task for the Home Office. The Inquiry recommends that offering a certain set of conditions to EEA+ nationals is the best way to secure the future status of UK nationals in the EU, meaning that the UK Government can legitimately expect similar conditions to be offered to UK nationals in return.

Centre for the Study of Financial Innovation

Getting Brussels right: "Best practice" for City firms in a post-referendum EU

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.)

How are the UK and more specifically the City of London going to handle the Commission, the Council and the Parliament in the run-up to (and beyond) the exit of the UK from the EU? This report addresses how the City should engage with the EU as the UK itself disengages from the EU.

Institute for government

Whitehall's preparation for the UK's exit from the EU

by Joseph Owen and Robyn Munro [@Robynlmunro](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

Article 50 was triggered on 29 March 2017 and a Great Repeal Bill will be introduced. In this paper, the authors ask how Whitehall is preparing for the process ahead. There are three major areas of work which the authors argue should have been addressed before Theresa May triggered Article 50: (i) preparing the Government's negotiating position; (ii) deciding how negotiations will be run and who will be involved; (iii) planning new policies and systems for life outside of the EU, including a new immigration system and alternatives to EU institutions.

Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute

What Brexit and austerity tell us about economics, policy and the media

by Simon Wren-Lewis

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

In this paper, the author tackles the inconsistencies and inaccuracies reported in the media about austerity and Brexit. He calls for journalists to bring in academic expertise and to prick the Westminster bubble.

Ulkopoliittineninstituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Europe's new defence agenda: major hurdles still remain

by Tuomas Iso-Markku and Niklas Helwig [@NHelwig](#)

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The 2016 December European Council discussed a bundle of measures to strengthen the EU's security and defence policy. While the Brexit vote and the US elections raised the ambitions of some member states, the measures largely represent a readjustment and repackaging of existing policies rather than a conceptual overhaul. With or without the UK, EU member states continue to have diverse views on the relationship between the EU and NATO, the priorities of the EU's security and defence policy and the level of EU involvement in defence in general.

Centre for European Reform

EU defence, Brexit and Trump: the good, the bad and the ugly

by Sophia Besch [@SophiaBesch](#)

14 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

The Brexit referendum and the election of Donald Trump have spurred EU leaders to boost their support for European defence. They recognise that they need to increase their share of the burden of European security and rely less on the US; and they want to reassert the Union's credibility after Britain's vote of no confidence. The author argues that even if the EU puts more resources into defence, Trump and the Brexit referendum will damage European security.

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques

The economics of European defence

by Keith Hartley

8 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Since the British referendum result in June 2016 and the US election in November, greater political effort has been channelled into ways of increasing EU defence cooperation, and creating a solid European defence industry. The EU's toolbox includes a number of existing means of doing so, many made available by the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 – European defence policy comprises a series of policy measures related to a Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), a Single Market for defence equipment, the European Defence and Technological Industrial Base (EDITB) and offsets. But in a constrained budgetary context, it is difficult to overlook defence economics as a driver of European defence policy. This paper suggests a number of avenues for efficiency improvements in European defence spending.

Bertelsmann Stiftung

After the UK has withdrawn from the EU. What are the options for trade?

by Stefan Oeter

19 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.) and in [German](#) (6 p.)

The British decision to withdraw from the EU makes it necessary to renegotiate trade relations between the EU and the UK from scratch. At the same time the trade agreements that the EU has concluded with non-EU states will no longer apply to the UK.

Friends of Europe

Brexit and India – Adapting to changing landscapes

5 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

Britain's vote to leave the EU sent shockwaves around the world, and nowhere more so than in the UK's external trade relations. But when it happens, Brexit could create as many opportunities as challenges for the UK-India and EU-India relations.

TTR 43 - FEBRUARY 2017

Bruegel

Is Brexit an opportunity to reform the European Parliament?

by Robert Kalcik [@RKalcik](#) and Guntram B. Wolff [@GuntramWolff](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

Brexit offers a political opportunity for the European Parliament to reform the allocation of seats to member states. This paper explores different options for reform and their implications for equality of representation and distribution of seats to countries, within the constraints set by the EU treaties.

European Policy Centre

Will Brexit revive the Franco-German engine?

by Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer [@YSRittelmeyer](#)

26 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

With national elections in sight in France and Germany, could Brexit re-start the Franco-German engine of European integration? The challenges posed by the Brexit vote could reverse the centrifugal course of the EU, and the Franco-German couple could act as a unifying force in that context. The arrival of freshly-elected leaders in France and Germany could regenerate the duo if both countries adopt an attitude facilitating their cooperation and focus their attention on key priority topics. According to the author, if they manage to do so the UK's departure might just end up spelling good news for the EU.

European Parliament Think Tank

Referendums on EU matters

30 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (214 p.)

This study analyses the political and legal dynamics behind referendums on EU-related matters. It argues that we have entered a period of increasing political uncertainty with regard to the European project and that this new political configuration will both affect and be affected by the politics of EU-related referendums. It is clear that referendums on EU matters are here to stay and will continue to be central to the EU's future as they are deployed to determine the number of Member States within the EU.

Bertelsmann Stiftung / Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

Brexit and the EU budget: threat or opportunity?

by Jörg Haas [@jorg_haas](#) and Eulalia Rubio [@eulaliarubio](#)

16 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.), in [French](#) (19 p.) and in [German](#) (19 p.)

This paper estimates how Brexit would impact the EU's public finances. The authors draw up four scenarios that outline how the EU could react to the expected budget shortfall after Brexit and provide estimates of how the individual member states might be affected by the different options. They analyse the political implications of these four scenarios for the upcoming negotiations about the next Multiannual Financial Framework, which will start in 2018.

Policy network / Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

European Union financial regulation, Banking Union, Capital Markets Union and the UK

by Lucia Quaglia

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

Following the international financial crisis and the sovereign debt crisis, the EU undertook major reforms in three key financial policy areas: financial regulation, Banking Union and Capital Markets Union. This paper examines the dynamics of these reforms by focusing on the preferences and influence of the UK in the policy process.

Institut français des relations internationales

L'Europe après le Brexit: positions et perspectives allemandes

by Eric Bonse

January 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (30 p.) and in [French](#) (32 p.)

The British decision in favour of Brexit affects Germany and the EU at a critical time. By making the "multiple crisis" of recent years more acute, Brexit asks tough questions: What should the EU be like without Britain? What is the objective of the process of European unification, its "objective"? And what role will Germany play?

LSE IDEAS

Making the 'special relationship' great again?

by Tim Oliver [@timothyloliver](#) and Michael Williams

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

Donald Trump's election poses uncomfortable questions for Britain about the future of the UK-US 'special relationship'. This paper looks at the core elements of the 'special relationship' that could be under strain and how Britain could be left between a Trump Rock and a Brexit Hard Place.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

Shapes of a Union: from ever closer Union to flexible differentiation after Brexit

by Pol Morillas [@polmorillas](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

According to the author, Brexit is certainly to blame, but the disintegration dynamics is present in many other national landscapes, with Euroscepticism, populism and political disaffection on the rise. Negotiations are used as a bargaining tool between member states, which pursue national goals in crisis scenarios up to dangerous levels of political brinkmanship. Today, differentiated integration is the rule rather than the exception in the EU. To emerge from the current impasse, a strategic reflection should be built on a new understanding of differentiated integration, based on flexible differentiation.

Institute of International and European Affairs

Brexit: a status report

by Brendan Halligan, Dáithí Ó'Ceallaigh, Tom Arnold, Catherine Day, John Palmer, Paul Gillespie, Tony Brown, Dan O'Brien, John McGrane, Terry Neill and Andrew Gilmore

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (50 p.)

The purpose of this report is to provide an update on what is known about the UK's withdrawal, and highlight issues of concern for Ireland, the UK and the EU on the coming negotiations between the UK and the EU. It is intended to be a reference guide to what was known at the beginning of this year about the process of the negotiation.

Policy Exchange

Clean Brexit

by Liam Halligan and Gerard Lyons

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (54 p.)

In a major contribution to the public debate on Brexit, the authors have set out proposals for a 'Clean Brexit'. The paper proposes key negotiating principles for the Government to set out before triggering Article 50.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

BREXIT - Negotiation phases and scenarios of a drama in three acts

by Valentin Kreiling [@tineurope](#), Sophia Becker and Laura Maria Wolfstädter
25 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.) and in [German](#) (24 p.)

How will the Brexit negotiations unfold? The authors systematise the next steps in the process and examine the individual procedural requirements in order to analyse the legal and institutional context of Article 50 TEU.

Fondation Robert Schuman

The Europeans and the consequences of the Brexit

9 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (38 p.) and in [French](#) (38 p)

Five months after the Brexit vote, right in the middle of a sustained electoral period (Spain, France and Germany) and whilst the first discussions between European partners have started, how are the Europeans reacting to the UK's exit of the EU? In a bid to provide the start of an answer to this issue, IFOP launched two survey waves in Europe: just after the British vote, and also at the end of November, when we might have legitimately wondered whether public opinion had managed to digest the British choice to "leave" and whether, on the contrary, increasing difficulties are perceived in the British choice, regarding both the EU and also the national economies.

European Policy Centre

How Europe sees Brexit

by Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#)

24 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

[Theresa May's speech](#) at Lancaster House on 17 January 2017 served to enlighten the rest of Europe about the kind of strategic partner they can expect Britain to be once it has left the EU. In this Discussion Paper, Andrew Duff examines how her speech was received in the rest of Europe, particularly in Berlin, and how her statements have impacted the Union's view on Brexit.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Theresa May's Brexit speech of 17 January 2017 – Decoding its clarity and ambiguity

by Michael Emerson [@Michael12540](#)

25 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

Prime Minister May's speech on 17 January 2017 marked an important step on the way to Brexit, followed by the Supreme Court's decision on 24 January to require that Parliament authorise the triggering of Article 50. She announced the objective to negotiate a Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (CFTA), combined with a Strategic Partnership to cover non-trade aspects of the future relationship. According to the author, an important omission from the Prime Minister's speech was any indication how the UK may want to control immigration from the EU.

Centre for Policy Studies

Brexit, agriculture and agricultural policy

by Richard Packer

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

This publication reveals the huge potential agricultural policy has for Britain, both in the negotiations before Brexit and benefits afterward. It argues that, free to establish its own agricultural policy, Britain can take full advantage of the benefits of Brexit; including freedom from the payment of EU agricultural subsidies; the ability to establish national rules in policy areas such as plant and animal health and GM foods; and the simplification of the system of support payments to British farmers.

The Bruges Group

What it will look like: how leaving the EU and the Single Market can be made to work for Britain

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (49 p.)

The report details the potential challenges the UK faces when it leaves the EU and explains how these problems can be addressed by the Government. This report explains that specific, easily reached agreements on the mechanics of trade in both goods and services will not only resolve any problems that may arise when exporting to the EU but such arrangements will also protect and enhance our trade with the EU.

Centre for European Reform

What free movement means to Europe and why it matters for Britain

by Camino Mortera-Martinez [@CaminoMortera](#) and Christian Odendahl [@COdendahl](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

For years, Britons have faced a torrent of misleading media stories and statements from politicians about EU migration, portraying free movement as an absolute right giving rise to all sorts of abuses. Some of these stories were errors born of ignorance. Others were downright lies. But all of them contributed to Britain's vote to leave the EU.

CIVITAS - Institute for the Study of Civil Society

Mitigating the impact of tariffs on UK-EU trade

by William Norton

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The authors argues that British business need have little to fear from the tariff costs of being outside the Single Market. The UK would be well placed to introduce a series of measures that would, in line with a new UK industrial strategy, mitigate the costs of tariffs imposed by the rest of the EU.

Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute

British business strategy, EU social and employment policy and the emerging politics of Brexit

by Scott Lavery [@ScottLavery1](#)

31 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

This paper advances a distinctive conceptual and empirical account of British business strategy in relation to the EU in the period before the June 2016 referendum. The paper is organised around two core questions. First, in what ways has British business attempted to secure its objectives in the past within the EU? Second, how might Brexit problematize this strategic orientation? In order to answer these questions, the article focuses specifically on the area of EU social and employment policy and British business strategy in relation to this policy field.

Institut français des relations internationales

The energy sector implications of Brexit

by Steve Pye, Carole Mathieu and Paul Deane

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

In her speech of January 2017, Prime Minister Theresa May did set out negotiating principles, including not seeking membership of the Single Market. However, this will be a long negotiation with the 27 remaining Member States, with the UK facing at least 2 years of uncertainty regarding the outcome. This paper seeks to explore what the implications might be for energy and climate policy in the UK and the EU.

Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

Brexit's impact on gas markets: Brexit and security of supply for the UK and Ireland

by Thierry Bros [@thierry_bros](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

The future demand picture for gas is difficult to predict for both the UK and the EU. Brexit is coming at a time when UK North Sea gas production is in terminal decline and the main UK storage facility (Rough) is facing technical issues that will reduce its capacity with a possible extreme outcome, namely total decommissioning. These specific issues will make the Brexit negotiations even more difficult for the UK as far as gas is concerned.

Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies

UK Foreign and security policy after Brexit

by Malcolm Chalmers [@MChalmers_RUSI](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

By the middle of 2019 at the latest, UK will probably no longer be a member of the EU. The price of more national control over the instruments of foreign policy that this brings will be a significant decline in influence over the common European foreign policies. The UK's departure from the EU is likely to deepen the recent trend towards a security policy focused on national interest. Much will depend on Russia's response to the dual shocks in the UK and the US. If it were to redouble efforts to re-establish a sphere of influence on its western borders, perhaps as part of a wider bargain with President Trump over the heads of NATO allies, the pressure on the EU and the UK to deepen their defence cooperation would be considerable, potentially diluting any EU instinct to 'punish' the UK economically for Brexit.

La Vie des Idées

L'anomalie Brexit - Le siècle européen des Britanniques

by Laurent Warlouzet

31 January 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (9 p.)

Faced with the imminence of a blunt rupture with the EU, the author shows that the complex relationship that the UK has with Europe is more the result of strategic cooperation, subject to the whims of history, than of a "natural isolationism".

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

Visegrad Four in Brexit negotiations: tale of two tables

by Jan Jakub Chromiec

4 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The Visegrad countries are facing two challenging negotiations: how to secure the best deal in future relations with the UK and how to influence the institutional response of the EU to Brexit. In this contribution, the author argues that the Visegrad countries converge on some issues of EU-UK negotiations, but divisions within the group will prevent it from exerting influence on the future shape of EU institutions.

British Influence

Brexit and Gibraltar

by Joe Carberry and Jonathan Lis

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Colloquially known as 'the Rock', Gibraltar is part of the European Union (EU), joining the EU's predecessor (the European Economic Community or EEC) in 1973 as a dependent territory of the United Kingdom. However, Gibraltar has a unique relationship with the EU, different from any other territory of a member state. This paper looks at the impact of Brexit on Gibraltar.

TTR 44 - MARCH 2017

Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (Center for European Integration Studies)

The impact of the European Union on national legislation

by Tapio Raunio and Matti Wiberg

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

One of the key arguments of the 'leave' side in the Brexit referendum of June 2016 was that 60% or even 75% of British legislation originated in Brussels, not in London. Examining the impact of EU on national legislation in Finland, the article shows that contrary to the widely accepted 'Delors myth', only 17.8% on national laws adopted between 1995 and 2015 were related to the EU. Evidence from other European countries corroborates our findings: the share of domestic laws with an EU impulse is higher in some countries but never even close to the 80% threshold suggested by the 'Delors myth'.

Peterson Institute for International Economics

Making the best of Brexit for the EU-27 financial system

by André Sapir, Dirk Schoenmaker and Nicolas Véron [@nicolas_veron](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

As a consequence of Britain's exit from the EU, UK-based financial firms are expected to lose their regulatory passport to do direct business with their clients in the EU-27. Brexit will lead to a partial migration of financial services activities from London to locations in the EU-27 to continue serving their customers there. This brief focuses on the implications of Brexit for the EU-27 financial system.

Hoover Institution

Partial fiscalisation: some historical lessons on Europe's unfinished business

by Michael Bordo and Harold James

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

The British referendum on EU membership, combined with the discussion of a partial Greek exit from the euro has raised in a suddenly acute form the question of the relationship of the EU and the Eurozone. The new acute crisis demands some innovative thinking to preserve – and extend – the central benefits of European integration, while thinking about additional areas that demand a cooperative rather than a confrontational solution. In this paper, after looking at the historical record of fiscalisation (which is mixed), the authors highlight a series of measures which amount to partial fiscalisations, and some of which are currently being discussed.

Bruegel

Brexit and the European financial system: mapping markets, players and jobs

by Uuriintuya Batsaikhan, Robert Kalcik [@RKalcik](#) and Dirk Schoenmaker

9 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

Brexit will lead to a partial migration of financial firms from London to the EU-27. This paper provides a comparison between London and four major cities that will host most of the new EU-27 wholesale market: Frankfurt, Paris, Dublin and Amsterdam. It gives a detailed picture of the wholesale markets, the largest players in these markets and the underlying clearing infrastructure. It also provides data on professional services and innovation.

The Bruges Group

Why Brexit should be accompanied by Irexit (Ireland exit)

by Anthony Coughlan

22 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

Ireland's political establishment is only now realising that Brexit really does mean Brexit and that the case for an accompanying Irexit is overwhelming. The author analyses why the Irish opinion is likely to move in this direction over the coming two years and that UK policy-makers should encourage that.

Institute for Government

The 2017 Northern Ireland Assembly election

by Akash Paun [@AkashPaun](#) and Aron Cheung [@Aron_Cheung](#)

23 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

Northern Ireland receives more EU funding per head than the rest of the UK and thus it enjoys high -although currently declining- public spending. Therefore, Northern Ireland does not want a return to Westminster rule despite the fact that attitudes to Brexit seem divided along the sectarian lines. Sectarian identities have weakened but the political system has not caught up as the dominance of the current political situation is unlikely to change.

Institute for Public Policy Research

Forgotten opportunities - The dynamic role of the rural economy in post-Brexit Britain

by Ed Cox [@edcox_ippr](#), Chris Murray [@ChrisMurray2010](#) and Anna Round

6 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (69 p.)

This report presents a fresh, place-based approach to rural policy that addresses local, national and global issues effectively and recommends the introduction of 'rural devolution deals' that would give local and combined authorities powers and obligations to improve food production and sustainability, the environment, industrial strategy and capital spending to support infrastructure and development.

European Policy Centre

Brexit: the launch of Article 50

by Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#)

9 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The author gives an outline of what will follow after the launch of Article 50 based on what is out so far (the content of Article 50, Theresa May's speech at Lancaster House and the Brexit white paper), and discusses the points of ambiguity and contention that will need to be resolved. The most difficult issue will, as always, be money and the UK's contribution to the EU budget.

Brexit and Europe: a new entente

by Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#)

23 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The UK is set to leave the EU; of that, everyone is certain. As with all divorces, especially ones where both partners' interests and assets are so intricately entwined, there is a risk of bitter recrimination. But although UK Prime Minister Theresa May declared that "Brexit means Brexit", it will hardly be the end of the UK's engagement in the continent. In this paper, Andrew Duff examines whether the authors can begin to look at the Article 50 process in a more positive light – that is, whether Brexit could herald a new period of entente between Britain and Europe.

College of Europe

The inevitability of gradualness: the longer-term origins of the 23 June 2016 'Brexit' referendum

by Martin Westlake

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (55 p.)

This paper identifies and charts a number of longer-term trends that led ultimately to the UK's 23 June 2016 in-out referendum on EU membership. It shows in particular how a device, the referendum, until recently regarded as anathema to the British tradition of parliamentary democracy, was first legitimised, then constitutionalised and, simultaneously, popularised. And it shows how manifesto commitments for a referendum on the single currency morphed into commitments for a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty and then the Lisbon Treaty and then into referendum lock acts and, finally, the in-out referendum.

Centre for European Reform

Parliamentarians in Brexit talks: bulls in a china shop?

by Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska [@AgataGostynska](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

Brexiters argue that the EU and its institutions pose a threat to Britain's parliamentary democracy. They deride the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament, which jointly approve EU legislation, as remote and undemocratic. Eurosceptics complain that the principle of the supremacy of EU law has rendered the British Parliament's role in law making irrelevant, and claim that the UK can only be sovereign again if it leaves the EU. They made these points to great effect in the EU referendum campaign.

Mrs May's emerging deal on Brexit: not just hard, but also difficult

by Charles Grant [@CER_Grant](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

What will the Brexit deal look like? Which are the key decisions that Theresa May still has to make? And what should she do in order to get the best possible deal?

The €60 billion Brexit bill: how to disentangle Britain from the EU budget

by Alex Barker [@alexebarker](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

A stand-off between the EU and Britain over the size of its exit bill could lead to the collapse of negotiations and an abrupt, disorderly Brexit.

Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Devolved external affairs: the impact of Brexit

by Richard G. Whitman [@RGWhitman](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Brexit will have significant political and institutional implications for the external affairs of the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This is a consequence of the devolution of power that has taken place within the UK since it joined the EU. Under current

legislative arrangements, after the UK leaves the EU some of these powers are expected to return directly to the devolved administrations, which will then have more autonomy in these policy areas.

Centre for European Policy Studies

After the UK's Brexit White Paper – What's the next move towards a CFTA?

by Michael Emerson [@Michael12540](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

In a White Paper entitled "[The UK's exit from and new partnership with the EU](#)" published on 2 February, the UK government has set the stage for the beginning of negotiations once the Article 50 notification is completed. In this paper, the author points out that the language is explicit in wanting a Strategic Partnership (and not an Association Agreement), and within that, a "bold, ambitious and comprehensive Free Trade Agreement". Against this background, he reflects on the possible next moves the UK might make to secure such an agreement, and analyses a range of possible responses from the EU.

Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute

British business strategy, EU social and employment policy and the emerging politics of Brexit

by Scott Lavery [@ScottLavery1](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

This paper highlights how Brexit will change the strategy of British business which have traditionally engaged with the EU institutions in order to further their objectives. The author outlines how British business has attempted to 'defend and extend' a liberalising agenda in the EU throughout the pre-referendum period. It is argued that Brexit fundamentally undermines this strategic orientation.

Overseas Development Institute

Post-Brexit trade policy and development: current developments; new directions?

by Max Mendez-Parra [@m_mendezparra](#), Dirk Willem te Velde [@DWteVelde](#) and Jane Kennan
March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

To date, there has been little or no consideration by the UK government of Brexit's impact on developing countries or an assessment of the opportunities that Brexit may present in terms of trade and development cooperation. For example every pound of bilateral aid leads to a 22 pence increase in UK exports. As it negotiates new FTAs around the world, all of the UK's current and future trading partners should be assured that they will not be worse off because of Brexit, and the UK should be clear that it is open to every country in the world.

European Capital Markets Institute

Brexit and the asset management industry

by Karel Lannoo [@karellannoo](#)

22 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

In this article, the author observes that Brexit will have a big impact on the asset management industry for three reasons: 1) the passport will disappear for UK-licensed companies; 2) the equivalence regime, is unevenly developed across the different segments of asset management; and 3) the value chains in asset management will be affected, with implications for supporting firms

or infrastructures. Against this scenario, the author offers an overview of the UK asset management industry from a European perspective. He then discusses the applicable EU rules, the equivalence regime and the impact of Brexit.

Center for a New American Security

Defining moment. The future of the transatlantic security relationship

by Julianne Smith [@Julie_C_Smith](#) and Rachel Rizzo [@RachelRizzo](#)

1 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

The bond between the US and Europe is a complex web of multinational institutions underpinned by bilateral relationships between states, which makes in-depth cooperation and coordination difficult at times. Given the rise of populism in the EU and the UK's historic vote to leave the EU, history's tide seems to be against the EU, and many internal external forces will continue to threaten its success unless European leaders act now to turn the tide in their favour.
