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JULY 2016

SPECIAL
ISSUE

The UK referendum

Dear Readers,

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

This is the second time that the UK has held a referendum on Europe. The first was in 1975, barely two years after accession. That time, 'yes' won with 67.2%.

On 23 June 2016, following an intense and passionate campaign, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. The Leave camp won by an overall result of 51.9%, although there were significant differences across the country. The referendum turnout was 71.8%, with over 33 million people voting.

This special issue on the UK referendum provides links to both the full text and a short abstract of all the papers published by major international think tanks between February and June 2016.

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

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FROM TTR ISSUE 33 - MARCH 2016

Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

A win-win situation? What to make of the EU-UK deal

by Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka

February 2016

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

After over three months of intense multilateral negotiations, an agreement on a new settlement for the UK within the EU was successfully concluded during the European Council in February 2016. The deal allowed the British government to deliver on its plans for a referendum on EU membership which took place in June 2016.

Centre for European Policy Studies

The EU deal to avoid Brexit: take it or leave

by Stefani Weiss [@WeissStefani](#) and Steven Blockmans

23 February 2016

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

The authors analyse the substance of the 'Decision of the Heads of State or Government, meeting within the European Council, concerning a New Settlement for the UK within the EU' reached at the European Council on 18-19 February 2016 and shed light on its legal character.

The final Brexit question: the known plan A to remain or the unknown plan B to leave

by Michael Emerson [@Michael1254O](#)

23 February 2016

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

The terms for the UK to remain in the EU were agreed during the European Council in February 2016. However, there was no known Plan B developed either by the British government or the secessionists. This paper therefore attempts to sketch three alternative Plan Bs, and to evaluate their qualities in relation to the Plan A.

Centre for European Reform

Brexit and EU regulation: a bonfire of the vanities?

by John Springford [@JohnSpringford](#)

February 2016

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

This paper assesses why regulations exist in the first place and the extent to which the EU has a legitimate interest in regulation; then it elaborates on the effects of EU regulation on British economic performance; and finally it considers whether the UK would escape all the regulatory costs attributed to membership if the country chose to leave the EU.

Bertelsmann Stiftung

The impact of Brexit - Views from the German and British business communities

by Thieß Petersen, Fritz Putzhammer and Ulrich Schoof

February 2016

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

Four out of five business leaders in the UK and Germany have clearly expressed their opposition to the idea that the UK should withdraw from the EU. In case of withdrawal, the business leaders

predict numerous negative effects for national labour markets as well as for revenues and investments within their own sectors and businesses.

Fondation Robert Schuman

E(M)U and the United Kingdom: one or several Europe(s)?

by Thierry Chopin, Claire Darmé and Sébastien Richard
15 February 2016

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

The question that the British were asked last June has the merit of being clear: "Do you think that the UK should stay in or leave the EU?" Faced with the euro sceptics in his own party as well as those of UKIP, on the right, David Cameron attempted to bring British public opinion around to choosing to stay in the EU, after renegotiating the UK's status with its partners.

LSE IDEAS

A European Union without the United Kingdom: the geopolitics of a British exit from the EU

by Tim Oliver
February 2016

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

This paper examines how likely a Brexit is and explores what it could mean for the EU, European integration, and Europe's economics and security.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

Brexit: strategic consequences for Europe - A scenario study

by Peter van Ham
12 February 2016

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

This report identifies and elaborates three different scenarios describing how Brexit might impact upon European security and defence, with a specific emphasis on the role of the EU. The report considers the three most probable scenarios. The report will adopt the Flexit option as its default scenario, assuming that once Brexit has become political reality, pragmatism will prevail over resentment.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

La interdependencia de la economía británica: una contribución al debate sobre Brexit

by Alfredo Arahetes and Federico Steinberg [@SteinbergF](#)
12 February 2016

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

This article analyses the interdependence of the British economy, both in terms of trade and direct investment to assess the economic justification of a hypothetical Brexit. It concludes that it is difficult to justify UK's departure from the EU based on economic arguments. The British economy has very close economic ties with other EU countries, which could be adversely affected in the event of that Brexit.

Los dilemas del Reino Unido y de la UE: ¿salir o cambiar la Unión?

by Araceli Mangas Martín

25 February 2016

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

The relationship between the EU and the UK has always been quite stormy. The UK joined late and reluctantly to the European project. Being an essential EU Member State, the UK has always tried to achieve special and privileged conditions, trying to force other European Member States to review the treaties according to the British interests. This has led to unique problems and sometimes other Member States have perceived him as a Trojan horse.

Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

The UK in the EU – Stay or leave? The balance sheet on energy and climate policy

by David Buchan and Malcolm Keay

February 2016

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

Energy and climate policy is scarcely the major issue in the UK's referendum on EU membership. This paper provides a brief overview of the main issues and arguments for the debate.

FROM TTR ISSUE 34 - APRIL 2016

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

'Brexit' is a challenge for the entire continent

by Stephen Booth

14 March 2016

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

The relationship with the EU is only one part of the post-Brexit story. A referendum result that saw the UK leave the EU, despite a vote to Remain in Scotland, would lead to demands for another Scottish independence vote that would be near impossible to resist. If Euroscepticism and national democracy are marginalised and confined to the political extremes, this will only further pit the EU elites against the insurgents, with potentially politically explosive consequences. While it would be tempting for the EU to regard a Remain vote as a relief, it would be naïve to think that the 'British issue' will have been resolved. Whatever a Remain vote will be, it will not be an enthusiastic endorsement of the EU.

Centre for European Policy Studies

Britain's future in Europe: the known plan A to remain or the unknown plan B to leave

by Michael Emerson (ed.) [@Michael12540](#)

4 March 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (225 p.)

The [first edition of this publication](#), issued in March 2015, laid the foundations for any objective assessment of the workings of the EU and the UK's place in it. This second edition adds a substantial new chapter following Prime Minister Cameron's agreement with the EU and announcement of the referendum. It reviews both the 'Plan A', namely the status quo for the UK in the EU as amended by the new agreement, and three variants of a 'Plan B' for secession. The authors therefore do the 'leave' camp's homework for them, setting out three Plan Bs more concretely and in more depth than the 'leave' camp have been able or wanted to do.

College of Europe

A new settlement for the UK: a "Leap in the Dark"

by Phedon Nicolaides, Roxana Nedelescu [@NedelescuRoxana](#), Joanna Hornik, Gibran Watfe [@GibranWatfe](#) and Gil Stein

1 March 2016

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

This paper examines the outcome of the negotiations for a new settlement concerning the UK's relationship with the EU. It reviews the nature and possible consequences of the 'substantial changes' that were demanded in the areas of economic governance, competitiveness, sovereignty, and immigration. The authors argue that the proposed arrangements do not amount to much and can prove harmful to the future of the EU.

Policy Network

Britain's special status in Europe: a comprehensive assessment of the UK-EU deal and its consequences

by Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#)

3 March 2016

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

Three years of 'renegotiation' of Britain's terms of membership of the EU culminated at the meeting of the European Council on 18-19 February 2016. A new settlement for the UK was drafted in the form of a set of arrangements covering sovereignty, economic governance, competitiveness and the mobility of EU citizens. The new 'special status' of the UK would become legally binding if and when the British people vote to remain in the EU at the referendum on 23 June. But what does the agreement entail, and how will it affect not only the ties that bind the UK to membership of the EU but also the future of the EU as a whole?

Istituto Affari Internazionali

Brexit or no Brexit? Political and institutional implications of an EU without the UK

by Funda Tekin

9 March 2016

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

This paper sets out to analyse the implications of different scenarios for Britain's European future both in institutional and political terms. The main argument is that one way or the other the UK will be inclined to give up on its full membership, and then the EU will have to find the best possible ways to accommodate.

Institute for European Environmental Policy

Implications of Brexit for UK Environmental Policy and Regulation - a report for APPG

by David Baldock, Andrew Farmer and Martin Nesbit

March 2016

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

There is an important environmental dimension to any decision by the UK to leave the EU. This paper for the UK All-Party Parliamentary Environment Group explores the options that might be pursued outside the EU and considers the potential impact on environmental and climate policy, which could be considerable. The UK response could vary under different scenarios for future relationships with the EU and there is also likely to be greater scope for variations in approach by the four constituent countries within the UK following Brexit.

Institute for Public Policy Research

Free movement and the EU referendum

by Marley Morris

24 March 2016

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

This paper seeks to inform the debate by setting out some of the key evidence on freedom of movement and exploring public attitudes to EU migration.

FROM TTR ISSUE 35 - MAY 2016

European Policy Centre

Britain and Europe: a new settlement?

by Graham Avery, Robert Cooper, Andrew Duff [@AndrewDuffEU](#), Peter Goldsmith, David Hannay, Kirsty Hughes, Quentin Peel, Fraser Cameron, Brendan Donnelly, David Edward, Heather Grabbe, Malcolm Harbour, Caroline Lucas and Stephen Wall

28 April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (94 p.)

This publication draws on past experience to make the case for more positive British engagement with the EU. Contributions from fourteen prominent Britons who have extensive first-hand experience of the EU institutions provide important insights into events which have shaped – and still shape – our Union.

Institute of Economic Affairs

Breaking up is hard to do: Britain and Europe's dysfunctional relationship

by Patrick Minford and J.R Shackleton (eds.)

18 April 2016

Link to the publication in [English](#) (350 p.)

The authors of this book were asked - in the context of the Brexit discussion - to examine a particular policy field and determine, from an economic or political economy point of view, what the appropriate role of international institutions should be. They were then asked to relate this to the reality that exists under the status quo or that might exist if Brexit occurred. In doing this, the volume has three objectives. First, it provides an analysis of the role that international institutions should play in the economic life of a free society. Second, the authors implicitly lay out what a renegotiation agenda ought to look like if a country (whether Britain or not) wishes to reform the EU in a liberal direction, now or at some future time. Third, the authors provide a framework within which the practical options of remaining with a reformed EU and Brexit can be analysed.

Fabian Society / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

Argument or organisation? The battle over membership of the European Union

by Olivia Bailey [@livbailey](#)

3 April 2016

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

This report presents the main findings and conclusions from a poll which explored attitudes and arguments about the referendum campaign. It reveals that the race is on a knife-edge.

Centre for European Reform

The economic consequences of leaving the EU: the final report of the CER commission on Brexit 2016

by John Springford [@JohnSpringford](#), Simon Tilford [@SimonTilford](#), Christian Odendahl [@COdendahl](#), Philip McCann and Philip Whyte

April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (122 p.)

In 2013, after David Cameron's announcement, the Centre for European Reform invited leading economists, journalists, business people and EU experts to form a commission to discuss the economic consequences of withdrawal from the EU. This report is an update of the commission's final report, which includes further evidence about the degree of economic integration between Britain and the rest of the EU; the changes in the relationship between the UK's financial sector and the eurozone; and the impact of immigration from the EU on British wages and employment.

Europe after Brexit: unleashed or undone?

by Ian Bond [@CER_IanBond](#), Sophia Besch, Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska, Rem Korteweg [@CER_Korteweg](#), Camino Mortera-Martinez [@CaminoMortera](#) and Simon Tilford [@SimonTilford](#)

April 2016

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

This paper presents an analysis of the impact on the Union (as well as on Britain) in case the UK votes to leave the EU.

Istituto Affari Internazionali / Osservatorio di politica internazionale

L'accordo sui nuovi rapporti fra Regno Unito ed Unione europea. Contenuto ed implicazioni

by Ettore Greco

22 April 2016

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

This note describes the main elements of what was agreed in the decision concerning a 'New Settlement for the UK within the EU' reached at the European Council on 18-19 February 2016, focusing on the new provisions and mechanisms laid down by the agreement and their major implications for relations with the UK and, more generally, for future arrangements in the EU.

LUISS School of European Political Economy

Brexit is an underrated risk

by Carlo Bastasin

13 April 2016

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

In this article the author briefly summarizes the standard background information on Brexit, reflects on the composition of the Brexit positions in the political and public debate, and considers the consequences of a leave.

LUISS School of European Political Economy / London School of Economics and Political Science

Beyond pride and prejudice: the impact of Brexit on the rest of the EU

by Lorenzo Codogno

8 April 2016

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

This report assesses the impact of a possible Brexit on the rest of the EU. It concludes that it is not obvious if the EU would lose or gain from Brexit. In theory, judging from trade and investment flows, Brexit should have less of a negative impact on the rest of EU than the UK. Some service sector businesses could potentially be relocated to the EU, and the area could divert foreign direct investment from the UK. However, financial market volatility, uncertainty, and loss of confidence in the EU project could pose an immediate and severe risk.

Institute of International and European Affairs

What's in a phrase? The United Kingdom and ever closer union

by Tony Brown

14 April 2016

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

The phrase "ever closer union" has become a pivotal part of the British Eurosceptic argument against the UK's continued membership of the EU. But the phrase, as expressed in the Treaties, is by its nature ambiguous and open to interpretation: for some, it is critical to an understanding of the nature of European integration; for others, little more than a 'straw man'. In this paper the author examines the origins and development of "ever closer union", from the post-war period to the present day.

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

Brexit – The economic impact: a meta-analysis

by Berthold Busch and Jürgen Matthes

13 April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (95 p.)

Numerous studies have investigated the possible impact of a withdrawal of the UK from the EU. However, these were based on different methods and assumptions (as well as probably different intentions), and the authors come to rather different conclusions. Therefore, the implications of leaving the EU are also an important topic for economic researchers in order to find out what the true ramifications might be. Against this background, this report is intended to give an understandable overview of existing studies and provide a classification and a basic evaluation for the general public.

The Bruges Group

Emergency exit : a look at what can be once we are free

by Marcus Watney

April 2016

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

This paper builds on Exit Strategy and looks at practical campaigning issues. It is divided into four sections. The first looks at EU issues from the eurosceptic perspective, and the second examines transition arrangements. The third looks at the EU through the eyes of europhiles while the fourth examines the international situation.

Adam Smith Institute

Stuck in the middle with EU: how global regulators are killing the value of EU membership

by Roland Smith [@WhiteWednesday](#)

25 April 2016

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

An increasing number of EU regulations are made at the global level and not by the EU bureaucracy, which mainly performs a 'wholesaler' role, enforcing rules without creating them anew. The UK often does not have a full voice at the global level because of the EU's need for a 'common position'. In the modern world, trading is increasingly organised at the global level. It involves bodies ranging from private sector rule-making organisations such as the International Organisation for Standardisation, to various quasi-governmental institutions under the UN and the WTO. This has had a growing effect on the logic (or lack of it) for remaining in the EU and it also informs the debate on what Out looks like.

FROM TTR ISSUE 36 - JUNE 2016

Pew Research Center

Euroscepticism beyond Brexit: significant opposition in key European countries to an ever closer EU

by Bruce Stokes

7 June 2016

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

Euroscepticism is on the rise across Europe and that about two-thirds of both the British and the Greeks, along with significant minorities in other key nations, want some powers returned from Brussels to national governments. Whether favourable or not toward Brussels, most Europeans agree that a British exit would harm all the 28 EU member states.

Institute for Fiscal Studies

Brexit and the UK's public finances

by Carl Emmerson, Paul Johnson [@PJTheEconomist](#), Ian Mitchell and David Phillips

May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (80 p.)

If the result of the referendum on 23 June leads to the UK leaving the EU, it is inevitable that there will be an impact on the public finances of the UK. This report aims to explain the possible impact, focusing particularly on the short-term, given that the Chancellor wishes to achieve a budget balance by the end of this parliament. The authors also look at possible long-term consequences.

İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi (Istanbul Policy Center)

To where is Britain running? The real need for the Brexit referendum

by Bahri Yilmaz and Morgan Palmer

May 2016

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

The authors argue that although the aim of Euroscepticism is to bring control back to Britain in order to make the country stronger, it could very well lead to a separation of the nation states comprising the UK, and ultimately leave the UK in a much weaker position. Thus, while the referendum is meant to be about UK-EU relations and the battle between Euroscepticism and those who are pro-Europe, it could very well end up as an assessment of the nature of the UK itself.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Good bye Britain? Hintergrundanalyse zum EU-Referendum in Großbritannien

by Hans-Hartwig Blomeier and Olaf Wientzek

12 May 2016

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

This paper analyses the future of Britain's relationship with the EU, and the future of the EU itself, if Britain leaves the EU.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

The UK's foreign and security policy: what's at stake in the referendum?

by Richard Whitman

18 May 2016

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

Foreign and security policy was not an area in which Prime Minister Cameron sought to alter the relationship between the UK and the EU when renegotiating the terms of Britain's membership. However, security has become a key theme in the referendum debate and this policy brief considers the questions and answers raised on both sides of the debate.

European Council on Foreign Relations

One hundred years of British solitude: magical thinking about Brexit and security

by Susi Dennison [@sd270](#), Mark Leonard [@markleonard](#) and Nick Witney

16 May 2016

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

A British exit from the EU would make it harder to fight crime and terrorism, reduce Britain's ability to lead and influence its partners, and weaken NATO – putting future generations of Britons at risk, according to this paper from the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). After recent warnings from David Cameron and former NATO chiefs that "Brexit" would make Britain less secure, ECFR draws on interviews with top ex-security officials, regional experts, and five years of data on European foreign policy to weigh the arguments on each side. This article finds that, as the US steps back from its role as global police officer and the world splits into rival power centres, Britain will need its allies in Europe more than ever.

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

Zwischen den Welten : Großbritannien als Partner für Deutschland in Europa nach dem EU-Referendum

by Nicolai von Ondarza [@NvOndarza](#)

11 May 2016

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

If Britain leaves, there are going to be many years of negotiations ahead so that the UK can access the EU internal market. In such a case, the EU and Germany should specify the conditions that a large country which is not an EU member can be integrated into the European architecture.

Centraal Planbureau (CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis)

Brexit costs for the Netherlands arise from reduced trade

by Johannes Bollen, Gerdien Meijerink @Meyerink and Hugo Rojas-Romagosa

June 2016

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

This is a study focusing on the cost of Brexit on the Netherlands. If the UK withdraws from the EU, it will affect the Netherlands more severely than other EU countries because of the strong trade relations between the Netherlands and the UK. A reduction in trade could amount to a GDP loss for the Netherlands of 1.2%, or 10 billion euros, by 2030. Less trade may also induce less innovation, which could amplify the GDP loss of 10 billion euros by another 65%.

The Bruges Group

Brexit and free trade : would a post-Brexit UK be better able to sign free trade agreements with the rest of the world?

by Sam Winders

9 May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (21 p.)

This report investigates whether the UK would be better able to sign trade agreements with countries outside of Europe if they are outside of the EU. A key component of this question is whether a larger domestic market confers a significant advantage when concluding trade negotiations.

Migration Policy Institute

Engaging the anxious middle on immigration reform: evidence from the UK debate

by Sunder Katwala @sundersays and Will Somerville @will_somerville

10 May 2016

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

The UK is often presented as having particularly hostile attitudes toward immigration compared to other countries. However, the authors of this report make the case that polls reveal far more nuanced public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants than commonly depicted in the media and political discourse. Though there are substantial minorities of strong opinion for and against immigration, most people fall into the "anxious middle". They are sceptical about the government's handling of immigration and worried about the effects of immigration on society and the economy, but are not hostile toward immigrants themselves, especially skilled ones who can contribute to the economy.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Brexit: the politics of a bad idea

by David Gow and Henning Meyer (eds.)

May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (57 p.)

The editors have brought together the key arguments developed by some leading thinkers from within and without the UK to show why Brexit is a bad political idea.

Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs

UK unplugged? The impacts of Brexit on energy and climate policy

by Antony Froggatt, Thomas Raines [@TomHRaines](#) and Shane Tomlinson

May 2016

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

If, at the June 2016 referendum, the UK votes to leave the EU, energy and climate policy will be part of the overall package of issues to be negotiated, as it is unlikely that each sector will be treated separately. The model of relations for energy and climate may well be determined by political and public sentiment on higher-profile issues such as freedom of movement, rather than by what is best for the UK in these policy areas. This paper reviews the risks and trade-offs associated with five possible options for a post-exit relationship.

Britain, the EU and the sovereignty myth

by Robin Niblett [@RobinNiblett](#)

May 2016

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

This paper seeks to contribute to the Brexit debate by asking, first, what does sovereignty mean in today's world? Second, how have successive UK governments sought to balance the desire to retain sovereign power wherever possible with the need to pool that power on occasion within the EU in order to improve the country's security and prosperity? Third, how has the UK fared under this balance? And, fourth, where might the UK stand after the referendum? Would leaving the EU in order to reassert sovereign control strengthen British prosperity and security? Would remaining help or hinder Britain in achieving its national objectives?

Institute of International and European Affairs

Brexit: what happens next?

by Gavin Barrett [@GMBGMDB](#)

May 2016

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

In the event of a Leave vote in the referendum, what will happen next is unclear. [Article 50](#), introduced into the Treaty on EU by the Treaty of Lisbon, sets out a withdrawal mechanism for a state that wishes to end its membership of the EU, but the Article's five short paragraphs raise almost as many questions as they answer. In this publication, the author presents some observations on the EU withdrawal process described in Article 50.

Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Relacje Unia Europejska – Wielka Brytania po ewentualnym Brexicie. Stanowiska Niemiec, Francji, Włoch, Hiszpanii i Polski

by Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka, Elżbieta Kaca, Sebastian Płóciennik [@SebPloc](#) and Patryk Toporowski [@pattoporowski](#)

May 2016

Link to the article in [Polish](#) (64 p.)

Any new form of relationship will be the result of painstaking negotiations, and it will depend on the economic and political interests of the Member States, especially the largest - Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Poland. The smaller Member States will join the coalitions built on the solutions favoured by these big countries. This report shows the possible preferences of the largest states regarding future relations with Britain and predicts what solutions are most likely to occur.

CIVITAS - Institute for the Study of Civil Society

Economical with the truth. A review of HM treasury analysis: the long-term economic impact of EU membership and the alternatives

by Michael Burrage

May 2016

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

In this report, the author questions the assumptions underpinning HM Treasury analysis: the long-term economic impact of EU membership and the alternatives and finds that they ignore much of the published evidence about trade growth over recent decades.

The eurosceptic's handbook. 50 live issues in the Brexit debate

by Michael Burrage

May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (326 p.)

The polls showed that the British people were fairly evenly split between those who would stay and those who would leave – and very few would give the present arrangement a ringing endorsement. The eurosceptic's handbook tries arm those with doubts about the EU with the counter-arguments they need to make an objective judgement.

Adam Smith Institute

Evolution not revolution: the case for the EEA option

by Ben Southwood [@bswud](#)

3 May 2016

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

This paper contends that the UK should leave the EU and that the best exit route is to step back into a position in the European Economic Area (EEA) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), thereby wholly maintaining the open trading arrangements of the single market and related economic integration. This EEA option allows the public to judge 'what out looks like' and simultaneously reassures them that disruption will be minimal. Once out, the dynamics of the move would prompt a recalibration of the EEA agreement and indeed the political map of Europe such that other liberal, trade-oriented EU nations would join the UK, leaving the Eurozone to politically integrate.

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Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

Plan B after Brexit: what Britain can expect negotiating a Swiss-type arrangement with the EU

by Jacqueline Breidlid and Cenni Najy

June 2016

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

This paper examines the central claims made by those who see Switzerland as a model for the UK's future relationship with the EU and argues that the Swiss model is no Holy Grail for the UK.

European Council on Foreign Relations

Brits abroad: how Brexit could hurt expats

by Susi Dennison [@sd270](#) and Dina Pardijs [@PardijsDJ](#)

June 2016

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

A British exit from the EU could jeopardise the jobs, homes, and healthcare of the 1.2 million Brits living in Europe, according to this research. After a Brexit, the UK would have two options. One is to join Iceland and Norway in the European Economic Area, or Switzerland in the European Free Trade Area, but the price would be continuing to follow current EU rules on freedom of movement. The other option is for London to negotiate separate deals with each of the 27 member states on the jobs, homes, and healthcare of its citizens abroad. This report looks at what would be up for negotiation in these talks.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

The Brexit scenarios: towards a new UK-EU relationship

by Pol Morillas [@polmorillas](#) (ed.)

June 2016

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

This publication presents three scenarios based on whether the UK will stay in the EU ("Bremain"), whether it will leave the EU following some form of agreement ("soft Brexit") or whether it leaves it abruptly ("harsh Brexit"). The authors cover the economic, political, social and geopolitical effects of each scenario, attempting to devise the new UK-EU relationship in case these scenarios materialise. They pay particular attention to the political dynamics in the EU following the Brexit referendum and the effects on the European project, as well as on the future of the UK.

Royal United Services Institute

Would a new SDSR (Strategic Defence and Security Review) be needed after a Brexit vote?

by Malcolm Chalmers [@MChalmers_RUSI](#)

June 2016

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

According to the author, a UK decision to leave the EU would be as significant a shift in national strategy as the country's decision in the late 1960s to withdraw from bases East of Suez. In these circumstances, it would be appropriate for the government to conduct a new Strategic Defense and Security Review (SDSR), despite the fact that the last such Review was only completed in November 2015.

Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin

What should happen? What is likely to happen? Notes on Brexit

by Henrik Enderlein [@henrikenderlein](#)

30 June 2016

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

The Brexit vote is the answer to a simple question: together or alone. Britain has decided to go alone. Britain believes it is better to confront current and future policy challenges with the tools of an independent nation state. In that sense, the referendum's key message is more about the UK than about the EU.

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques

Après le "Brexit" : quelle stratégie de défense pour l'Union européenne ?

by Olivier de France [@olivierdefrance](#), Jean-Pierre Maulny [@jpmaulny](#), Dorota Richard and Thibaud Harrois [@ThibaudHarrois](#)

June 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (43 p.)

Despite the tools that the Lisbon Treaty was putting at its disposal in 2009, Europe still responds to today's crises in a more reactive than proactive way, and more dispersed than consistent. The new crisis caused by the British vote of 23 June could further reinforce this trend.

İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi (Istanbul Policy Center)

Brexit: what, why and how?

by Senem Aydın-Düzgüt [@SenemAydndzgit](#)

June 2016

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

This paper presents a summary of the discussions related to UK's EU referendum.

Institut Montaigne

Bremain or Brexit: Europe, build your future!

June 2016

Link to the summary in [French](#) (2 p.) and to the policy paper in [English](#) (52 p.) and in [French](#) (56 p.)

Irrespective of the result of the 23 June referendum and of whether the British decide to stay or leave, Europe must affront these overlooked aspects; it must give back meaning to its integration project and re-invent itself so that the European project, which has produced an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity in the history of our continent, can still be a reality tomorrow.

Institute of Economic Affairs

No need to queue: the benefits of free trade without trade agreements

by Patrick Minford

7 June 2016

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

It is widely believed that trade agreements are necessary to enable the UK to prosper in world markets. In reality, unilateral free trade is possible and offers many benefits. According to this paper, the UK's exports of services to the EU owe little to the Single Market as national barriers to trade in services still dominate in Europe.

Making the pieces fit: reforming Britain's relationship with the EU

by Philip Booth and Ryan Bourne [@MrRBourne](#)

22 June 2016

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

It will probably take a long time for Britain to disentangle itself from the EU or at least EU policy. Moving towards a more classical liberal Britain is therefore a long-term endeavour. It seems likely in the event of a Brexit that the government and civil service will push for the UK to join the European Economic Area (EEA). This brings with a repatriation of some powers, but does not fully restore control across a range of economic areas. To realise the true gains from Brexit, the EEA must, in these circumstances, be very much a transitional arrangement.

Külügyi és Külgazdasági Intézet (Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Does the Brexit issue highlight the EU's fault lines? Ever-closer Union vs. multi-speed Europe

by Zsuzsanna Csornai

23 June 2016

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

The issue of Brexit has been a hot topic over the past couple of months, and rightly so: the outcome of the referendum has fundamental implications for the future of the Union. Most analyses tend to concentrate on the potential economic, political, and social consequences of a possible British vote to leave the EU. This study, however, aims to assess Brexit from the perspective of the ongoing crises and dilemmas currently facing the EU.

Institute of International and European Affairs

Brexit: remain - The new reality?

by Tony Brown

3 June 2016

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

In the debate on the EU referendum, attention was largely devoted to the prospect of the UK leaving the Union and to the implications of such a development. Less time has been given to discussion of the other potential outcome – a decision to 'Remain' in the EU. This paper discusses the implications of a Remain vote.

LSE IDEAS

Brexit: what happens next?

by Tim Oliver [@timothyloliver](#)

June 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

A British withdrawal from the EU would be a process not an event. This paper sets out the nine overlapping series of negotiations that would be triggered and the positions the 27 remaining EU countries and the EU's institutions would take, gathered from a network of researchers across the continent.

Terra nova

Après le Brexit : quel destin pour l'Union et pour Paris ?

by Abdeldjellil Bouzidi [@Djellil_11](#)

June 2016

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

The British have expressed themselves for quitting the EU. Europeans will measure its effects in the coming months. For now, a window of opportunity opens with the Brexit to rethink the place of Paris in the European and global finance. If action is not taken quickly, the capitals of the Eurozone will be opposed one to each other and a risk of fragmentation of financial activities would permanently weaken our position, which is already quite degraded.

Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Hanns Seidel Foundation)

"Splendid Isolation" im 21. Jahrhundert? Historische Hintergründe des Brexit

by Reinhard Meier-Walser

29 June 2016

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

This article presents a historical analysis on the UK's referendum on the EU.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

¿Brexit? Escenarios internacionales y Gibraltar

by Araceli Mangas Martín

17 June 2016

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

Following the agreement reached at the European Council of 18 and 19 February 2016, this papers reflects on possible international scenarios in case of withdrawal, including regarding Gibraltar.

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

Reino Unido y la Unión europea tras el 23-J: ¿la conllevancia como única opción?

by Alfredo Crespo Alcázar

24 June 2016

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

"Vote Leave (take control)" has defeated "Britain Stronger in Europe". With a share of 72.16%, the Brexit (52 vs. 48%) has successfully completed a debate that has spread over the past decades in the UK, but it can not be said to have concluded. A period of political, economic and social uncertainty has started in Europe.

Fondation Robert Schuman

43 years after their accession Britons decide to leave the European Union

by Corinne Deloy

27 June 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (3 p.) and in [French](#) (4 p.)

On 23 June the UK decided to leave the EU. To the question they were asked (Should the UK remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?) a majority of voters (51.9%) answered "leave" whilst 48.1% voted to remain.
