



## BRIEFING PAPER

Number CBP 7989 | 12 September 2017

# Brexit reading list: negotiations and future relations

Compiled by:  
Tim Robinson

### Contents:

1. Exit negotiations
2. UK's future relations with the EU
3. Impact of Brexit on the rest of the EU



# Contents

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Summary</b>                                   | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>1. Exit negotiations</b>                      | <b>4</b>  |
| 1.1 Dispute resolution                           | 4         |
| 1.2 Northern Ireland                             | 4         |
| 1.3 Citizens' rights                             | 5         |
| 1.4 General                                      | 5         |
| <b>2. UK's future relations with the EU</b>      | <b>10</b> |
| <b>3. Impact of Brexit on the rest of the EU</b> | <b>12</b> |

## Summary

In the referendum on 23 June 2016, a majority of the UK electorate voted to leave the EU.

UK withdrawal from the EU – usually described as ‘Brexit’ – has been the subject of a great deal of comment in books, journal articles, press reports and blogs.

This paper provides links to a selection of analysis and comment on:

- how the UK Government and Parliament deal with EU legislation
- the impact of Brexit on the rest of the EU
- the UK’s future relations with the EU

This paper will be updated periodically.

# 1. Exit negotiations

## 1.1 Dispute resolution

[Britain cannot escape the long arm of European law](#), The Economist, 26 August 2017

Tobias Lock, [Dispute Resolution after Brexit](#), Verfassungsblog, 24 August 2017

[Leaving Luxembourg – The UK’s Position on Enforcement and Dispute-Resolution after Brexit](#), Brexittime, 23 August 2017

Stephen Booth, [Is there a basis for UK-EU compromise on enforcement and dispute settlement and the role of the ECJ?](#) Open Europe, 23 August 2017

Piet Eeckhout, [Brexit and the ECJ red line](#), London-Brussels one-way or return, 23 August 2017

[Enforcement and dispute resolution](#), Department for Exiting the European Union, 23 August 2017

Raphael Hogarth, [How to answer Lord Neuberger’s call for clarity on the ECJ](#), Institute for Government, 10 August 2017

Raphael Hogarth, [Is the Government hamstrung by its position on the ECJ?](#) Institute for Government, 10 July 2017

[Position paper transmitted to EU27 on Governance](#), European Commission, 29 June 2017

Raphael Hogarth, [Brexit and the European Court of Justice](#), Institute for Government, June 2017

## 1.2 Northern Ireland

Dagmar Schiek, [The UK government’s position paper on Northern Ireland after Brexit – some initial thoughts](#), EU Law Analysis, 22 August 2017

John Garry, [Northern Ireland’s Brexit border: the promise of invisibility](#), The UK in a Changing Europe, 18 August 2017

Etain Tannam, [The UK position paper on Northern Ireland and Ireland is both conciliatory and vague](#), London School of Economics Brexit Blog, 17 August 2017

[Northern Ireland and Ireland - position paper](#), Northern Ireland Office and Department for Exiting the European Union, 16 August 2017

Dick Roche, [Is the Irish border question really ‘intractable’?](#) Euractiv, 14 August 2017

Edward Burke, [Brexit and the threat to Northern Ireland](#), Centre for European Reform, 20 July 2017

Katy Hayward, Maurice Campbell and Rob Murphy, [The Irish border as a customs frontier after Brexit](#), Centre for European Policy Studies, 11 July 2017

[Brexit Negotiations: The Irish border question](#), House of Commons Library CBP-8042, 17 July 2017

## 1.3 Citizens' rights

Anthony Salamone, [Free Movement is Not a Problem to be Solved](#), Scottish Centre on European Relations, 21 July 2017

[Joint technical note on EU-UK positions on citizens' rights after second round of negotiations](#), European Commission, 20 July 2017

Christopher McCrudden, [An early deal-breaker? EU citizens' rights in the UK after Brexit, and the future role of the European Court of Justice](#), UK Constitutional Law Association, 27 June 2017

[Safeguarding the position of EU citizens in the UK and UK nationals in the EU](#), Home Office, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, UK Visas and Immigration, Department for Exiting the European Union, and Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 26 June 2017

Gunnar Beck, [EU citizens' rights after Brexit: The EU's extravagant demands for extra-territorial jurisdiction by the CJEU and reverse discrimination](#), Policy Exchange, 18 June 2017

[Position paper transmitted to the UK: essential principles on citizens' rights](#), European Commission, 12 June 2017

Martin Howe, Francis Hoar and Gunnar Beck, [Rights of EU Citizens in the UK after Brexit: A fair settlement - or a privileged caste with superior rights enforced by a foreign court?](#) Lawyers for Britain, 6 June 2017

## 1.4 General

[Brexit: the August negotiations](#), House of Commons Library CBP- 8082, 6 September 2017

Andrew Duff, [Brexit: Dealing with withdrawal symptoms](#), European Policy Centre, 5 September 2017

[Leaving the European Union: Reporting to Parliament on the Progress of Negotiations](#), Lords Library notes LLN-2017-0055, 29 August 2017

Brendan Donnelly, [The Brexit transition deal debate: an exercise in futility](#), Federal Trust, 15 August 2017

Simon Usherwood, [A tentative model of the EU27's approach to Brexit](#), Politics at Surry, 3 August 2017

[Brexit: the July negotiations](#), House of Commons Library CBP-8068, 2 August 2017

Robin Niblett, [Preparing for the UK's Brexit Negotiation](#), Chatham House, August & September 2017

[Brexit: the exit bill](#), House of Commons Library CBP- 8039, 31 July 2017

Fabian Zuleeg, [Reality bites: the Brexit negotiations seen from the other side of the Channel](#), European Policy Centre, 24 July 2017

Simon Usherwood, [Why you should read the negotiating manual](#), Politics at Surrey, 13 July 2017

## 6 Brexit reading list: negotiations and future relations

Brendan Donnelly, [No good choices for the British government in the Brexit negotiations](#), Federal Trust, 20 July 2017

[Brexit: the talks begin](#), House of Commons Library CBP- 8017, 12 July 2017

Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska, [Brexit maze: The role of EU institutions in the negotiations](#), Centre for European Reform, 5 July 2017

Fabian Zuleeg, [Reality bites: The Brexit negotiations seen from the other side of the Channel](#), European Policy Centre, 24 July 2017

Marley Morris, [Brexit withdrawal negotiations: The six crisis moments](#), Institute for Public Policy Research, 19 June 2017

Steve Bullock, [To this former EU negotiator, the UK's chance of a good Brexit deal looks slim](#), The UK in a Changing Europe, 23 June 2017

[Brexit: red lines and starting principles](#), House of Commons Library CBP-7938, 22 June 2017

Andrew Duff, [Brexit: time for Plan B](#), European Policy Centre, 30 May 2017

Steve Peers, [Guide to the Brexit negotiations](#), EU Law Analysis, 4 April 2017

Richard A. Epstein, [Brussels Gets Brexit Wrong—Again](#), Hoover Institute, 10 April 2017

Katinka Barysch, [For Germany, Brexit is more about Politics than Business](#), Chatham House, 5 April 2017

[The Government's negotiating objectives: the White Paper](#), Third Report of Session 2016–17, Exiting the European Union Committee, HC 1125, 4 April 2017

[Negotiations with the United Kingdom following its notification that it intends to withdraw from the European Union](#), European Parliament (Text adopted), 5 April 2017

Vaughne Miller, [Brexit: what happens now?](#) House of Commons Library Blog, 29 March 2017

Uta Staiger, [Brexit negotiations: what does Europe want?](#) The Conversation, 29 March 2017

Bronwen Maddox, [Triggering Article 50](#), Institute for Government, 29 March 2017

Fabian Zuleeg, [No deal is the worst deal yet Brexifast is still in the cards](#), European Policy Centre, 29 March 2017

Robin Niblett, [Article 50 and the Great Repeal Bill are only the beginning](#), Chatham House, 29 March 2017

Reginald Dale, [The EU Now Controls the Brexit Talks](#), Atlantic Council, 29 March 2017

[Prime Minister's letter to Donald Tusk triggering Article 50](#), Department for Exiting the European Union and The Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, 29 March 2017

Jesus Carmona Nunez, Carmen-Cristina Cirlig and Gianluca Sgueo, [UK withdrawal from the European Union: legal and procedural issues](#), European Parliamentary Research Service, 27 March 2017

Andrew Duff, [Brexit: how to manage the talks and the transition](#), European policy centre, 27 March 2017

[European Union \(Notification of Withdrawal\) Act 2017 and Parliamentary Approval of the Outcome of Brexit Negotiations](#), Lords in Focus LIF-2017-0027, 27 March 2017



[European Union \(Notification of Withdrawal\) Act 2017 and the Rights of EU Nationals](#), Lords in Focus LIF-2017-0026, 22 March 2017

[The process for exiting the European Union and the Government's negotiating objectives: Government Response to the Committee's First Report](#), First Special Report of Session 2016–17, Exiting the European Union Committee, HC 1101, 17 March 2017

[Brexit and a Multi-speed Europe: a Lawyer's Perspective](#), Bertelsmann Stiftung, 16 March 2017

Fondation Robert Schuman, [Organising Brexit](#), 14 March 2017

[Article 50 negotiations: Implications of 'no deal'](#), Ninth Report of Session 2016–17, Foreign Affairs Committee, HC 1077, 12 March 2017

[The Government's negotiating objectives: the rights of UK and EU citizens](#), Second Report of Session 2016–17, Exiting the European Union Committee, HC 1071, 5 March 2017

Nicolai von Ondarza and Julia Becker, [Negotiating with a Dis-United Kingdom](#), March 2017

Andrew Hammond and Tim Oliver, [The 14 Brexit negotiations](#), LSE Ideas, March 2017

Sinan Ülgen, [Negotiating Brexit: The prospect of a U.K.-Turkey partnership](#), Brookings Institute, March 2017

Charles Grant, [The Brexit negotiations: An assessment of the legal, political and institutional situation in the UK](#), Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, European Parliament, March 2017

Pavlos Eleftheriadis, [How to Make a Transitional Brexit Arrangement](#), Oxford University Law Blog, 15 February 2017

Peter Kellner, [Brexit, a Game of Deal or No Deal](#), Carnegie Europe, 6 February 2017

Karel Lannoo, [A well-managed Brexit is a priority for the entire EU](#), Centre for European Policy Studies, 3 February 2017

Charles Grant, [Mrs May's emerging deal on Brexit: not just hard, but also difficult](#), Centre for European Reform, February 2017

Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska, [Parliamentarians in Brexit talks: Bulls in a china shop?](#) Centre for European Reform, February 2017

Alex Barker, [The €60 billion Brexit bill: How to disentangle Britain from the EU budget](#), Centre for European Reform, February 2017

Charlie Cooper, [How Britain will negotiate Brexit](#), Politico, 1 February 2017

Dr Alan Renwick, [The Process of Brexit: What Comes Next?](#) UCL European Institute, 3 February 2017

Valentin Kreiling, Sophia Becker and Laura Maria Wolfstädter, [Brexit: Negotiation phases and scenarios of a drama in three acts](#), Jacques Delors Institut, 25 January 2017

## 8 Brexit reading list: negotiations and future relations

[The process for exiting the European Union and the Government's negotiating objectives](#), First Report of Session 2016–17, Exiting the European Union Committee, HC 815, 14 January 2017

Berthold Busch et al, [Brexit and Europe's Future – a Game Theoretical Approach](#), IW policy paper No. 18/2016, Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln, 22 December 2016

Charles Cooper, [UK caught out by Michel Barnier's tighter Brexit timetable](#), Politico, 6 December 2016

[Legal Brexit](#), Slaughter and May, 1 November 2016

[Brexit and Beyond: how the United Kingdom might leave the European Union](#), The UK in a Changing Europe, November 2016

Kenneth Armstrong, [On your marks, get set LEAVE! The technical challenge of the Great Repeal Bill](#), LSE Blog, 7 October 2016

Andrew Tyrie, [Giving meaning to Brexit](#), Open Europe, September 2016

[A Brexit Act in 19¾ pages](#), Allen & Overy LLP, 30 August 2016

Hugo Flavier and Sébastien Platon, [Brexit: a tale of two agreements?](#) European Law blog, 30 August 2016

Robin Niblett, [Preparing for the UK's Brexit Negotiation](#), RIIA, 5 August 2016

Raoul Ruparel, [What will actually be negotiated once Article 50 is triggered?](#) Open Europe, 13 July 2016

Patrick Wintour, [Brexit could take up to six years to complete, says Philip Hammond](#), Guardian, 12 July 2016

Tara Palmeri, [Brexit roadmap: A guide to what happens next](#), Politico, 4 July 2016

Alex Barker, [What a British divorce from the EU would look like](#), Financial Times, 28 June 2016

[Brexit: Germany rules out informal negotiations](#), BBC News, 27 June 2016

Akash Paun, [Brexit consequential: why the UK must involve the devolved governments in the process of leaving the EU](#), Institute for Government, 24 June 2016

[The UK has voted to leave the EU: What now?](#) Latham & Watkins, 24 June 2016

Jonathan Eyal, [Negotiating Britain's EU departure: from tears to hard-headed calculations](#), RUSI, 24 June 2016

Matt Ross, [Brexit will be 'largest legal, legislative and bureaucratic project in British history', says former UK Treasury Solicitor](#), Global Government Forum, 24 June 2016

Raoul Ruparel, [Leaving the EU: what comes next for the UK?](#) Open Europe, June 2016



HM Government, [The process for withdrawing from the European Union](#), HM Government, February 2016

European Parliament, [Article 50 TEU: Withdrawal of a Member State from the EU](#), European Parliament, February 2016

Jean-Claude Piris, [If the UK voted to leave: The seven alternatives to EU membership](#), Centre for European Reform, January 2016

## 2. UK's future relations with the EU

[EU Agencies and post-Brexit options](#), House of Commons Library CBP-7957, 28 April 2017

Judy Dempsey, [Germany after Brexit](#), Carnegie Europe, 30 March 2017

Sophia Besch and Christian Odendahl, [Berlin to the rescue: a closer look at Germany's position on Brexit](#), March 2017

Andrew Duff, [Britain and Europe: A new entente](#), Policy Network, 23 February 2017

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, [Will Brexit revive the Franco-German engine?](#) European Policy Centre, 26 January 2017

[Brexit and the European Union: General legal and constitutional considerations](#), European Union Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO), January 2017

Robin Niblett, [Europe is now Britain's essential relationship](#), Chatham House, December/January 2016/17

Jürgen Matthes and Berthold Busch, [What next after Brexit? Considerations regarding the future relationship between the EU and the UK](#), IW policy paper No. 16/2016, Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln, 12 December 2016

Simon Fraser, [Can the UK Retain Global Influence After Brexit? Policies and Structures for a New Era](#), RUSI, 30 November 2016

[Leaving the European Union: Future UK-EU Relationship](#), Lords Library Note 0063, 25 November 2016

Philip Allott, [Fundamental Legal Aspects of UK Withdrawal from the EU: Eight Stages on the Way to a New Relationship](#), UK Constitutional Law Association, 9 November 2016

[Change, or go: How Britain would gain influence and prosper outside an unreformed EU](#), Business for Britain, November 2016

EU Council, [Letter from President Donald Tusk before the Bratislava summit](#), 13 September 2016

Hylke Dijkstra, [UK and EU Foreign Policy Cooperation after Brexit](#), RUSI, September 2016

[Brexit Brief: 10 things to know about the World Trade Organization \(WTO\)](#), Institute for Government, 5 September 2016

Quentin Peel, [Britain's new global role after Brexit](#), The World Today, RIIA, August/September 2016

Ian Bremmer, [Surviving Brexit](#), The World Today, RIIA, Aug/Sept 2016

Robyn Munro, Dr Hannah White, [Brexit Brief: Options for the UK's future trade relationship with the EU](#), Institute for Government, 4 August 2016

Thierry Chopin, Jean-François Jamet, [After the UK's EU referendum: redefining relations between the two Europes](#), Fondation Robert Schuman, European Issue No 399, 5 July 2016

Guillaume Van der Loo and Steven Blockmans, [The Impact of Brexit on the EU's International Agreements](#), Centre for European Policy Studies, 15 July 2016

[The World Trade Organization: a safety net for a post-Brexit trade policy?](#) UK Trade Policy Observatory Briefing Paper 1, July 2016

Peter Ungphakorn, [Nothing simple about UK regaining WTO status post-Brexit](#), International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, 27 June 2016

### 3. Impact of Brexit on the rest of the EU

Federico Fabbrini, [EU Unity beyond Brexit](#), Carnegie Europe, 22 August 2017

Juha Jokela, [Brexit and the Future of the EU – A View from Helsinki](#), Scottish Centre on European Relations, 20 July 2017

Ray Bassett, [After Brexit: Will Ireland be next to exit?](#) Policy Exchange, July 2017

Wilfried Bolewski, [Brexit – how can diplomacy help saving the EU-27?](#) Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, July 2017

[Brexit and Gibraltar](#), House of Commons Library CBP- 7963, 2 May 2017

Thomas Raines and Matthew Goodwin, [EU citizens back their leaders' negotiating stance on Brexit](#), Chatham House, 29 March 2017

Michael Leigh, [As the U.K. prepares to leave, is Europe disintegrating after 60 years?](#) The German Marshall fund of the United States, 28 March 2017

Shada Islam, [Brexit and the joys of starting over](#), Friends of Europe, 28 March 2017

[Views from the Capitals: Europe prepares for Article 50](#), European council on Foreign Relations, 9 March 2017

Pieter Cleppe, [The view from Brussels: If Britain gets a bad deal, the EU also loses](#), Open Europe, 3 February 2017

Earl Anthony Wayne, [A Year Full of Challenges \(and Opportunities\) for the EU](#), Atlantic Council, 2 February 2017

[The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union](#), Cm 9417, February 2017

Robert Kalcik and Guntram B. Wolff, [Is Brexit an opportunity to reform the European Parliament?](#) Bruegel, 27 January 2017

Werner Kirsch, [Brexit and the Distribution of Power in the Council of the EU](#), 25 November 2016 Centre for European Policy Studies, 25 November 2016

[Facing the unknown: building a progressive response to Brexit](#), Fabian Society, 16 September 2016

Brian Hayes MEP, [Ireland's contribution to EU budget will increase post Brexit by an extra €138million](#), 2 October 2016

[Merkel and Hollande urge "clear vision" for Europe's future, as Tusk calls for "realistic diagnosis" of the causes of Brexit](#), Open Europe, 16 September 2016

[EU Strives for Unity Minus U.K. With Leaders Focused on Security](#), Bloomberg, 16 September 2016

[European Commission sets up Task Force led by Michel Barnier as Chief Negotiator for the Preparation and Conduct of the Negotiations with the United Kingdom](#), European Commission, 14 September 2016

Allan Matthews, [Impact of Brexit on the EU budget](#), CAP reform.EU, 10 September 2016

Barbara Böttcher & Laura Rosenberger, [EU budget: Who's to pay for Brexit?](#) Deutsche Bank research, 26 August 2016

[EU leaders pledge Brexit will not weaken bloc. France, Germany and Italy declare their common commitment to European integration](#), Financial Times, 22 August 2016 (Subscription required)

Pénélope Debreu, [Brexit: les opportunités d'une Europe sans Royaume-Uni](#), Terra Nova, 12 July 2016

Darren Harvey, [What Role for the European Parliament under Article 50 TEU?](#) EU Law Analysis, 14 July 2016

Charles Grant, [The impact of Brexit on the EU](#), Centre for European Reform, 24 June 2016

Global Counsel, [Brexit: the impact on the UK and the EU](#), Global Counsel, June 2015

Oliver Patel & Christine Reh, [Brexit: the consequences for the EU's political system](#), UCL Constitution Unit, 2016

Reuters, [From budget to banks: how Brexit could impact the EU economy](#), Reuters, 14 April 2016

### About the Library

The House of Commons Library research service provides MPs and their staff with the impartial briefing and evidence base they need to do their work in scrutinising Government, proposing legislation, and supporting constituents.

As well as providing MPs with a confidential service we publish open briefing papers, which are available on the Parliament website.

Every effort is made to ensure that the information contained in these publicly available research briefings is correct at the time of publication. Readers should be aware however that briefings are not necessarily updated or otherwise amended to reflect subsequent changes.

If you have any comments on our briefings please email [papers@parliament.uk](mailto:papers@parliament.uk). Authors are available to discuss the content of this briefing only with Members and their staff.

If you have any general questions about the work of the House of Commons you can email [hcenquiries@parliament.uk](mailto:hcenquiries@parliament.uk).

### Disclaimer

This information is provided to Members of Parliament in support of their parliamentary duties. It is a general briefing only and should not be relied on as a substitute for specific advice. The House of Commons or the author(s) shall not be liable for any errors or omissions, or for any loss or damage of any kind arising from its use, and may remove, vary or amend any information at any time without prior notice.

The House of Commons accepts no responsibility for any references or links to, or the content of, information maintained by third parties. This information is provided subject to the [conditions of the Open Parliament Licence](#).