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Between Europe and Britain after Brexit

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Britain's postwar dilemma

- Churchill's three circles
- Empire, America, Europe
- Which was to have priority?
- What should Britain's role be after Empire?



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Britain has lost an Empire and not yet found a role....Britain's attempt to play a separate power role - that is, a role apart from Europe, a role based on a 'special relationship' with the United States, a role based on being the head of a Commonwealth which has no political structure or unity or strength and enjoys a fragile and precarious economic relationship - this role is about played out. *Dean Acheson 12/12/62*

WILSON STILL APPLYING
FOR MEMBERSHIP
OF COMMON MARKET



NON
NON
NON
NON
NON
NON
NON

'S...O...M...E...D...A...Y'



Two Referendums on EEC/EU

- 1975

Yes : 17.4 million (67 per cent)

No: 8.5 million (33 per cent)

- 2016

Leave: 17.4 million (52 per cent)

Remain: 16.1 million (48 per cent)



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The Reluctant Europeans

- Britain's 47 year EU membership 1973-2020
- The uneasy relationship
- Optouts. ERM, Schengen, euro
- Xavier Bettel opt-outs/opt-ins
- Jacques Delors small engine/large brake



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A divided political class

- Labour against European integration
1960s, 1970s, 1980s
- Conservatives against European integration
1990s, 2000s, 2010s
- Media - strong anti-EU campaign
- Universities, civil service, business

Conservatives say YES to Europe





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A divided country

- Labour heartlands: No in 1975 Leave in 2016
- Conservative heartlands Yes in 1975 Leave in 2016.
- Generational and educational divides
- London/big cities versus small town England
- Scotland/N.Ireland vs Wales/England

GET BRITAIN OUT OF THE EU



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What did Brexit mean?

Was it a vote for Britain First?

- British jobs for British workers
- Better Public Services
- Better infrastructure in the regions
- Re-balancing the economy. Levelling up





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Brexit as a populist insurgency

- Cultural resentment
- Vote against London and its elites
- National identity defined against Europe
- British exceptionalism
- Rejection of globalisation, immigration, multilateral co-operation, openness



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SAY



TO THE EU



£48 Million a day
to this lot!

SAY



YES

TO INDEPENDENCE



VOTE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY

ukip.org

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Or was it a vote for Global Britain?

- Brexit as an elite project. Thatcherism Mk2
- De-regulation, low taxes, smaller state
- Flexible labour markets
- Sacrifice of sectors dependent on EU
- Promotion of new global service sectors
- The benefits of shock therapy



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Does Brexit make sense?

- All Brexits worse than staying in EU
- Loss of access to main trading partner
- Impact on investment and supply chains
- Opposed by most British business
- Opposed by International organisations
- Opposed by British allies



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The lure of Anglo-America

- Choice framed as between Europe and America
- Churchill's three circles
- The project for Anglo-American Hegemony
- Greater Britain, the Grand Area, Atlantic Partnership, Anglosphere
- As myth/As political space/As imagined community of interests and ideals



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America is becoming not English merely, but world embracing...and as the English element has given language and history to that land, America offers the English race the moral directorship of the globe, by ruling mankind through Saxon institutions and the English tongue. Through America England is speaking to the world.

Charles Dilke

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Manifest destiny

The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the pre-eminent force in the history and civilisation of the world.

Joseph Chamberlain





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Succession between Britain and US

- Mackinder, Mahan, Roosevelt, Milner, Churchill
- Hegemonic stability theory in 1970s
- Promotion of a particular kind of world order
stable, open, rules-based, liberal, cosmopolitan
- Anglobalisation: the spread of the Anglo-liberal



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The special relationship

- NATO 1949
- Suez 1956; Vietnam 1965; Heath 1972
- Thatcher/Reagan
- The Third Way and Iraq
- Johnson/Trump



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The Anglosphere

- The new information age
- The cutting edge of modernity
- High trust civil societies
- Economic dynamism
- A network commonwealth
- Security cooperation – Five Eyes



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The 2019 General Election

- Leave vote unites behind Conservatives
- Remain vote fragmented
- 80 seat Conservative majority
- Conservative civil war over EU over.
- Tensions within new governing coalition



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The path beyond Brexit

- Referendum posed fundamental questions
- Constitutional, economic, cultural, geopolitical
- Global Britain, European Britain, Britain First
- A fragmenting world order
- The choice between Europe and America is once again unresolved



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