

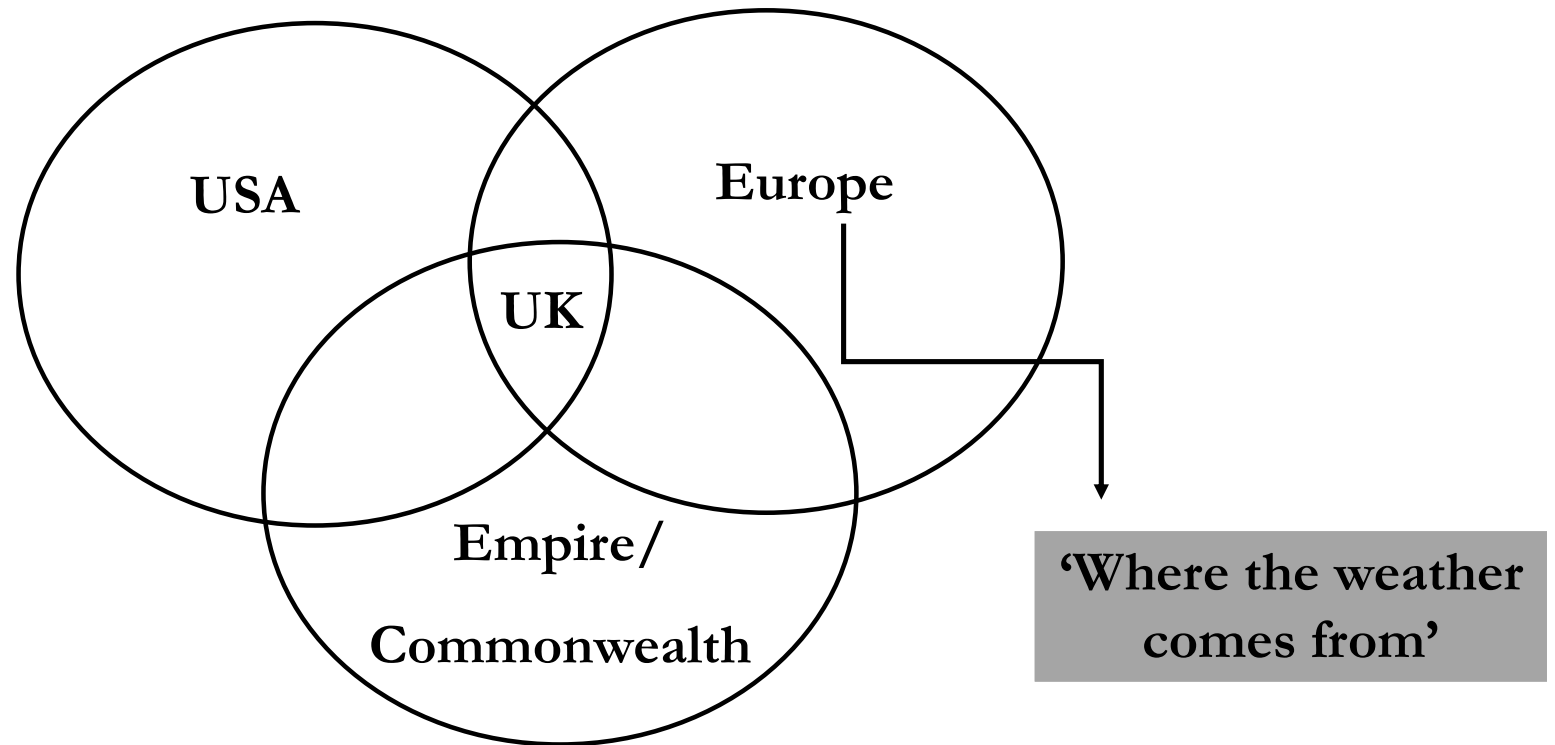
Brexit and Competing Visions of Europe: Searching for an answer to Dean Acheson's Question?

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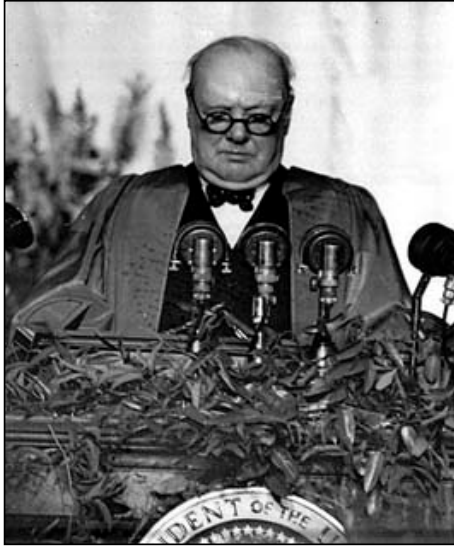
- The post-war search for a 'role'
- Britain in Europe: awkward or quiet partner?
- Referendum debates about roles
- Choices for post-Brexit Britain in the world

Churchill's three circles, 1948



Brits abroad (2005)





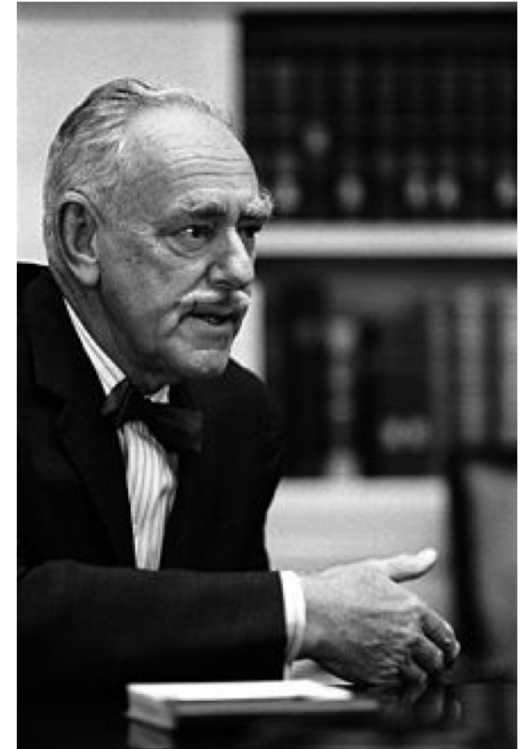
Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organisation will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a **special relationship** between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States.

Winston S. Churchill, 'The Sinews of Power'

Speech at Fulton, Missouri, 5th March 1946

Dean Acheson, West Point, 1962

Great Britain has lost an Empire and has not yet found a role. The attempt to play a separate power role apart from Europe, a role based on a special relationship with the United States, and on being head of a commonwealth which has no political structure, or unity, or strength, this role is about played out. Great Britain, attempting to work alone and to be a broker between the United States and Russia, has seemed to conduct policy as weak as its military power.



The Awkward Partner or Quiet European?



The Bruges speech





'My aims for Britain in the community can be simply stated. I want us to be where we belong. At the very heart of Europe. Working with our partners in building the future. That is a challenge we take up with enthusiasm.'

John Major, 1991



‘And it shall be a government, too, that gives this country strength and confidence in leadership both at home and abroad, particularly in respect of Europe’

Tony Blair, 2 May 1997, on the steps of 10 Downing Street



MYTH



REALITY



'I stand here today proud to be British and proud to be European, representing a country that does not see itself as an island adrift from Europe but as a country at the centre of Europe, not in Europe's slipstream but firmly in its mainstream.'

Gordon Brown, European Parliament 2009



Awkward--

- Underestimated difficulties and differences
- Clash of political outlooks and models
- Opt-outs: Rebate, Euro, Schengen, some justice matters, Charter, 'Federal', 'ever closer union',
- Difficult domestic politics
 - Destroys PMs, splits parties
- Large member state willing to say 'NO'
- Atlanticism – America first
- 'Global hub' – look beyond Europe

Quiet European--

- Confusing popularity with effectiveness?
- Britain overcome EU stubbornness
- Atlanticism the norm in Europe
- Success in wide-range of policy areas
- EU today reflects large parts of Bruges Speech
 - Spun as Eurosceptic, but look at contents
- Modern EU = a British EU, albeit with lots of problems

Referendum debates about roles

- Triggered by ongoing doubts (esp. Tory) about UK's role in Europe
 - Strategic rationale declined since 1989?
 - A changing EU, UK partners moving on
- Roles in the Referendum debate
 - Remain: economic cost (and 'World War III')
 - Leave: 'open for business, closed to foreigners'
- What is Britain's strategy for Brexit: ends (role), ways and means?
 - Ends: for UK (what type of country), for UK-EU relations and UK in the world
 - Still in search of a role?

Choices for post-Brexit Britain in the world

	Switzerland with nukes	Pivot away from Europe	UK-EU/Europe special relationship partnership	Global Britain	Independent/ (Neo/post-imperial?)
Analytical anchor	Minimal/defensive realism	Selective Engagement Balance of power realism	Liberal Internationalism/ the West liberal order	Offensive realism Post-imperial	Good global citizen (Norway at the UNSC, post-colonial)
Salient feature	Insulation	Atlanticism	Europeanism	Emerging markets	International community
Conception of interest	Narrow (British Isles)	Narrow (transatlantic)	Regional/Western	Broad	Transnational
Strategic purpose	Independence	Maintain status-quo (pessimistic)	Maintain status-quo (optimistic)	Seat at Asian tables	London foreign policy
Regional priority	UK	North Atlantic / Anglosphere	Europe/the 'West'	Commonwealth/Asia	Global
Security focus	Territorial defence, domestic counter-terrorism	NATO, US (Five Eyes)	NATO/EU/ESDP and broad CT cooperation	Global alliances/ strategic partnerships	Human security
Strategic posture	Minimal self-defence forces	US orientated interoperability	European orientated interoperability	Long-range strategic forces with cooperative capab., + int. development	Expeditionary forces, diplomacy and development.