

BRIEFING PAPER

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Brexit: 'Global Britain' - reading list

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- 1. Committee reports
- 2. Ministerial statements and speeches
- 3. PQs
- 4. Think tanks
- 5. Books and journals
- 6. Press articles



Contents

Introduction		3
1.	Committee reports	4
2.	Ministerial statements and speeches	4
3.	PQs	6
4.	Think tanks	11
5.	Books and journals	12
6.	Press articles	13

Introduction

'Global Britain' has become a rallying cry for those who want to see the UK stride confidently into a post-Brexit future. Boris Johnson, the Foreign Secretary, said in December 2016:

Yes – a country taking back control of its democratic institutions.

But not a nation hauling up the drawbridge or slamming the door.

A nation that is now on its mettle.

A nation that refuses to be defined by this decision.

A country galvanised by new possibilities and a country that is politically and economically and morally fated to be more outward-looking and more engaged with the world than ever before.

When I speak of Global Britain – and the need for us to commit ourselves to the peace and prosperity of the world – I know that there will be some who are wary that this sounds pretentious, in a nation that comprises less than one per cent of the world's population.

I know there will be cynics who say we can't afford it. I say we can't afford not to.

To those who say we are now too small, too weak, too poor to have any influence on the world, I say in the words of Robert Burns:

'O wad some Power the giftie gie us To see oursels as ithers see us!'

Opponents of Brexit say that this perspective ignores the damage being done to the UK's national interests by leaving the European Union.

Some of those willing to give the idea of 'Global Britain' a chance have their doubts too. In a March 2018 report, the Foreign Affairs Committee <u>argued</u> that the term:

has not been precisely defined by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which has also appeared reluctant to respond to our requests for basic information about the objectives of Global Britain and the resources to be devoted to it.

The time is right to take stock of the UK's role in the world, not only in the light of domestic developments but also in the light of long-term changes in the international system and global balance of power. The UK has a wide range of attributes that have traditionally made it a global player, but it remains unclear what the Government believes the UK should do with these resources and assets in the post-Brexit environment, and how the UK should exercise leadership on the most urgent and complex issues facing the international system. For Global Britain to be more than a worthy aspiration, the slogan must be backed by substance. The FCO should place online, in one place, all the statements and speeches that Ministers have made about Global Britain, and all other Government documents in the public domain that set out what Global Britain means, translated into the world's ten most-used languages. If it comes to be perceived as a superficial branding exercise, it risks undermining UK interests by damaging our reputation overseas and eroding support for a global outlook here at home.

This reading list draws together a wide range of material about this topic. It is not, of course, comprehensive. We have included some sources that we thought might be relevant even though the phrase itself is not invoked. Under each heading, the most recent item is set out first.

This reading list is one of several reading lists published by the Library in the context of Brexit. It was completed on 6 June 2018. We cannot guarantee that it will be updated.

1. Committee reports

<u>Global Britain and the 2018 Commonwealth Summit</u>, Seventh Report of Session 2017–19, Foreign Affairs Committee, HC 831, 5 April 2018

<u>Global Britain</u>, Sixth Report of Session 2017–19, Foreign Affairs Committee, HC 780, 12 March 2018

Ministerial statements and speeches

Expansion of UK diplomatic network in the Commonwealth 19 Apr 2018 | HCWS625

Global Britain is this government's ambition to increase the UK's national security, prosperity and influence, signalling our resolve to remain a big and influential player on the world stage. In March, I announced plans to open around 10 new sovereign missions over the next two years, drawing on additional funding granted to the Foreign & Commonwealth Office by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enhance our diplomatic capability overseas.

During the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London this week, I am announcing the location of nine new missions: six High Commissions in Lesotho (Maseru); Swaziland (Mbabane); the Bahamas (Nassau); Tonga (Nuku'Alofa); Samoa (Apia); Vanuatu (Port Vila); and a further three missions, in Antigua and Barbuda (St John's); Grenada (St George's); and St Vincent & the Grenadines (Kingstown). These new missions will strengthen the UK's diplomatic influence in the Commonwealth and help to deliver the UK's security and prosperity objectives.

This expansion of our diplomatic network in the Commonwealth, which marks the beginning of the UK's two-year tenure as Chair, demonstrates our commitment to making an even greater success of this historic and important network of like-minded friends.

<u>International Development Secretary on UK aid - The Mission for Global Britain (Speech)</u>

Department for International Development and The Rt Hon Penny Mordaunt MP 12 April 2018

Commonwealth Games 2022

09 Oct 2017 | HCWS146

I wish to inform the House that, on 9 October 2017, the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport laid a minute recording the submission of a bid by Commonwealth Games England, Birmingham City Council, the West Midlands Combined Authority and DCMS to host the 2022 Commonwealth Games in Birmingham.

Birmingham's bid presents an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the very best of Global Britain to the world, showcasing the UK as a destination for international trade, education and tourism. It has the full backing of government and will not only help grow the economy in the West Midlands and beyond, it would also leave a strong sports legacy by upgrading facilities to benefit both elite athletes and the local community.

The government will provide around 75% of the net budget costs of delivering the Games and an underwrite of the total event budget, as well as a series of further guarantees which the CGF requests accompany the bid. The bid, therefore, creates contingent liabilities for the UK government in relation to Commonwealth Games.

The minute notes these liabilities as government's commitment to provide funding for the Games, underwrite the costs, and provide a number of further guarantees relating to the successful planning and delivery of the event. These contingent liabilities will only take effect in the event of a successful bid and our agreement of a hosting contract with the Commonwealth Games Federation.

The bid was submitted on 30 September 2017 and, due to the much shorter than usual timeframe in which to prepare the bid, I apologise that there was insufficient time to notify Parliament of our intention before the House returned.

Parliamentarians may signify objections by giving notice of a Parliamentary Question or by otherwise raising the matter in parliament by 31 October. Final approval to proceed with incurring the liability will be withheld pending an examination of the objection.

Beyond Brexit: a Global Britain (Speech)

Foreign & Commonwealth Office and The Rt Hon Boris Johnson MP

2 December 2016

3. PQs

Commonwealth: Foreign Relations

30 Apr 2018 | HL7022

Asked by: Lord Taylor of Warwick

To ask Her Majesty's Government whether relations with the Commonwealth are an element of the Global Britain initiative; and if so, how significant an element.

Answering member: Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon | Foreign and **Commonwealth Office**

The Commonwealth is an important element of Global Britain, as evidenced by the recent announcement of 9 new diplomatic posts in Commonwealth countries.

Foreign Relations

27 Mar 2018 | HL6334

Asked by: Lord Taylor of Warwick

To ask Her Majesty's Government what is their definition of Global Britain; and what that concept entails in relation to Government policy.

Answering member: Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon | Foreign and **Commonwealth Office**

Global Britain is an ambition and vision that will help secure our national security, prosperity and influence. It is how we adjust positively to a changing world, demonstrating our resolve to remain a big and influential player. It is also how we show that our global engagement and leadership are fundamentally in the security and prosperity interests of the British people.

The UK's influence is based on an array of factors, including: the strength of our economy; our alliances and partnerships; UK military, diplomatic and development capabilities; our permanent membership of the UN Security Council; and, our broad soft-power assets. We will use these in a co-ordinated way to deliver the vision of Global Britain: upholding the essential rules of a peaceful world, working in partnership with old friends and new allies, projecting our values and advancing UK interests.

We are investing in the capabilities we need to drive forward this agenda. Our overseas network underpins our influence and we have recently announced a network expansion of around 10 sovereign missions, and at least 250 diplomats.

Topical Questions

27 Mar 2018 | 638 c645

Asked by: Bim Afolami

In terms of the Commonwealth, will the Minister explain further how Global Britain will lead to furthering economic ties with our Commonwealth friends, and not just diplomatic ones?

Answered by: Boris Johnson | Foreign and Commonwealth Office My hon. Friend makes an excellent point. Of course, a large part of the Commonwealth summit is to talk about trade and prosperity and the opportunities that exist. As I said earlier, some of the fastest-growing economies in the world are in the Commonwealth—now growing, though I do not wish to make any invidious comparisons, substantially faster than the EU, though we intend to trade very much with both of them.

Diplomatic Service: Funding 27 Mar 2018 | 638 c635

Asked by: Crispin Blunt

I hope that those 250 posts may have been partly the product of the continued reports of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the previous Parliament about the utter paucity of resources for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, given the task that it now faces in presenting global Britain. How much more revenue money has my right hon. Friend been given to fund those posts?

Answered by: Boris Johnson | Foreign and Commonwealth Office I thank the Foreign Affairs Committee, in all its incarnations, for the support that it has given to the cause of more money for the Foreign Office. The figure that my hon. Friend is asking for is £90 million.

Foreign Policy: Parliamentary Participation 19 Mar 2018 | 790 c10

Asked by: Baroness Northover

My Lords, has the Minister seen the Foreign Affairs Select Committee's recent report entitled Global Britain, which asks the FCO to produce a, "coherent strategic direction, supported by adequate resources", and notes that resources are now being moved from embassies in fastgrowing Asia to Europe? Given the decisions about going to war or even leaving major trading blocs, would it not be wise to include Parliament far more in working out a foreign policy that is multilateral and realistic?

Answered by: Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon

I have of course seen the report from the Foreign Affairs Committee. Having been before the committee on three occasions over the last month, I was asked about Britain's position in the global world. Look at our leadership in the area of development—at how we are working hand-in-glove with Commonwealth countries on preventing sexual violence and ensuring reforms in the United Nations. Our membership of NATO underlines Britain's global position in the world. Of course we will continue to work with parliamentarians. I say to all colleagues across your Lordships' House and in the other place that it is on all of us to ensure that the voice of global Britain is heard in all corners across the world.

British Council 20 Feb 2018 | 636 c14

Asked by: Mr Baron

I thank the Minister for that response. Given the importance of the British Council to our soft power, what are the implications of possible cuts to non-overseas development aid funding for the council's work? How might they affect the Government's plans for a global Britain?

Answered by: Mark Field | Foreign and Commonwealth Office

The council has agreed to reduce its non-ODA grant from the Foreign Office to zero by the end of the spending review period in exchange for additional official development assistance funding. As part of our vision for a global Britain, we want a properly funded and effective council that projects British values right across the world. The council will continue to deliver activity in non-ODA countries through the income generated from other sources, such as its commercial income.

EU Bilateral Relationships 09 Jan 2018 | 634 c158

Asked by: Stephen Gethins

May I take the opportunity to congratulate the Foreign Secretary on surviving yesterday's Downing Street dither? It would appear that Toby Young is the only person to have lost his job.

The Foreign Affairs Committee was told that there were to be cuts to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's work in Asia, Africa and the Americas, as the Minister mentioned earlier. What impact does he believe that will have on his Department's ambition for a global Britain?

Answered by: Sir Alan Duncan | Foreign and Commonwealth

I am confident that, with all the combined efforts across Whitehall—in many Departments, including the Department for International Trade that will not dent our efforts to be champions of global Britain. Indeed, all Ministers in all Departments are making sure that global Britain is a reality.

EU Bilateral Relationships

09 Jan 2018 | 634 c157

Asked by: Tom Tugendhat

The Minister has done enormous amounts in reasserting bilateralism across Europe this past year. Can he assure us that the resources that he requires to make sure that

we are ready for post EU membership will not denude the rest of the world, so that we do not rob Peter to pay Paul or build bilaterals at a cost to global Britain?

Answered by: Sir Alan Duncan | Foreign and Commonwealth Office

My hon. Friend makes a good point. We have created 50 new diplomatic positions in our embassies, but it is not a question of simply reducing the number of staff outside Europe by the same number. The money to fund these changes will come from changing the way we work and adjusting some our processes, and from some frontline staff savings in Asia, the Americas and Africa. We are also bidding for some extra money from the Treasury to help create over 100 additional new roles to support the process of leaving the EU.

Leaving the EU: International Business

13 Dec 2017 | 633 c384

Asked by: Mr Jayawardena

What is my right hon. Friend doing to encourage Welsh businesses and consumers to seize the opportunity of a global Britain by boosting imports and exports to increase consumer choice and helping businesses to create more good jobs as we leave the EU?

Answered by: Alun Cairns

My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for International Trade has established the UK Board of Trade, and I am pleased that Lord Rowe-Beddoe and Heather Stevens sit on it as Welsh representatives—their reputation goes well before them. Businesses are already responding. I have already quoted the encouraging export data, but clearly there is more work to do.

Topical Questions

21 Nov 2017 | 631 c853

Asked by: Sir Nicholas Soames

Does the Foreign Secretary agree that there are several very important preconditions for the successful expression of a global Britain? Does he agree that, quite apart from the need for a better-funded Foreign Office, there needs to be far more effective co-ordination and expression of Britain's truly formidable soft power?

Answered by: Boris Johnson | Foreign and Commonwealth Office

My right hon. Friend raises the absolutely fascinating conundrum of how effectively the Government could marshal the extraordinary panoply of UK soft power. I never normally disagree with him in any way, but I tend to think that our soft power is so huge that it would not necessarily benefit from any political attempt to co-ordinate it. What I can say is that I believe the work of the British Council is often unsung, although it is hugely important. I think that all Members want to support that organisation and to see properly funded.

<u>Department for International Development and Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Departmental Coordination</u> 23 Oct 2017 | 107845

Asked by: Keith Vaz

To ask the Secretary of State for International Development, what plans the Government has to improve coordination between her Department and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Answering member: Rory Stewart | Department for International Development

Every day UK aid and UK diplomacy are working together to help millions of people and make a powerful and positive statement about Global Britain's place in the world. The Department for International Development and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office each play their own vital role in Britain's global leadership to build a safer, healthier, more prosperous world, which protects UK interests.

Foreign Policy 18 Jul 2017 | HL305

Asked by: Lord Judd

Her Majesty's Government, in the light of their commitment to a more outward-looking Global Britain, what steps they are taking to ensure that Government departments refrain from anti-internationalist rhetoric. Answering member: Lord Young of Cookham | Cabinet Office As the Prime Minister said to the UN General Assembly, the United Kingdom has always been an outward-facing, global partner at the heart of international efforts to secure peace and prosperity for all. She also pledged that the UK will be a confident, strong and dependable partner internationally – true to the UN's universal values. Both the rhetoric, but also the policy at the heart of this government's approach, make it clear that our posture must be internationalist as we build a new, deep and special partnership with our European neighbours and seek to strengthen our global role and relations. This sets a clear tone for all Government departments' approach.

Global Britain Fund 12 Jul 2017 | HL307

Asked by: Lord Judd

Her Majesty's Government what steps they are taking, if any, to strengthen the role of the Global Britain Fund.

Answering member: Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon | Foreign and **Commonwealth Office**

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) uses a small proportion of its departmental budget to fund project-based activity globally in support of the policy priorities identified in the National Security Strategy and the Government's Aid Strategy: The Global Britain Fund is the internal working title used to bring previously separate strategic and bilateral programme funds under one umbrella to enable greater central oversight and strategic direction of all this spend and activity, and to reduce bureaucracy. This small-scale funding is a mix of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and non-ODA, so that it can be spent around the world to promote British interests. The FCO's separate Global Britain Campaign aims to increase understanding, recognition and support, internationally and at home, for the UK's work and role in the world.

4. Think tanks

Tom Tugendhat on Defending the Rules

Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) Tom Tugendhat 29 May 2018

Sir Simon McDonald on Delivering UK Foreign Policy (Lecture)

Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) Sir Simon McDonald 11 May 2018

Aid, security and Britain's role in the world: proposals for coherent government action

Victoria Metcalfe-Hough, Malcolm Chalmers, Alina Rocha Menocal, Hanna Nomm and David Watson Overseas Development Institute (ODI) April 2018

The Brexit Inflection Point: The Pathway to Prosperity

The Legatum Institute Shanker Singham, Dr Radomir Tylecote and Victoria Hewson November 2017

Realising the aims of 'Global Britain': How can 'Global Britain' create an effective post Brexit trade strategy?

London School of Economics Linda Yueh 21 September 2017

Towards "Global Britain": Challenging the New Narratives of **National Decline**

Henry Jackson Society James Rogers 12th September 2017

Britain's Global Future: Harnessing the soft power capital of UK institutions

Respublica Phillip Blond, James Noves and Duncan Sim 12 July 2017

Global Britain, Global challenges: how to make aid more effective

Policy Exchange Jonathan Dupont July 2017

Global Britain: Priorities for trade beyond the EU

Open Europe Aarti Shankar, Alex Greer, Henry Newman, Stephen Booth and Vincenzo Scarpetta 25 April 2017

A view of "Global Britain" from East Asia

The UK in a Changing Europe 9 February 2017

No free lunch for Global Britain

The UK in a Changing Europe Dr Angus Armstrong 30 January 2017

'Global Britain' can be more than a soundbite

Brexit Central Damon Poole 26 January 2017

Johnson must keep in line with 'global Britain'

The UK in a Changing Europe Professor Richard Whitman 13 December 2016

Going Global: leading the world to tariff-free trade

Global Britain Ewen Stewart and Brian Monteith December 2016

5. Books and journals

Note: the books are available via the Library Loans Desk (ext 1515). If the links to the journal articles below do not work for some reason, the Library can provide copies for you by request.

Halligan, Liam; Lyons, Gerard, Clean Brexit: why leaving the EU still makes sense: building a post-Brexit economy for all, 2017 [Available, 341.24220941 HAL, House of Lords Library - Palace Dewey Collection

Hannan, Daniel, What next?, 2016 [Available, 328.241 HAN, House of Lords Library - Palace Dewey Collection]

Lowe, Sam, Last Word: Global Britain? The Trade Debate Political Insight, 03/2018, Volume 9, Issue 1[Full Text Online]

Henning, Benjamin, In Focus: Could Brexit be a Boon for British trade with the Commonwealth?

Political Insight, 06/2018, Volume 9, Issue 2 [Full Text Online]

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca; Galpin, Charlotte; Rosamond, Ben, Performing Brexit: How a post-Brexit world is imagined outside the United

Kingdom

British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 08/2017, Volume 19, Issue 3 [Full Text Online]

6. Press articles

The wrong Brexit: what happened to 'Global Britain'?

The Spectator Frazer Nelson 21 April 2018

'Global Britain' remains a work in progress

CAPX Oliver Wiseman 14 April 2018

The past is another country: busting the myth of Global Britain

New Statesman Nick Pearce 9 April 2018

Even 'Global Britain' will need the EU

Politico Vijay Eswaran 28 March 2018

Spinning global Britain

Financial Times Tony Barber 13 March 2018

Foreign Office policy of Global Britain is 'superficial rebranding'

The Guardian 12 March 2018 Patrick Wintour

Global Britain inching towards an 'emerging Anglosphere' post-Brexit

Business Standard Andrew Mycock and Ben Wellings 18 May 2017

'An Historic Moment' - Brexit And The History Of Global Britain

Huffington Post Robin Bunce 31 March 2017

The Anglosphere: new enthusiasm for an old dream

Prospect Magazine Duncan Bell 19 January 2017

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