

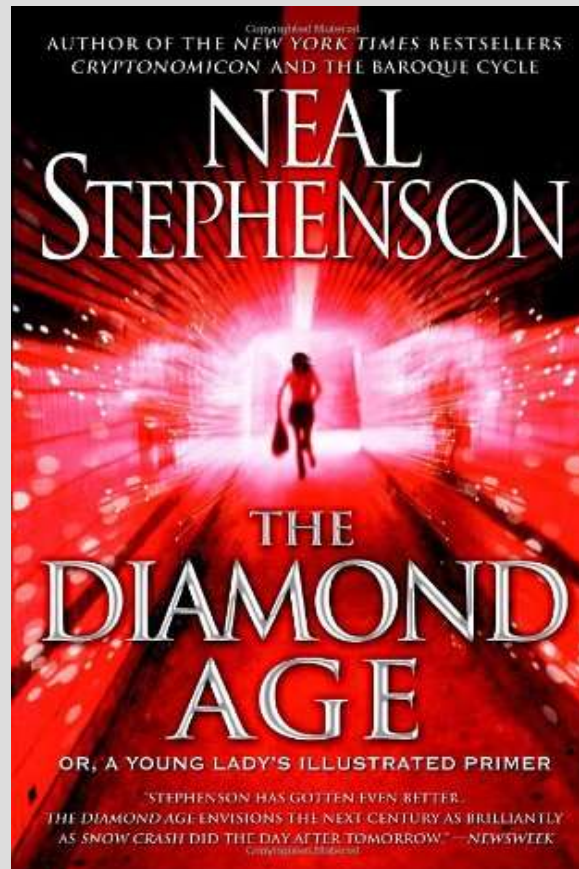
The Anglosphere beyond Security



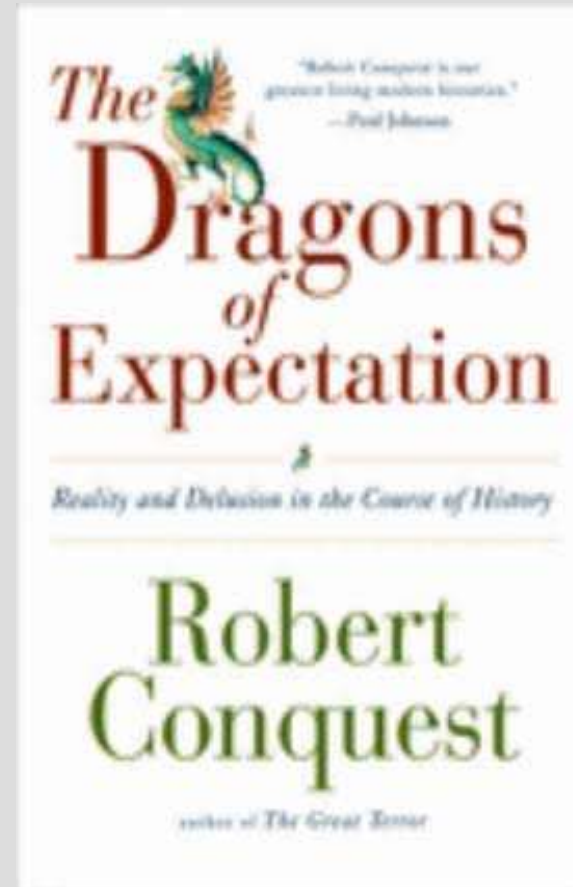
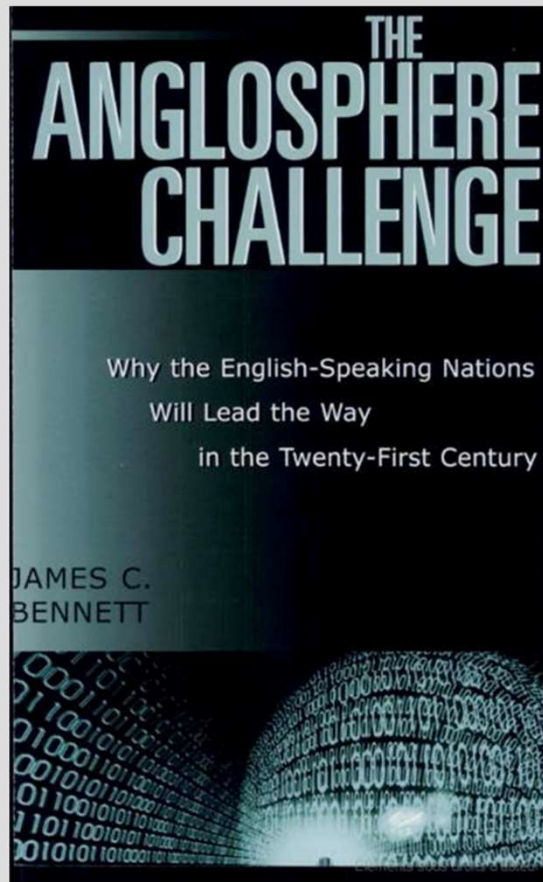
Srdjan Vucetic
uOttawa, Canada

UZH Zurich
27 Sept 2017
Image: The Economist

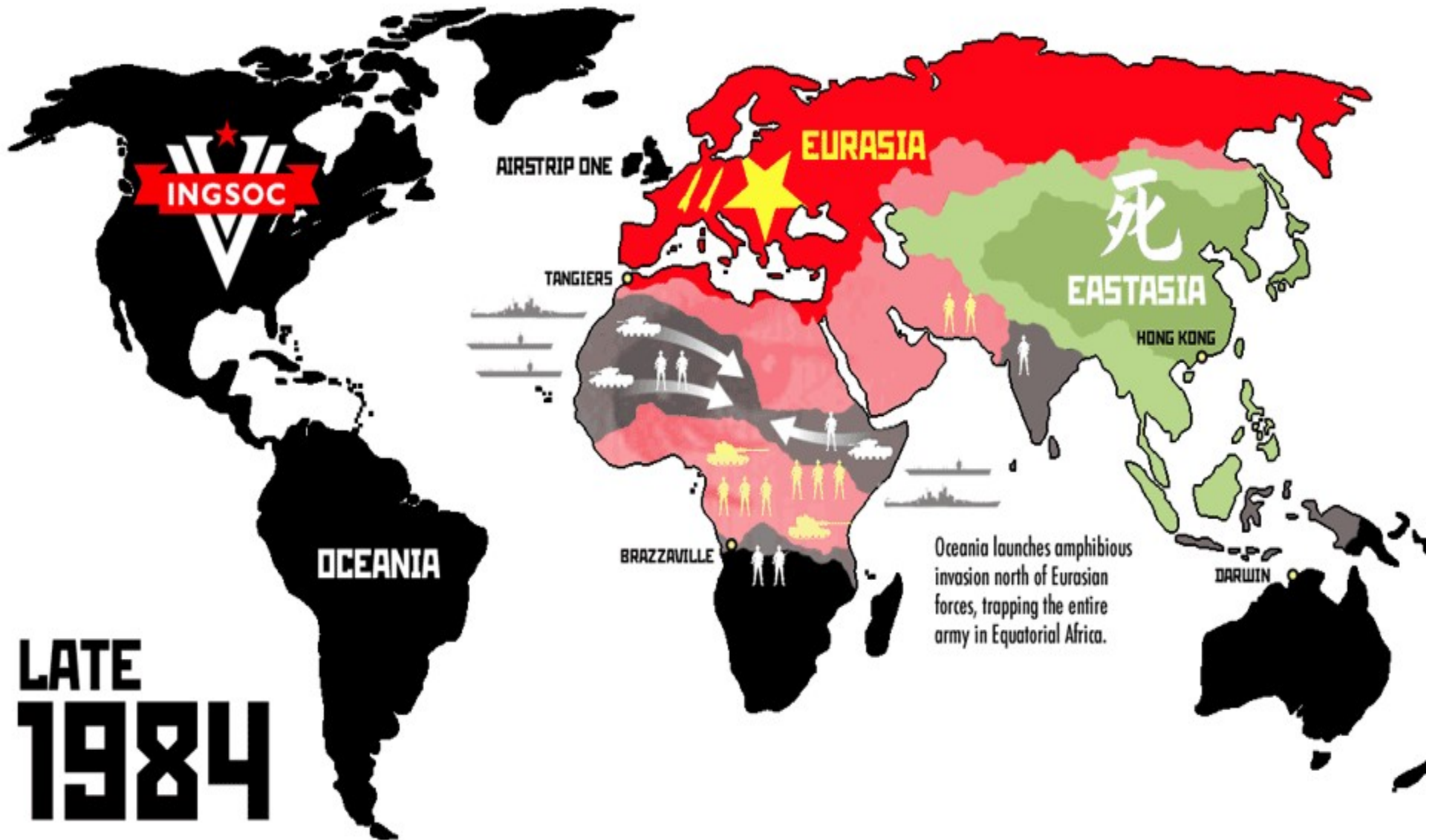
1995



2004



1949



2007: an OED word

**James C Bennett
Robert Conquest
Margaret Thatcher
Andrew Roberts
Rupert Murdoch
Conrad Black
John Howard
Gordon Brown
Manmohan Singh
Tony Abbott
Stephen Harper
(etc.)**

An alt-EU?



House of Common Library, “Leaving the EU”
Research Paper 13/42 (2013), Section 4:

“Alternatives to EU membership”:

- 1) the European Free Trade Area (EFTA),
- 2) the European Economic Area (EEA)
- 3) “the Swiss model”
- 4) the “Anglosphere”

L'anglosphère, la planète des « brexiteurs heureux »



<http://www.lemonde.fr/2017/04/04/>

My argument

- Not 'Anglooonism'
- Co-constitution
- Racial in origins

Language/discourse, Institutions, Practices/habits



Anglo-American Special Relationship

“Whenever we want to subvert any place, we find the British own an island within an easy reach.”

Frank Wisner to Kim Philby, 1952

The Five Eyes, a.k.a. “FVEY” (before and after Snowden)



FBI director James Comey emerges from a Gulfstream G550 jet at Queenstown Airport April 23, 2017



BRUSA (1943) UKUSA (1946-8)

of any such action are made available to the other.

6. The Dominions

(a) While the Dominions are not parties to this agreement, they will not be regarded as third parties.

(b) The London SIGINT Board will, however, keep the U. S. informed of any arrangements or proposed arrangements with any Dominion agencies.

(c) STANCIB will make no arrangements with any Dominion agency other than Canadian except through, or with the prior approval of, the London SIGINT Board.

(d) As regards Canada, STANCIB will complete no arrangements with any agency therein without first obtaining the views of the London SIGINT Board.

(e) It will be conditional on any Dominion agencies with whom collaboration takes place that

FVEY: not just sigint

(Snowden)

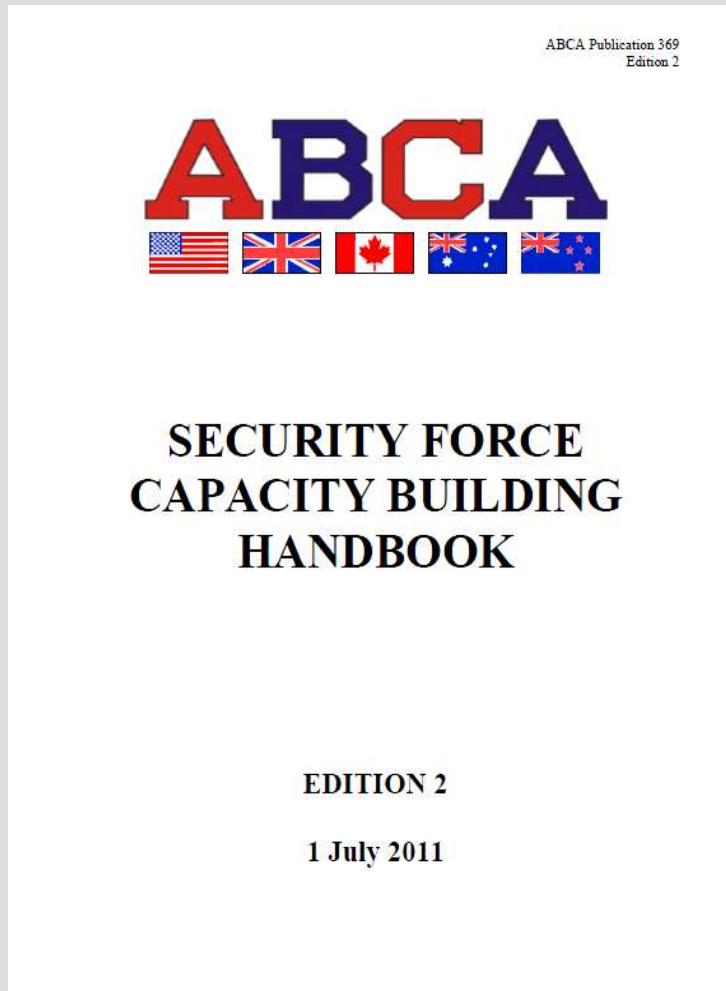
Country	Signals intelligence	Defence intelligence	Security intelligence	Human intelligence
 United States	National Security Agency (NSA)	DIA	FBI	CIA
 United Kingdom	Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ)	DI	MI5	MI6
 Australia	Australian Signals Directorate (ASD)	DIO	ASIO	ASIS
 Canada	Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC)	CDI	CSIS	CSIS
 New Zealand	Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB)	DDIS	SIS	SIS

Not just intelligence



photo: CAF-DND, 2017

Every military domain...



- Exercises (“Maple Resolve”)
- AUSCANNZUKUS
- ASIC (Air and Space Interoperability Council)
- CCEB (Combined Comm Electronics Board)
- TTCP (Technical Cooperation Program)
- CSpO (Combined Space Operations Initiative)
- ??? for special Forces
- Nuclear forces co-op infrastructure
- Recruitment practices

Wars? UNGA?



COALITION OPERATIONS HANDBOOK

EDITION 4
14 APRIL 2008

ABCAs partners 'most willing to join US-led coalitions of the willing, 1950-2001'

(Also in diplomacy, as in UNGA voting patterns)

Vucetic (2011)



Security community--a zone in which a large-scale use of violence has become “unthinkable” and whose member states are bound by mutual sympathy, trust, and common identity (Deutsch et al 1956)

Beyond spooks, soldiers & diplomats

Canada's 2017 Defence White Paper

Five Eyes Network

Building on our shared values and long history of operational cooperation, the Five-Eyes network of partners, including Canada, the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, is central to protecting Canada's interests and contributes directly to operational success. This partnership, which originated in intelligence sharing, continues to greatly enhance our ability to understand and react to the global security environment, and enhances our interoperability with allies. The Five-Eyes community is an increasingly important forum for consultation and coordination on a wider range of key policy and operational matters, including the military use of space and collaboration on research and development. National Defence will continue to deepen its relationship with Five-Eyes partners, particularly as it relates to further expanding cooperation on space and innovation.

“FVEY” makes an appearance for the first time, 14x.
Listed under multilateralism, below the UN and NATO



Anglosphere Transgovernmental Policy Networks: 40+ (Legrand 2016)

Network Name	Portfolio
Windsor Arrangement Group (Inc. Ireland)	Social Security
Six Nations Benefit Fraud Conference (Inc. Ireland)	Social Security Payments
Five Country Ministerial meeting	Home affairs
International Heads of Child Support Agency Meeting	Child Support
Five Country Conference	Immigration
Border Five	Border protection
The Critical Five	Critical infrastructure protection
The Ottawa Five	Cyber-security
Heads of Assessment meeting	Intelligence and security: Privy council?

Quintet of Attorneys-General	Attorneys-General
Food Safety Quadrilateral Group	Food Safety Standards
Five Nations Consular Colloque	Consulates
Four Countries Conference (except US)	Electoral Agencies
Vancouver Group (except US and NZ)	Intellectual Property
Tri-Treasury Conference (except US, Canada)	Treasury
<i>unknown name</i>	International Development
The Rev-Sec Group	Tax revenue collection
<i>unknown name</i>	National Statistical Agencies
Veterans Affairs	Veterans affairs
Strategic Alliance Group	Policing and crime
International Supervisors Meeting	Counter-money laundering
Five Countries Passport Group	Passport agencies

Led Ministers, Secretaries etc.; extensive transfers of laws and programs; common policy narratives & positions; sometimes de facto transgovernmental institutions (like the EU)

Types of Anglosphere policy work (Legrand 2016)

Low engagement

Continuum of network engagement

High engagement

Policy ideas and experiences

Benchmarking of measures

Memoranda of Understanding

Occasional data exchange

Automatic data exchange

Amalgamation of governing functions

International Regime influence

Four Countries conference (electoral agencies)

Heads of Agency Meeting (child support agencies)

The Belmont Conference (employment/labour market)

The Six Nations (social policy agencies)

The Five Countries Conference (immigration and border security agencies)

Technical Cooperation Program (military and intelligence agencies)

QUADS: Food Safety (WHO)

Cabinet Secretaries

Belmont Conference: labour market (OECD)

Tri-Treasury Conference (Treasury)

Quintet of Attorney-Generals

Cyber-crime working group

Vancouver Group: Intellectual property WIPO

Anglosphere transgovernmental networks

More to come in the future...



- **Launch of the Canada-UK ministerial strategic dialogue:** Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs and the UK's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, together with Ministers of Defence and International Development, will meet annually for a strategic dialogue.
- **Strategic partnership to champion gender equality:** The two Prime Ministers are committed to gender equality and women's empowerment. They agreed to deepen collaboration at home and abroad to make concrete gains toward women's economic empowerment and increased leadership in corporate governance and business, as well as their access to quality education and skills training. Canada and the UK will also collaborate to promote sexual and reproductive health and rights, prevent gender-based violence, and advance the women, peace and security agenda. Canada and the UK will move forward on joint diplomacy and advocacy, including by leveraging our respective program investments.
- **Partnership on clean growth and climate change:** A Canada-UK clean innovation partnership, comprising both government officials and representatives from the private sector, will be established to advance clean innovation and clean and renewable energy.
- **Partnership on innovation:** A Canada-UK memorandum of understanding (MOU) concerning science, technology, innovation and entrepreneurship will increase collaboration amongst respective government bodies, knowledge-based institutions and businesses to accelerate the commercialization of emerging technologies, growth of private enterprises, and the creation of jobs in both countries. This MOU will translate into concrete action between our respective innovation-focussed agencies to develop commercial opportunities.
- **Close cooperation on disaster response, reconstruction and resilience:** Canada and the UK are working closely to respond to the impact of Hurricane Irma on the Caribbean region. Through both civilian organizations and our militaries, we are helping our citizens evacuate to safety, coordinating the timely delivery of humanitarian assistance, and providing financial support to humanitarian relief organizations responding to immediate needs. The two countries will continue to work together to help the Caribbean countries build back better in keeping with our shared commitment to the region.
- **Development cooperation:** The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the strong partnership between Canada and the UK on development. They committed to work together to promote transformative actions to tackle global development challenges, implement the Sustainable Development Goals through innovative approaches and partnerships, and build an international system fit for purpose to deliver effective aid to the world's most vulnerable people.
- **Partnership on digital government service:** A Canada-UK MOU on digital government services will be established to improve digital government services and make sure that they are simple, responsive, and easy to use.
- **Deeper cooperation on defence and security:** Canada and the UK will continue to partner in Ukraine to support defence reform and institutional capacity building. Both Canada and the UK see NATO as a cornerstone of our respective national security, and we will strengthen our work together at NATO in areas of common interest, such as cyber security. As Framework Nations, we remain steadfast in our commitment to NATO's enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltic region.
- **Creation of a Canada-UK public policy forum:** A Deputy Minister/Permanent Secretary level public policy forum will be established and co-chaired by the respective Secretaries to the Cabinet. This structured dialogue will help to keep our respective Westminster-style democracies vibrant, inclusive and innovative. Four working groups will be created on:

Since 2004: policy learning coordination; collaboration on: intelligence/data exchange (Canada's CT)

More to come in the future...



cements some norms & standards but what of democratic norms? (public participation, transparency & legitimacy etc)

- **Launch of the Canada-UK ministerial strategic dialogue:** Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs and the UK's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, together with Ministers of Defence and International Development, will meet annually for a strategic dialogue.
- **Strategic partnership to champion gender equality:** The two Prime Ministers are committed to gender equality and women's empowerment. They agreed to deepen collaboration at home and abroad to make concrete gains toward women's economic empowerment and increased leadership in corporate governance and business, as well as their access to quality education and skills training. Canada and the UK will also collaborate to promote sexual and reproductive health and rights, prevent gender-based violence, and advance the women, peace and security agenda. Canada and the UK will move forward on joint diplomacy and advocacy, including by leveraging our respective program investments.
- **Partnership on clean growth and climate change:** A Canada-UK clean innovation partnership, comprising both government officials and representatives from the private sector, will be established to advance clean innovation and clean and renewable energy.
- **Partnership on innovation:** A Canada-UK memorandum of understanding (MOU) concerning science, technology, innovation and entrepreneurship will increase collaboration amongst respective government bodies, knowledge-based institutions and businesses to accelerate the commercialization of emerging technologies, growth of private enterprises, and the creation of jobs in both countries. This MOU will translate into concrete action between our respective innovation-focussed agencies to develop commercial opportunities.
- **Close cooperation on disaster response, reconstruction and resilience:** Canada and the UK are working closely to respond to the impact of Hurricane Irma on the Caribbean region. Through both civilian organizations and our militaries, we are helping our citizens evacuate to safety, coordinating the timely delivery of humanitarian assistance, and providing financial support to humanitarian relief organizations responding to immediate needs. The two countries will continue to work together to help the Caribbean countries build back better in keeping with our shared commitment to the region.
- **Development cooperation:** The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the strong partnership between Canada and the UK on development. They committed to work together to promote transformative actions to tackle global development challenges, implement the Sustainable Development Goals through innovative approaches and partnerships, and build an international system fit for purpose to deliver effective aid to the world's most vulnerable people.
- **Partnership on digital government service:** A Canada-UK MOU on digital government services will be established to improve digital government services and make sure that they are simple, responsive, and easy to use.
- **Deeper cooperation on defence and security:** Canada and the UK will continue to partner in Ukraine to support defence reform and institutional capacity building. Both Canada and the UK see NATO as a cornerstone of our respective national security, and we will strengthen our work together at NATO in areas of common interest, such as cyber security. As Framework Nations, we remain steadfast in our commitment to NATO's enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltic region.
- **Creation of a Canada-UK public policy forum:** A Deputy Minister/Permanent Secretary level public policy forum will be established and co-chaired by the respective Secretaries to the Cabinet. This structured dialogue will help to keep our respective Westminster-style democracies vibrant, inclusive and innovative. Four working groups will be created on:



Since 2004: policy learning coordination; collaboration on: intelligence/data exchange (Canada's CT)



A security community that goes well beyond security:

- imagined community (Anderson, Bell, Belich)
- network of networks (Darwin, Bennett, Slaughter)
- transnational political space (Gamble, van der Pijl)
- “--scapes” (Appadurai, Vucetic)
- *Sprachraum* (Wierbizcka, Mufti)
- Misc. (Inglehardt & Welzel scatterplot)

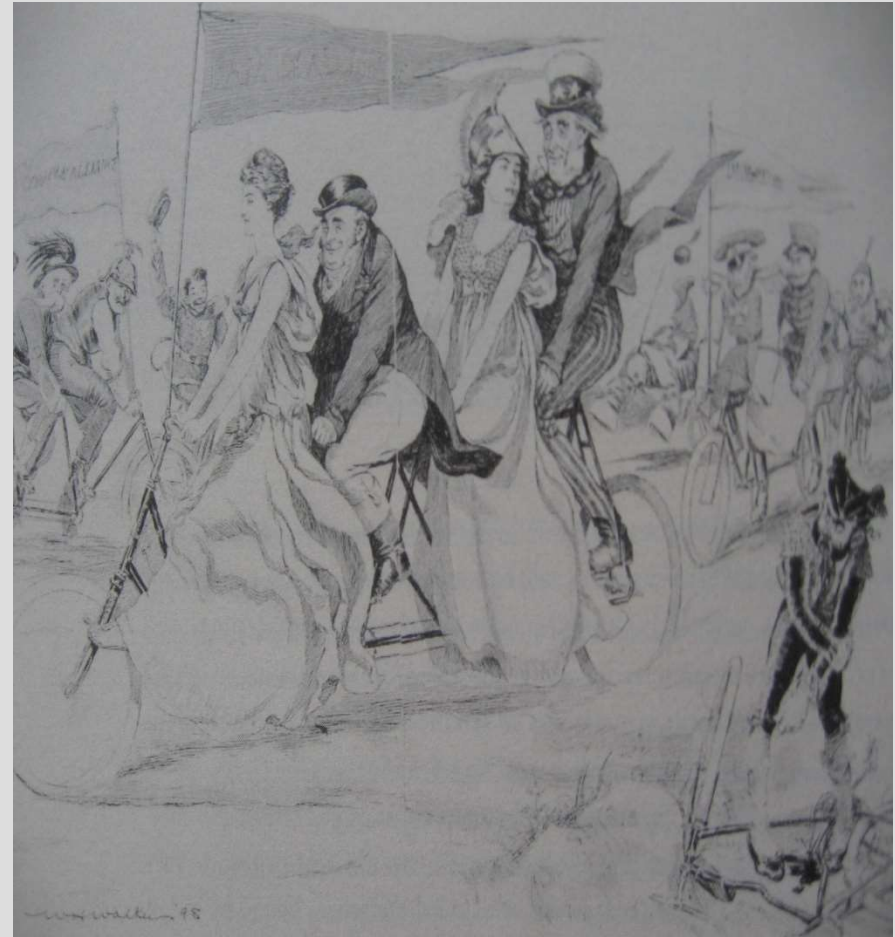
How did we get here?

	Period		Ruling Power	Rising Power		Result
1	First half of 16th century		France	Hapsburgs		War
2	16th–17th centuries		Hapsburgs	Ottoman Empire		War
3	17th century		Hapsburgs	Sweden		War
4	17th century		Dutch Republic	England		War
5	Late 17th–early 18th centuries		France	Great Britain		War
6	Late 18th–early 19th centuries		United Kingdom	France		War
7	Mid-19th century		United Kingdom, France	Russia		War
8	19th century		France	Germany		War
9	Late 19th–early 20th centuries		Russia, China	Japan		War
10	Early 20th century		United Kingdom	United States		No war
11	Early 20th century		Russia, U.K., France	Germany		War
12	Mid-20th century		Soviet Union, U.K., France	Germany		War
13	Mid-20th century		United States	Japan		War

From Allison et al 2015; cf. Organski-Kugler 1980; Gilpin 1981; Kennedy 1987; etc.

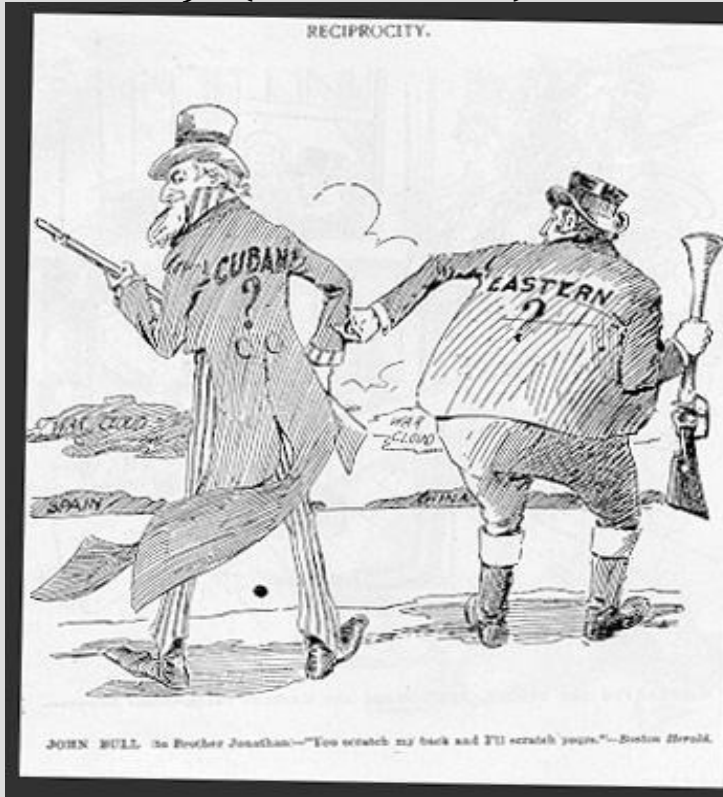
The “Great Rapprochement”

Life Magazine's William Walker: 28 July 1898 & 26 Oct 1899



The Great Rapprochement

1898 (boston herald)



1898 (Industrial Expo, NYC)



'Appeasement'? 'democracy'?



Balfour-Olney-Chamberlain
(*Punch* Feb 8, 1896)

Anglo-Saxonism!



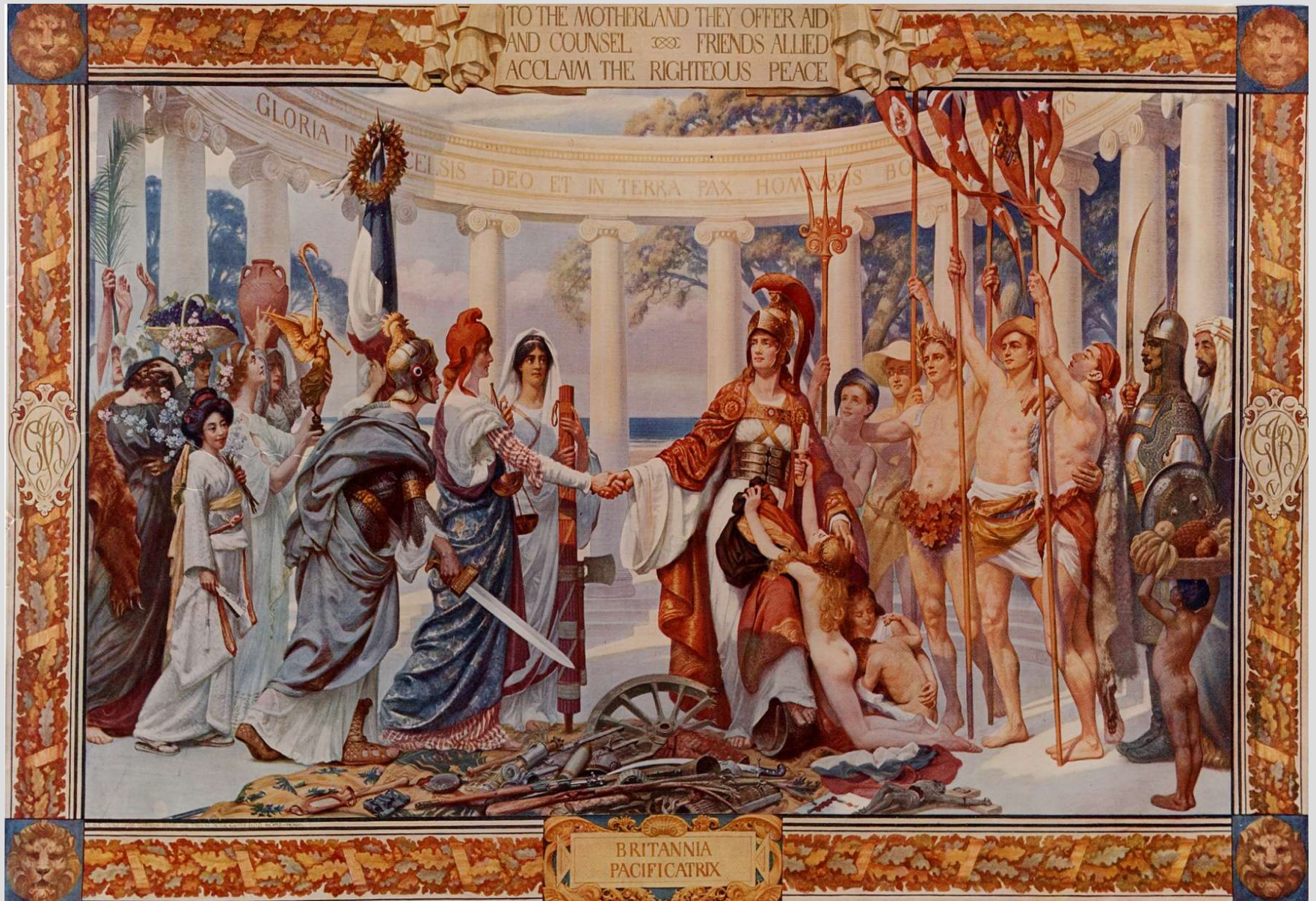
Salisbury-Cleveland, The Globe (Toronto) 12 Nov 1896

Anglo-what?

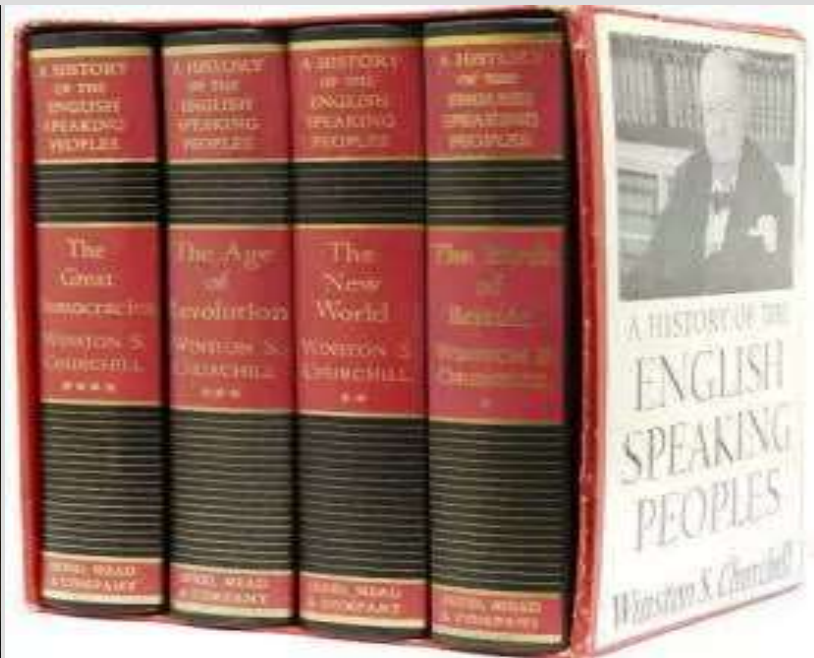
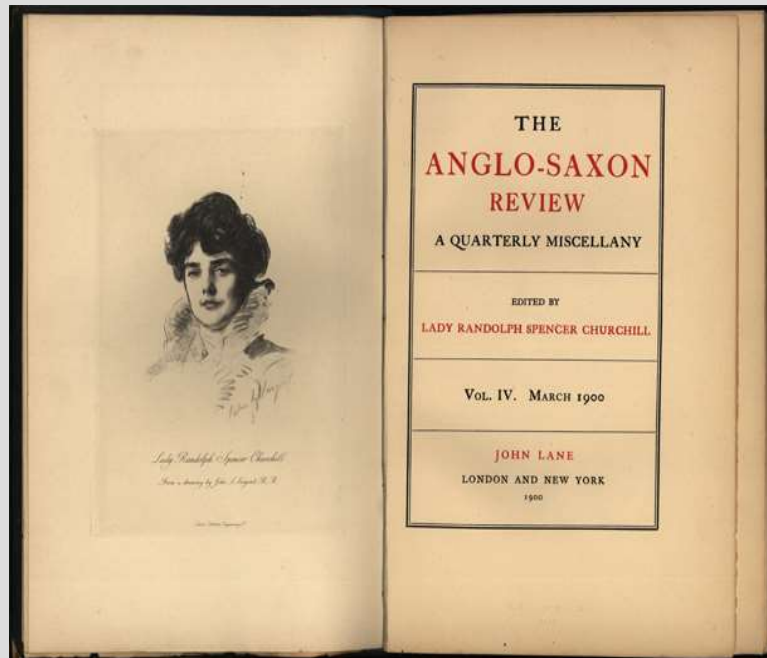
“ the nation formed by the union of the Angles, Saxons and other early Teutonic settlers in Britain, from whom the English, the Lowland Scotch, a great proportion of the present inhabitants of Ulster, and the mass of the population in the United States and the various Colonies have sprung”

(Anglo-Saxon, Sept 1887)

Britannia Pacifatrix (Foreign Office, 1921)



The Special Relationship



What next?



Nathalie Lees (*The Guardian*, 2017)

AASR

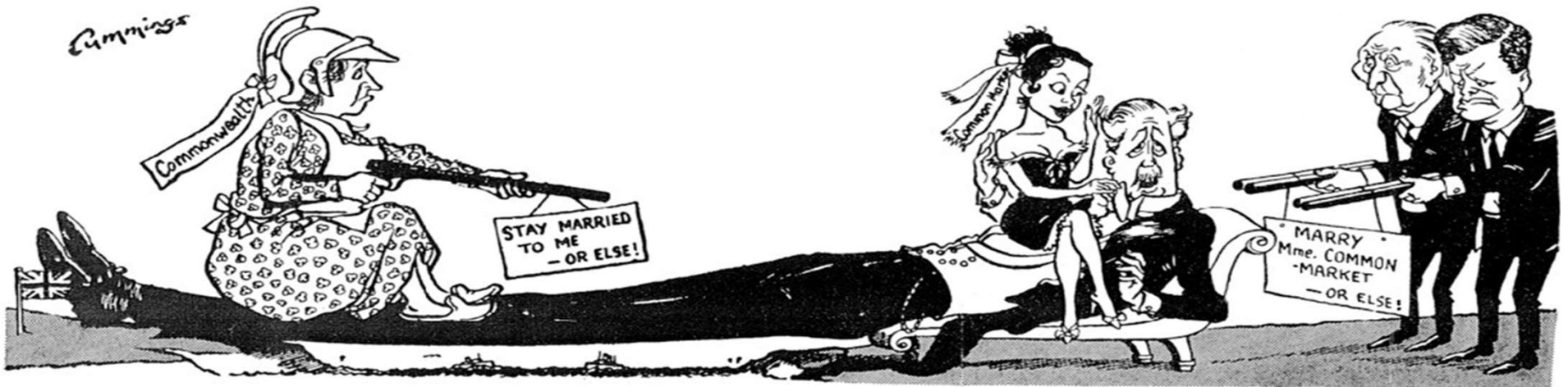
“Whenever we want to subvert any place, we find the British own an island within an easy reach.”

Frank Wisner to Kim Philby, 1952

“Ah, ‘the special relationship.’ It was a necessary myth, a bit like Christianity. But now where do we go?”

Sir Michael Howard to Ian Buruma, 2016

Brexit



Eine Zwangsehe reicht mir – aber zwei gleichzeitig ...

Michael Cummings. Britain's dilemma. In Erich Bliesener. *Europische Integration als Thema der Karikatur*. Heidelberg, 1962, p. 90.

2017



1892-1898 (Kramer 2004)

1892 PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI. (November 14, 1892)



THE RHODES COLOSSUS
REMOVING FROM CAPE TOWN TO GERMANY



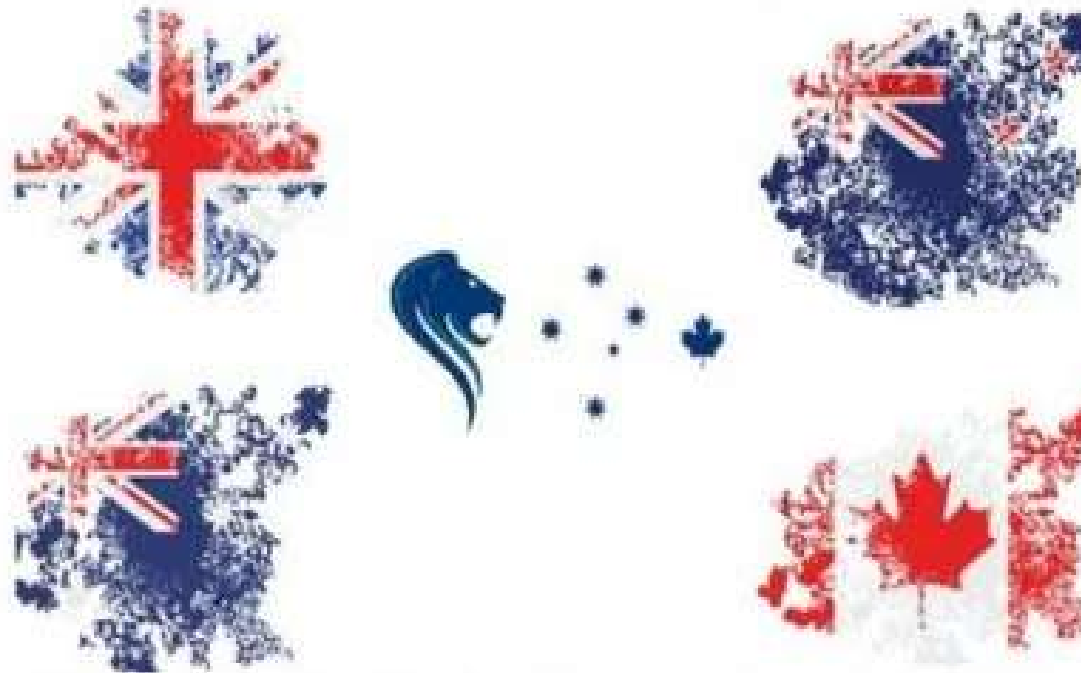
COLOSSUS OF THE PACIFIC

CANZUK?

POLL | Free movement proposed between Canada, U.K., Australia, New Zealand

James Skinner says free movement of citizens already occurs in the EU, and between Australia and New Zealand

By The Early Edition, CBC News | Posted: Mar 17, 2015 9:15 AM PT | Last Updated: Mar 17, 2015 1:26 PM PT



The Commonwealth Freedom of Movement Organization wants to see free movement policies between Canada, the U.K., Australia and New Zealand. (Commonwealth Freedom of Movement Organization)



Group calls on free movement between

When James Skinner moved from the United Kingdom to Australia, he fell in love with Melbourne, landed a great job, met a great group of friends, settled down in his new home — only to leave because permanent residency was much harder to obtain than he anticipated.

Stay Connected with CBC News



Latest British Columbia News



Remember that spectacular Lamborghini crash? 2 drivers now charged with street racing

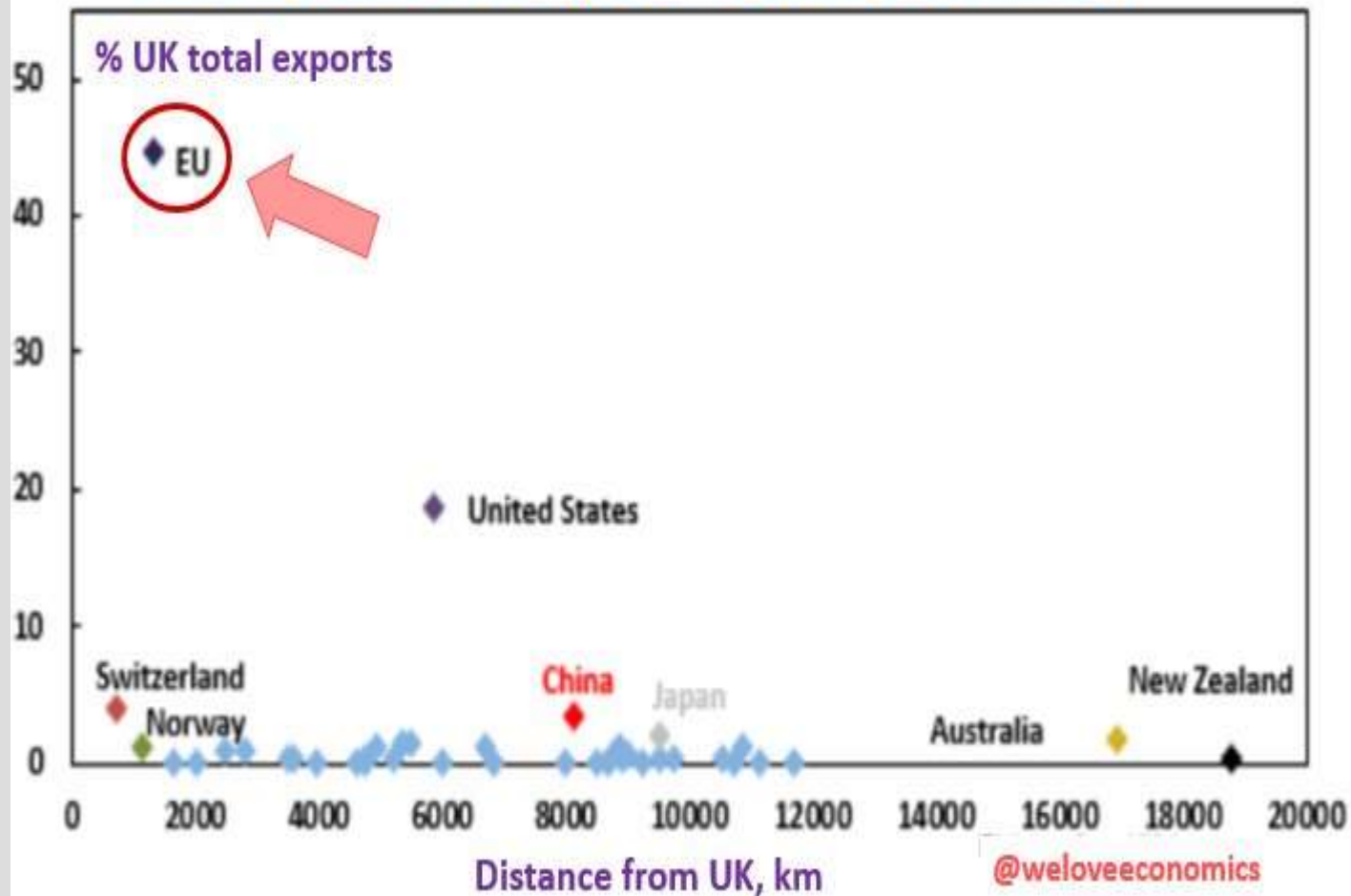
- Sexual extortion on the rise in Richmond say police
- UBC student arrested for attempted sexual assault
- Is TransLink really wasting taxpayers' money? 79
- Perrinton's wild horses getting closer to downtown

Must Watch



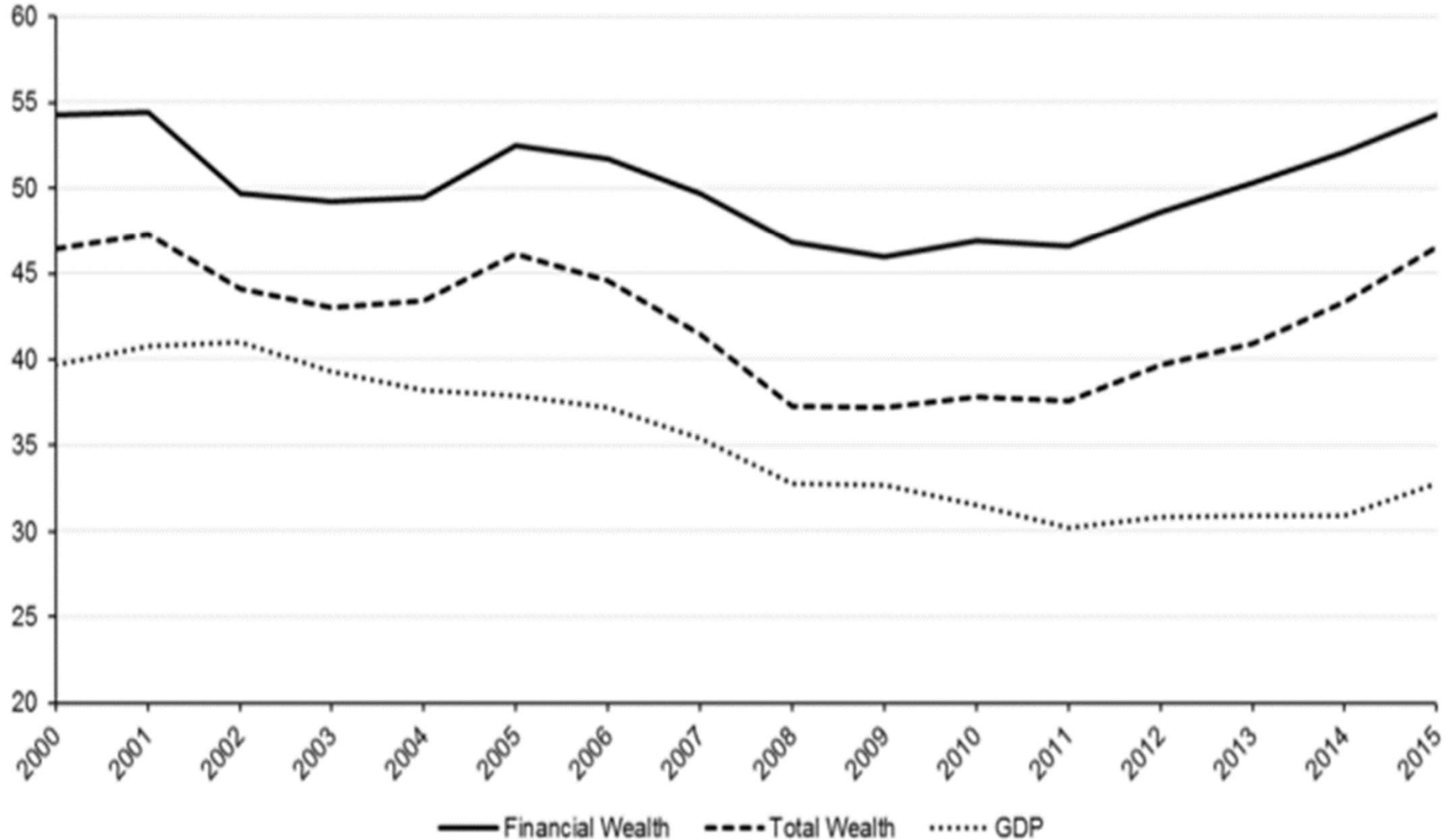
CANZUK?

UK exports and geographic proximity



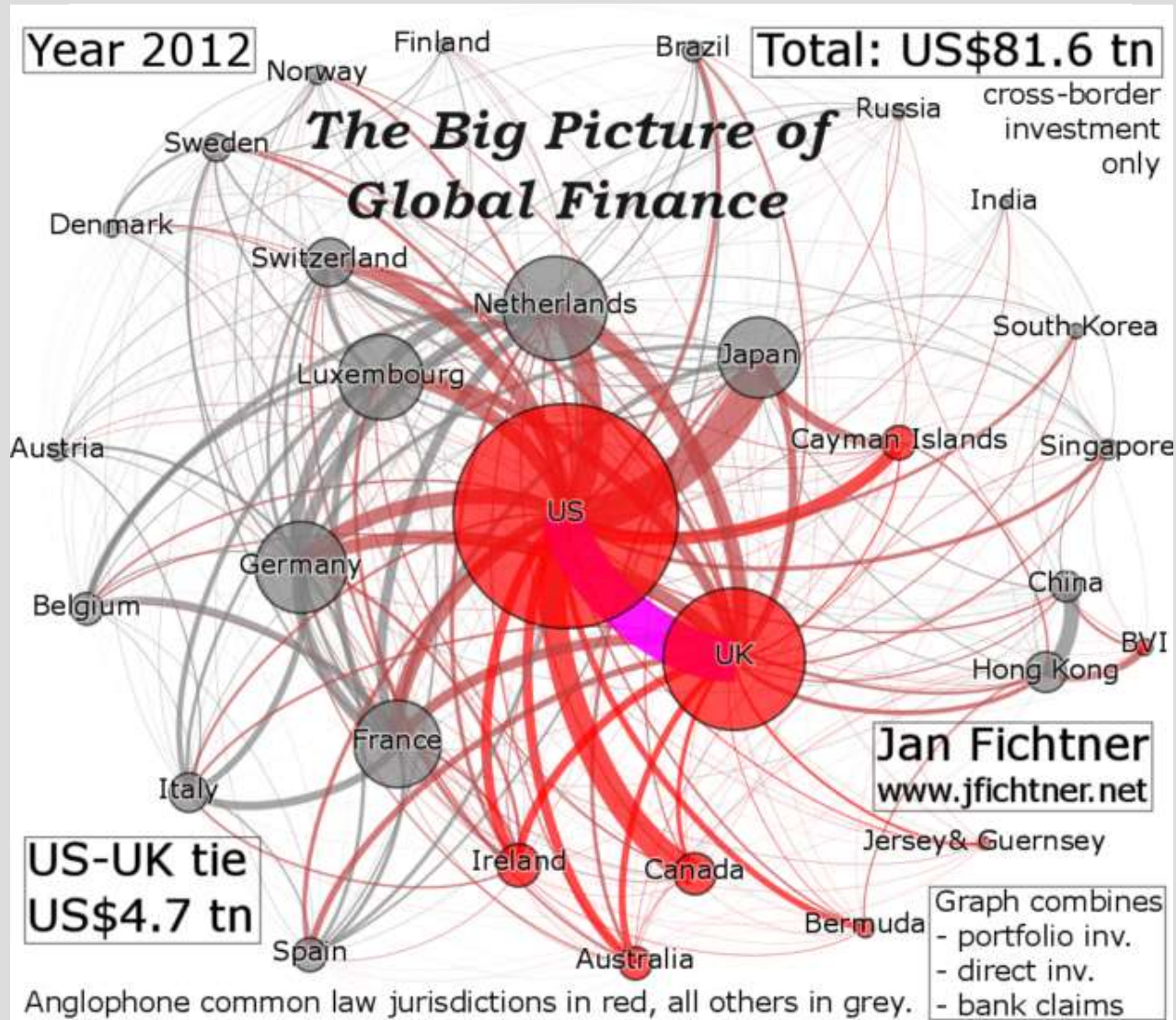
Any “good” news?

Share of the Anglosphere Countries in World GDP and Global Wealth, 2000-15 (%)




Fichter (2016): 9 segments of global finance: derivatives and foreign exchange trading, foreign exchange reserve holdings, market capitalization of publicly listed corporations, external banking deposits+ direct and portfolio investment.

Ties that bind



Ties that bind

Rank	Country	Rank	Country
1	British Virgin Islands	13	Bahamas
2	Luxembourg	14	Western Samoa
3	Hong Kong	15	Gibraltar
4	Jersey	16	Monaco
5	Bermuda	17	Seychelles
6	Cyprus	18	Belize
7	Taiwan	19	Guyana
8	Malta	20	Liberia
9	Mauritius	21	Marshall Islands
10	Cayman Islands	22	St Vincent and the Gren.
11	Lichtenstein	23	Nauru
12	Curaçao	24	Anguilla



Who to follow?

(in no particular order)

Jan Fichtner (Amsterdam)

David Haglund (Queen's)

Luca Bellocchio (Milano)

Helen Baxendale (Oxford)

Ben Wellings (Monash)

Duncan Bell (Cambridge)

Michael Kenny (Cambridge)

Nick Pearce (Bath)

Tim Legrand (ANU)

Andrew Mycock (Huddersfield)

Christopher Browning (Warwick)

Katherine Smits (Auckland)

Alexander Davies (La Trobe)

Jack Holland (Leeds)

Richard Aldrich (Warwick)

John Ravenhill (Waterloo)

Ben Tonra (Dublin)

Jeremy Green (Cambridge)

@srdjanvucetic