New Right’s Position on Globalization after the 2008 Financial Crisis
Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study
Abstract

This essay is an analytical study that examines the ideological features of the New Right, that has governed Britain and the United States after the 2008 financial crisis, regarding globalization. The purpose of the essay is to identify the most prominent similarities and differences in the positions of the New Right on globalization in both countries after 2008. The essay shows that the New Right differs in Britain and the United States in its position on globalization. In Britain, successive Conservative governments support globalization with its economic, political, cultural and ecological dimensions, but with conditions. On the other hand, Trump, the only Republican president in the United states after 2008, does not support globalization in any of its dimensions. However, there are similarities between the two doctrines on issues related to the assertion of sovereignty and national identity.

Key words


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1 Introduction

The public criticism of globalization by Theresa May and Donald Trump is evident on various occasions. It happened at Davos 2017, “Because talk of greater globalisation can make people fearful. For many, it means their jobs being outsourced and wages undercut. It means having to sit back as they watch their communities change around them” (May, 2017), and also at the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, “Globalism exerted a religious pull over past leaders, causing them to ignore their own national interests” (Trump, 2019a). This criticism is truly surprising. It is not because the leaders do not belong to the parties of the left that have long criticized globalization for greater equality and social justice, but because they are the leaders of the New Right in Britain and the United States, that have long supported the rise of globalization to reach unprecedented levels.

By the early 1980s, conservatism began to undergo ideological changes due to its great influence by globalization. The rise of the New Right at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, with its neoliberal doctrine in support of market economy and free trade, was an example of the rise of neoliberal characteristics of the global economic system that began to emerge after the Bretton Woods system. Conservatism, due its usual pragmatism, responded to globalization much more flexibly than other liberal and socialist ideologies. However, the enthusiasm for neoliberal ideas varied from country to another, culminating with the rise of the New Right in America and Britain led by Reagan and Thatcher. At the time, neoliberalism widely regarded as an Anglo-American phenomenon and became associated with globalization in what became known as neoliberal globalization. Globalization, supported by the New Right, benefited from neoliberal measures such as deregulation, free trade and liberalization. It accelerated significantly to its peak in 1980s and 1990s. However, the financial crisis has led to ideological changes in the New Right with specific implications, resulting in a sharp decline in various aspects of globalization in a phenomenon not seen since 1930s (Heywood, 2017, p. 86, 91).
The acceleration of globalization to its peak in 1980s and 1990s, driven by the support of the New Right in the United States and Britain, and the noticeable decline after the financial crisis, accompanied by public criticism by the leaders of the New Right, May and Trump, is a phenomenon worthy of study. Several studies have addressed this phenomenon from different perspectives. Regarding Britain, the studies focused mainly on the issue of Brexit in terms of its causes and possible consequences on Britain, Europe and the future international relations. In *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe*, a group of researchers addresses the issue of Brexit as a major event that surprised the world. The authors shed light on the overall social, economic and political conditions that led to the vote in favor of Brexit, which revolves mainly on issues of identity, sovereignty and national interests. They focus on the potential effects of Brexit on Britain and the European Union. In this book, the editors highlight the context in which the exit referendum took place, that is “rooted in the immediate, specific context of the internal politics of David Cameron’s Conservative Party” (Martill and Staiger, 2018, p.3). In doing so, they link the Brexit directly to the Cameron’s conservative policies.

On the other hand, other studies have addressed the decline of globalization, linking it to Trump’s policies, as *Globalization and its Discontents revisited: Anti-globalization in the Era of Trump*. In this book, Stiglitz explains that despite the benefits of globalization, which are reflected in increased global growth and low poverty in the period since the post-World War II, it is much less than its proponents claim. In addition to its benefits, globalization has many disadvantages that have led people to resent it, both in developed and developing countries. These disadvantages are inequality, increased influence of multinational corporations as well as direct globalization’s responsibility for global crisis, particularly the 2008 crisis. Stiglitz emphasizes that multinational corporations benefit from globalization in its current form while workers are badly affected. These corporations have great influence on the parties of the right that have long opposed policies in support of those affected by globalization. In addition, the parties of the left, that support equality and social justice, did not take effective positions to correct the imbalance in the process of globalization. As a result, “too many on both sides of the Atlantic succumbed to market ideology, influenced no doubt by the easy flow of funds from those whom these ideologies served so well. This led them to almost blindly follow the globalization agenda of the right.” (Stiglitz, 2018, p. 49). However, the financial crisis of 2008 showed all these imbalances,
and one of the priorities after the crisis was the election of politicians committed to changing the conditions of globalization. Accordingly, protectionism and nativism have emerged in many parts of the world but will not succeed, according to Stiglitz, who presents his vision of a fair globalization that benefits everyone (Stiglitz, 2018).

However, the study of globalization in terms of ideology related to the New Right is almost non-existent. Thus, this essay will address this issue to highlight aspects that are still somewhat uncovered. It is an analytical study of the ideological features of the New Right that has governed Britain and the United States after the 2008 financial crisis, regarding globalization. It aims to identify similarities and differences between the two countries in this period. By using globalization as a theoretical framework, I will analyze manifestos for the British Conservative Party and remarks for Republican President Donald Trump. Methodologically, I will identify and sort ideas in the texts according to the positions of the New Right on the core issues of globalization. In doing so, I seek to identify the main features that characterize the New Right in both countries and compare the results. Thus, this essay addresses the ideological features of the New Right regarding globalization only.

1.1 Purpose
This essay explores the main ideological features of the New Right, that has governed Britain and the United States after the 2008 financial crisis, regarding globalization. It examines the most notable changes that took place in this period. The essay aims to identify the most prominent similarities and differences in the positions of the New Right on globalization in both countries after 2008.

- What are the ideological characteristics of the New Right, that has governed Britain and the United States after 2008, regarding globalization?
- What are the similarities and differences that characterize the positions of the New Right, in Britain and the United States, on globalization in this period?
1.2 Background

1.2.1 New Right

After World War II, conservatism was characterized by clear pragmatic ideas that led to significant changes in its ideology. One of the most prominent features of the new doctrine of this period was the acceptance of a form of social democracy. This approach was reinforced by the prosperous economic development of the period that reinforced the concept of managed capitalism. Besides, with the fall of dictatorships in Spain and Portugal in the 1970s, the rest of the authoritarian conservatism ended. However, the 1970s were quite different for conservatism. It has been dominated by new ideas that differ with the prevailing Keynesian principles of a managed economy. These ideas are based on the free-market principle and non-state intervention. They prevailed in the United States and spread to the countries of Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand (Heywood, 2017, p. 82).

The New Right refers to a set of ideas that focus on tax cuts, censorship of the television and films. It is also characterized by tough attitudes towards immigration. In its doctrine, the New Right combines two different ideologies; neoliberalism that focus on a free-market economy and emphasizes on the non-state economic and social interference; and neoconservatism that focuses on traditional values and emphasizes social order and public morality. The New Right has always tried to maintain balance between these two ideologies which was often difficult. Consequently, tensions and divisions have characterized it since conflicts between the two ideologies have been present (Heywood, 2017, p. 83).

1.2.1.1 Neoliberalism

After long dominance of Keynesian thinking in the period following World War II, it shifted towards neoliberalism based on free-market principles. Neoliberalism believes that the market
can function and solve its problems without state intervention. Moreover, it emphasizes that the economic problems such as inflation and unemployment that prevailed in the 1970s was mainly due to state intervention in the economy. The most prominent features of neoliberalism are: privatization; spending cuts, tax cuts; deregulation and anti-statist and free-market principle. This includes the national and international levels. In 1970s, neoliberalism arose dramatically as globalization accelerated, particularly economic globalization. At the time, the economic international institutions such as the IMF and World Bank began to adopt the agenda of the leaders of the New Right, Thatcher and Regan, known as the “Washington consensus” that includes the previous policies such as free market and liberalization (Heywood, 2017, p. 83-87).

1.2.1.2 Neoconservatism

Neoconservatism arose in the United States in 1970s in response to the liberal reforms of the 1960s and the fear that the values that prevailed in that period would lead to the disintegration of society. Neoconservatism are basically based on social order and public morality. It focuses on authority and discipline to promote social values and fight crime. This includes society and its smaller units such as family, school and even workplace. The nation and national identity have a prominent status in conservative ideology, and their protection from internal and external threats is the main concern. Neoconservatives believes that it is the nation that gives society its common cultures and identity that derived from history and traditions. Neoconservatism attaches great importance to national identity and culture, which derived from history and common traditions. Hence, neoconservatism seeks to impose restrictions on the increasing migration caused by globalization, as it leads to multiculturalism that undermines national culture and threatens the common identity of the host society (Heywood, 2017, p. 88-90).

1.2.2 Globalization in history

Since ancient times, inventions have long contributed to overcoming the geographical and social barriers that prevented people from connecting around the world. The invention of writing in
Mesopotamia (Iraq now), Egypt and china more than four thousand years ago, together with the invention of wheels, helped to drive this process, which is a primitive form of globalization. Globalization has been sustained and enhanced by the technology discovered later in the ages. By the 16th century, Europe has emerged as a major supporter of globalization. Scientific inventions and the industrial revolution have led to the expansion of corporate activity and the flourishing of trade worldwide, which resulted in the expansion of markets that accompanied colonialism. After World War II, decolonialization led to the emergence of a new world order based on independent interconnected nation-states within the framework of the United Nations. Globalization accelerated driven by technological advances in industry, transport, communications and the media (Steger, 2017).

2 Theory

The importance of the theory is that it provides with the ideas and the main concepts we need in the analysis (Lowndes, Marsh & Stoker, 2018, p. 225).

2.1 Definition

Nowadays, globalization has become a common concept in both popular and academic circles. Providing a definition that address all its aspects and dimensions is not a simple matter. In his book Globalization: a very short introduction, Steger explains this fact. Steger addresses the concept of globalization, its definition and dimensions, in a broad and detailed manner. Thus, my study will focus on this definition with its dimensions as it is in line with the study methodology.

Globalization can be described as “the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world-space” (Steger, 2017, p. 17). It refers to the increasing interconnectedness worldwide in the political, economic, cultural and environmental spheres. globalization can be achieved by a shift from the nationality in the social condition to the globality, or in other words, to increasing relationships, activities and transboundary cooperation,
which reflects the evolution of people’s consciousness towards thinking globality (Steger, 2017, p. 11-17).

Similarly, Baylis, Smith and Owens (2017) provide almost identical definition of globalization. Moreover, they explain the difference between globalization and internationalization. According to Baylis et al. (2017), internationalizations refers to the increasing interdependence between states as national units with borders and barriers. However, globalization refers to more than interdependence, “[it] refers to a process in which the very distinction between the domestic and the external breaks down. Borders are no longer barriers” (p. 20). Hence, Globalization emphasizes the demise of the borders and powers of the national state.

2.2 The four dimensions of globalization

2.2.1 The economic dimension

After World War II, the Bretton Woods emerged as a new international economic order under the leadership of the United States and Britain. The major economies agreed to expand international trade under defined rules and conditions. In addition, they established a new monetary exchange system based on the peg of the currencies of countries to a fixed gold value of the US dollar. Through the Bretton woods system, National states could control their borders according to their own economic and political policies. Moreover, it resulted in the creation of the major international economic organizations: the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank; and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that later became the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Steger, 2017, p. 38-40).

Most of the conservative parties in the United States and Western Europe embraced Keynesian economic thinking. State intervention and so-called “controlled capitalism” led to higher employment rates and expanded social welfare. In this period, large global economic blocks emerged such as the EU and APEC. However, in the 1970s, the Bretton Woods system was undermined by US measures after global political changes weakened the competitiveness of US industry (Steger, 2017, p. 40).
The collapse of the Bretton Woods system led to instability in the global economy, resulting in high inflation and unemployment and a decline in economic growth. Neoliberalism, the new economic approach adopted by conservative parties in the Western Europe, became very popular in the face of existing Keynesianism. In the USA and Britain, Thatcher and Regan emerged as the leading advocates to neoliberalism that led to the liberalization of global markets, pushing globalization to new levels. The new world economic order based on neoliberalism was strengthened with the fall of communism in the 1990s. Neoliberalism is based on free market economies that guarantees free competition. Hence, it focuses on eliminating tariffs and barriers to trade and capital among nations. Thus, the internationalization of trade and the liberalization of financial transactions is one of the most prominent features of economic globalization (Steger, 2017, p. 40-42).

2.2.1.1 The internationalization of trade and the liberalization of financial transactions.

The most important neoliberal measures are: privatization of public companies; the reduction of expenditure; minimal government; large tax cuts; deregulation of the economy, liberalization of trade and industry. These measures have led to the expansion of international markets and brought many benefits for individuals and nations. The most prominent advantages are the spread of technologies worldwide, low rates of poverty and the Growth of many developing countries. On the other hand, the internationalization of trade and the liberalization of financial transactions had negative aspects manifested in the unequal distribution of these benefits across nations. Indeed, inequality is a prominent feature of this process. In addition, investors’ focus on fast-growing sectors and the weak restrictions on financial flows spread uncertainty in the global markets, leading to significant volatility. Consequently, global economic crises have emerged such as the 1997-8 Asian economic crises (Steger, 2017, p. 42-46).

2.2.1.2 The growing power of transnational corporations
“TNCs are powerful enterprises comprising the parent company and subsidiary units in more than one country, which all operate under a coherent system of decision-making and a common strategy” (Steger, 2017, p. 53). The growing number of TNCs since the 1970, especially after the fall of communism in the 1990s, point to the expansion of economic globalization. TNCs control investments, resources and technology to produce and distribute their products worldwide. The headquarters of these corporations are often located in America, Europe and a few other countries which reflects the difference in power between North and South. However, most of their activities and operations have concentrated in the country of the south which supply them with cheap labor and resources. Moreover, the latter countries provide high-profit conditions compared to the North. This situation has led to a structural change in the global economy. As globalization increases, the influence of TNCs in the global economy increases. Nowadays, TNCs compete with states in their roles. They determine the global industrial and commercial activities, and thus determine the welfare of people around the world (Steger, 2017, p. 53-56).

2.2.1.3 The increasing role of IMF, the World Bank and WTO

The IMF and World Bank as well as the WTO are the main global institutions that make and control global economic policies. They are closely related to economic globalization. In the 1970s, these institutions began to encourage and support neoliberal measures to deregulate and integrate the global markets. The process accelerated after the fall of communism in the 1990s. However, the policies of structural adjustment programs imposed by the IMF and the World Bank (Washington Consensus) to reform the internal economies in the developing countries did not help them but increased their problems. These policies focused primarily on the interests of transnational corporations (Steger, 2017, p. 56-59).

2.2.2 The political dimension

The peace of Westphalia established the principle of sovereign state within its territorial borders. Accordingly, a long period of war between European powers ended. However, as globalization accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, the world order began to tend towards more political
interconnectedness, characterized by increasing interdependence and declining national sovereignty of states. The rise of political globalization is related to the growing importance of regional and global governance, through the emergence of international and regional institutions, organizations and blocs as power centers that challenge the sovereignty of the nation-states in a global network (Steger, 2017, p. 63-65).

At the municipal level, many cities and federal states in the world have developed their own economic policies and established cooperative relations between them, “Hong Kong, New York, Shanghai, Singapore, Sydney and Tokyo sometimes are more closely connected to each other than they are to their national governments” (Steger, 2017, p.73). At the regional level, many regional blocs and organizations have emerged such as APEC, ASEAN and the EU. Although these organizations often seek to achieve economic cooperation and integration, they may develop common institutions whose powers extend beyond those of member states, such as the European Union. Similarly, at the global level, organizations and bodies have been formed that are limited to the membership of states only. These organizations make international decisions through representative of member states. The most prominent of these organizations are the UN, NATO, WTO, IMF (Steger, 2017, p. 73-74).

In addition, a manifestation of political globalization is the emergence of civil society organizations. These NGOs, such as Doctors without Borders and Greenpeace, are increasingly influential worldwide in their positions against many of the world’s economic and political policies (Steger, 2017, p. 74).

2.2.2.1 Migration

Increasing globalization has increased people’s movements around the world. These movements have begun to undermine the principle of state sovereignty over its borders. Hence, many countries are working to control and prevent people from crossing their borders, especially those coming from southern countries. Immigration has become one of the most important political
issues that concern most developed countries, especially with the increasing political and economic crises in the countries of the South (Steger, 2017, p. 67).

### 2.2.3 The cultural dimension

The revolution in global communication and information networks, as well as the rapid development of communication devices and facilities, have led to an unprecedented acceleration in cultural globalization. This includes symbols, norms, values and even everyday lifestyle. While skeptics consider that globalization leads to the domination of Western culture as a global culture, some supporters of globalization consider this domination to be an advantage, not a disadvantage, “Fukuyama explicitly welcomes the global spread of Anglo-American values and lifestyle, equating the Americanization of the world with the expansion of democracy and free markets” (Steger, 2017, p.83). However, other supporters praise the digital culture of globalization, while others are just interested in the values of the free market (Steger, 2017, p.83).

#### 2.2.3.1 The role of media

The global culture is directed and transmitted around the world through international media companies. These transnational companies have developed greatly, taking advantage of the great development in modern science and technology. In recent decades, the influence of some international companies has increased greatly in the areas of news, entertainment and others. Moreover, cooperation and integration between the activities of these companies led to the domination of a few media companies such as Google, Disney and News Corporation, that began to structure and frame people's identities and tendencies worldwide (Steger, 2017, p. 87-88).

#### 2.2.3.2 The globalization of languages

Globalization affects the languages used worldwide, “The globalization of languages can be viewed as a process by which some languages are increasingly used in international
communication while others lose their prominence and even disappear for lack of speaker” (Steger, 2017, p. 89). This is due to several factors, the most prominent of which are:

- The increasing role of the internet in the daily life in order to communicate and obtain information, and thus the growing need for the languages that are most used.
- The need for language in order to study and travel leads to its spread outside its borders.
- The spread of language due to its use in scientific publications worldwide.
- Immigration: language spreads as groups of people spread and move around the world (Steger, 2017, p. 89).

### 2.2.4 The ecological dimension

The previous dimensions of globalization are closely related to each other and affect each other. In addition, each of these dimensions greatly affects the fourth dimension: the ecological dimension. The increased industrial activity caused by economic globalization is affecting the environment and natural resources on the planet. Besides, the prevailing global cultural norms and values contribute significantly to how people deal with the surrounding environment and with current environmental issues. Furthermore, since all people share this planet, the responsibility to preserve it is global. Hence, the political dimension has a major impact on the environmental dimension (Steger, 2017, p. 92).

Accelerated economic globalization and irresponsible environmental culture have led to environmental problems that threaten the safety of the planet, such as global climate change and transboundary pollution. Global warming leads to an increase in the global temperature, which makes it one of the most prominent problems threatening the planet, “the rapid build-up of gas emissions, including carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous and sulphur oxides, and chlorofluorocarbons, in our planet’s atmosphere has greatly enhanced Earth’s capacity to trap heat” (Steger, 2017, p. 98). The effects of pollution on the environment are just as bad. It leads to degradation of biodiversity and threatens to disappear a large proportion of the total animals and plants in the world. Moreover, transboundary pollution is damaging the ozone layer protecting the Earth, and its acid rain is damaging forest, soil and water (Steger, 2017, p. 95-96).
International political decisions have not responded adequately to these challenges and threats. States have failed to adopt harmonized policies for environmental and economic governance at the national and international levels. However, the 2015 Paris agreement was an important step to address some of these shortcomings, although not all its provisions are legally binding, as sovereignty limits interference in many national issues (Steger, 2017, p. 106-107).

3 Methodology and resources

3.1 qualitative idea analysis

The choice of the research design and the methodology is closely related and highly depended on the goal. The importance of descriptive research is due to the selection of a set of analytical dimensions that enable to identify the nature of the case studied on the one hand and its relationship to the other cases on the other (Lowndes, et al., 2018, p. 223). Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson, Towns and Wängnerud (2017, p. 213) describe systematic descriptive idea analysis as a most common and aims to clarify a text and highlight the meaning thematically and systematically.

Accordingly, I will use qualitative idea analysis to find answers to the research questions and thus reach the goal of the essay. By using dimensions, I will identify and sort the ideas in the texts according to the positions of the New Right, both in Britain and the United States, on the core issues of the four dimensions of globalization. This method enables me to identify the main characteristics of the New Right regarding globalization. I will then compare the results between the two countries and draw conclusions. According to Beckman (2005, p. 52-53), descriptive content analysis is basically based on comparing content with something else. Subsequently, conclusions can be obtained.
3.2 The primary resources

With regards to the New Right in Britain, the primary resources on which the qualitative text analysis is carried out are the political manifestos of the British conservative party concerning the period after 2008. Accordingly, 2010 manifesto will be selected together with 2015 manifesto, 2017 manifesto and 2019 manifesto. However, the focus will be on 2017 manifesto and 2019 manifesto as they relate to the post-Brexit vote, as it could mark a significant change in British politics. These two manifestos relate to the leadership of Theresa May and Boris Johnson of the British Conservative Government.

About the New Right in the United States, the only Republican administration after 2008 is the administration of President Donald Trump. Thus, president Trump’s speech and remarks will be chosen. This includes his speech to the republican masses after the nomination for the presidency of the United States by the Republican Party, his internal speech to the Americans and his speech to the international community. Accordingly, the following resources will be chosen:

- Trump’s remarks in State of the Union Address (2019).
- Trump’s remarks to the 72nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly (2017).
- Trump’s remarks to the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (2019).

The difference in the selection of resources between Britain and the United States is due to the different form of government between the two states. Britain has a parliamentary system of government, where power is concentrated in the majority party that chooses the prime minister who carries out its policies. In the United States, however, there is a presidential system of government. The president has wide powers to implement the policies he sets, with the help of his own administration. In addition, although there may be a difference between the Republican ideology and Trump’s policies, Trump remains the Republican president. Hence, his policies can be considered as features of the New Right in this period.
4 Analysis

4.1 The economic dimension

4.1.1 British conservative positions on globalization

During Cameron’s leadership, the change in the position of the British Conservative Party toward Britain’s relationship with the European Union began to take shape. This was evident by allowing the British people to decide the fate of this relationship through a public referendum, “Only the Conservative Party will deliver real change and real choice on Europe, with an in-out referendum by the end of 2017” (Conservative Party, 2015, p. 72). At the same time, however, the party emphasized the need to expand the Single Market and promote free trade. Obviously, the main purpose of the choice to leave the European Union was to restore powers,

Labour failed to give you a choice on the EU. They handed over major new powers to Brussels without your consent and gave away £7 billion of the British rebate. We have taken action in Europe to promote your economic security. We cut the EU budget for the first time ever, saving British taxpayers £8.15 billion. We took Britain out of Eurozone bailouts, including for Greece – the first ever return of powers from Brussels. Our Prime Minister vetoed a new EU treaty that would have damaged Britain’s interests. And we have pursued a bold, positive, pro-business agenda, exempting smallest businesses from red tape, promoting free trade, and pushing to extend the Single Market to new sectors, like digital. (Conservative Party, 2015, p. 72)

Thus, this choice will be discussed later, as it is mainly related to the political dimension. In fact, the economic dimension and the political dimension is closely connected.

After the vote to exit the European Union, the May-led Conservative Party emphasized the desire to establish economic partnership with the European Union seeking to reduce trade barriers as
much as possible. It reaffirmed economic policy in which Britain plays a leading global role. This policy is based on open markets, and free trade and investment,

*The United Kingdom will be a global champion for an open economy, free trade, and the free flow of investment, ideas and information. Open and free trade is key to international prosperity, stability and security – it is an essential component of an economy that works for everyone. We believe the UK must seize the unique opportunities it has to forge a new set of trade and investment relationships around the world, building a global, outward looking Britain. (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 38-39)*

However, the party believes that markets need rules that are constantly updated in order to achieve the goal of everyone’s well-being, “Capitalism and free markets remain the best way to deliver prosperity and economic security, lifting millions of people out of poverty around the world. Markets need rules and these rules need to be updated to reflect our changing economy” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 16). Hence, the British Conservative Party supports a free-market economy, but with conditions.

In addition, the Johnson-led Conservative Party believes that Britain, which has long been a world leader in trade in manufacturers, will be a leader in services trade, “Just as we led the way in opening up trade in manufactured goods in the last two centuries, we should open up trade in services, in which the majority of us work and where most new jobs will be created” (Conservative Party, 2019, p. 57). It is an ambitious economic policy based on expansion and leadership in trade worldwide.

Accordingly, the British Conservative Party is characterized by economic policies based on free trade and investment, and open markets, that is subject to roles, “We do not believe in untrammeled free markets” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 9). Besides, it celebrates London as a global financial center that strengthens Britain’s economic position and its connection with the world, “Our global businesses and London’s position as the global center of finance make us
more interconnected with the global economy than any other comparable nation.” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 37). Furthermore, the party seeks to make Britain occupy a prominent position in the World Trade Organization, “We will also redouble our efforts to promote British business and UK exports and dismantle barriers to trade and retake our seat at the World Trade Organisation” (Conservative Party, 2019, p. 57). Thus, the party’s position is supportive of economic globalization with conditions, compared to Steger (2017).

4.1.2 President Trump’s positions on globalization

Trump does not believe in the principles of an economy based on free trade and open markets. On the contrary he believes that these policies have hurt the interest of Americans a lot. When he was nominated for the presidency by the Republican Party, Trump promised his fans not to enter into multilateral international trade agreements, considering them harmful to the national interest. Instead, he expressed his intention to conclude bilateral agreements that serve the American interest,

I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers or that diminishes our freedom and our independence. We will never ever sign bad trade deals. America first again, America first!

Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries. No longer will we enter into these massive transactions with many countries that are thousands of pages long and which no one from our country even reads or understands. (Trump, 2016)

When he became president in 2017, Trump reaffirmed this policy. He considered that international trade, its institutions and norms, did not lead to the welfare of the Americans people, on the contrary, it led to the misery of large groups of people,

For too long, the American people were told that mammoth multinational trade deals, unaccountable international tribunals, and powerful global bureaucracies were the best way to promote their success. But as those promises flowed, millions of jobs vanished and thousands of factories disappeared. Others gamed the system and broke
the rules. And our great middle class, once the bedrock of American prosperity, was forgotten and left behind, but they are forgotten no more and they will never be forgotten again. (Trump, 2017)

It is a clear statement on a policy rejecting the principle of a free-market economy. Hence, this policy seeks to impose tariffs on foreign goods, “The United States has just announced tariffs on another $200 billion in Chinese-made goods for a total, so far, of $250 billion” (Trump, 2018). Moreover, Trump promises not to hesitate to impose more (Trump, 2018).

Trump’s policy includes more restrictions on foreign investment, and he celebrates similar policies from other countries, “The United States has recently strengthened our laws to better screen foreign investments in our country for national security threats, and we welcome cooperation with countries in this region and around the world that wish to do the same” (Trump, 2018). In addition, Trump has been criticizing the World Trade Organization and believes that it needs to change, “The World Trade Organization needs drastic change” (Trump, 2019a), just like what he believes and works about NAFTA.

Accordingly, Trump’s economic policy supports protectionism. It does not support economic globalization, compared to Steger (2017). Trump does not believe in free trade and open markets, nor does he believe in relevant regional and international institutions. In addition, this policy prefers bilateral agreements, not multilateral ones that based on interdependence and cooperation. Thus, this policy is significantly different from that of the British Conservative Party.
4.2 The political dimension

4.2.1 British conservative positions on globalization

The ideology of the Conservative Party in this period is characterized by the assertion of Britain's Sovereignty and interdependence in its international dealings. The party believes in establishing relations and partnerships with countries and international bodies without giving up national powers. Hence, it supports changing the relationship with the European Union to be a relationship between separate countries within the framework of the European Union which does not interfere in the national affairs of the member states,

*We are clear about what we want from Europe. We say: yes to the Single Market. Yes to turbocharging free trade. Yes to working together where we are stronger together than alone. Yes to a family of nation states, all part of a European Union – but whose interests, crucially, are guaranteed whether inside the Euro or out. No to ‘ever closer union.’ No to a constant flow of power to Brussels. No to unnecessary interference. And no, of course, to the Euro, to participation in Eurozone bail-outs or notions like a European Army. (Conservative Party, 2015, p. 72)*

After the vote in favor of Brexit, the party reaffirmed this principle. It believes that Brexit will enhance the participation of the British people in shaping their policies in all areas,

*As powers return from the EU, we will be able to determine the level best placed to take decisions on these issues, ensuring that power sits closer to the people of the United Kingdom than ever before. We expect that the outcome will be a significant increase in the decision-making power of each devolved administration. (Conservative Party, 2015, p. 37)*

Hence, the goal is to enable the British to make their own decisions. Thus, the issue of sovereignty and powers is the main reason for Britain’s exit from the European Union.
Based on the principle of sovereignty, however, the Conservative Party highlights the important role of the blocs and international bodies that Britain itself helped create, and it emphasizes supporting Britain's membership in them. This includes the United nations and its bodies, the G20, G7, NATO and others,

_The security and prosperity of the United Kingdom is built on the international institutions that we helped to found and will continue to help maintain: the United Nations and the UN Security Council, NATO – the cornerstone of our defence, the Commonwealth, the G20, G7 and the World Trade Organization. We will continue to give strong support to an international order in which rules govern state conduct; in our own behaviour we will support this system and apply it in a principled way._

_Conservative Party, 2015, p. 38_

Accordingly, the party’s ideology is characterized by supporting the world order and its international institutions based on independent nation states that cooperate to achieve security and prosperity.

The British Conservative Party believes in controlled immigration. It wants to adjust the immigration system so that it contributes to providing the economic sectors with the skills and qualified workers they lack, “We will therefore ask the independent Migration Advisory Committee to make recommendations to the government about how the visa system can become better aligned with our modern industrial strategy” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 20). On the other hand, the Conservative Party supports Britain’s being a place for asylum seekers. However, it believes that reforms are needed to enable those who deserve this right to obtain it, “Wherever possible, the government will offer asylum and refuge to people in parts of the world affected by conflict and oppression, rather than to those who have made it to Britain” Conservative Party, 2017, p. 40). Furthermore, the party emphasizes the role of cooperation with the United Nations and relevant international organizations on this issue (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 40).
Accordingly, the party supports regional and international forms of cooperation, provided that the powers relating to the British state are preserved. On this basis, the party supports international institutions and the agreements concluded within its framework. Besides, the party does not believe in the freedom of movements of individual across borders without control. However, it respects international conventions related to asylum and human rights. Thus, the British Conservative Party supports political globalization with conditions, compared to Steger (2017).

4.2.2 President Trump’s positions on globalization

Trump’s doctrine is based mainly on the importance of state sovereignty and the need to preserve its independence against any form of interference. He considers this as a path to freedom, democracy and prosperity, “Sovereign and independent nations are the only vehicle where freedom has ever survived, democracy has ever endured, or peace has ever prospered. And so we must protect our sovereignty and our cherished independence above all” (Trump, 2018). Hence, Trump believes that all nations should focus on their national interests and the welfare of their people for the well-being and for world peace,

*The future does not belong to globalists. The future belongs to patriots. The future belongs to sovereign and independent nations who protect their citizens, respect their neighbors, and honor the differences that make each country special and unique.*

*It is why we in the United States have embarked on an exciting program of national renewal. In everything we do, we are focused on empowering the dreams and aspirations of our citizens.* (Trump, 2019a)

Thus, Trump argues that his patriotic policies will prevail in the future in exchange for a retreat of globalization (Trump, 2019a).
In addition, Trump does not believe in international institutions and their policies. He considers that their powers are contrary to national sovereignty. Thus, he criticizes the United Nations and continues to withdraw from international institutions and agreements,

*We withdrew from the Human Rights Council, and we will not return until real reform is enacted. For similar reasons, the United States will provide no support in recognition to the International Criminal Court. As far as America is concerned, the ICC has no jurisdiction, no legitimacy, and no authority. The ICC claims near-universal jurisdiction over the citizens of every country, violating all principles of justice, fairness, and due process. We will never surrender America’s sovereignty to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy. (Trump, 2018)*

Hence, Trump absolutely rejects global governance. Moreover, he criticizes NATO and considers it does not belong to the future. He believes that instead of engaging in multilateral cooperation, it is more beneficial for the United States to cooperate with separate countries as required by the American interest,

*This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the State of Israel. Recently I have said that NATO was obsolete because it did not properly cover terror. And also that many of the member countries were not paying their fair share”. (Trump, 2016)*

Similarly, Trump emphasizes this doctrine on most occasions.

Regarding immigration, Trump rejects uncontrolled immigration and he adopts “an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people” (Trump, 2016). However, he considers other forms of migration as a source of violence and crime in American society, or a major cause of unemployment and low wages,

*Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens. The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources. (Trump, 2016)*
In addition, Trump refuses to cooperate with the United Nation on the issue of immigration since “[it] should not be governed by an international body unaccountable to our own citizens” (Trump, 2018). Moreover, Trump believes that NGOs help illegal immigration and thus help to exploit people and to penetrating the national borders of countries,

> Nearly one third of women who make the journey north to our border are sexually assaulted along the way. Yet, here in the United States and around the world, there is a growing cottage industry of radical activists and non-governmental organizations that promote human smuggling. These groups encourage illegal migration and demand erasure of national borders. (Trump, 2019a)

The only cooperation Trump seeks is to work with neighboring countries to stop immigration (Trump, 2019a).

Accordingly, Trump adopts an isolationist doctrine. His policies do not support political globalization, compared to Steger (2017). Trump does not believe in regional or global governance. Instead, he emphasizes the sovereignty of the American state. Admittedly, he agrees with the doctrine of the British Conservative Party on this issue and on some related issues such as controlled immigration. However, unlike the Conservative Party, Trump does not support multilateral international cooperation in addition to that he continues to criticize the performance of the United Nations and its bodies. Moreover, he does not support the agreements concluded within its framework, including those related to asylum, for example, as the Conservative Party do. Thus, Trump’s policies differ significantly from the policies of the British Conservative Party.
4.3 The cultural dimension

4.3.1 British conservative positions on globalization

The party’s ideology is based on achieving integration into British society on the basis of the common values of the British and their way of life. Thus, the party focuses on the role of the English language in integrating immigrants within society, and emphasizes its role in public institutions,

Being able to speak English is a fundamental part of integrating into our society. We have introduced tough new language tests for migrants and ensured councils reduce spending on translation services. Next, we will legislate to ensure that every public sector worker operating in a customer-facing role must speak fluent English. And to encourage better integration into our society, we will also require those coming to Britain on a family visa with only basic English to become more fluent over time, with new language tests for those seeking a visa extension. (Conservative Party, 2015, p. 31)

However, the party seeks to spread the values of democracy, civil liberties, democracy, free media and the rule of law in the world, “We will continue to promote democracy, the rule of law, property entitlements, a free and open media, and accountable institutions in countries and societies across the world” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 39). Hence, it supports long-standing cultural and media institutions, such as the BBC World Service and the British Council, to play this role, “We will place the BBC World Service and the British Council on a secure footing so they are able to promote the best of British values around the globe and build strong ties between our local communities and other countries” (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 39). In addition, the party seeks to support all international initiatives that promote these values in the world (Conservative Party, 2019, p. 53).
Accordingly, on the one hand, the party seeks to promote integration into British society on the basis of common British values and the important role of the English language, which is not conducive to globalization. On the other hand, the party seeks to spread universal values such as democracy and human rights in the international community. It also supports free media and its role in this and in strengthening links between British society and the international community, which supports globalization. As a result, the British Conservative Party supports cultural globalization with conditions, compared to Steger (2017).

4.3.2 President Trump’s positions on globalization

Trump believes that every nation has its own culture, history and values that academic and media institutions highlight and protect (Trump, 2019a). Accordingly, he does not want to impose American culture and values on any of the nations, “I honor the right of every nation in this room to pursue its own customs, beliefs, and traditions. The United States will not tell you how to live or work or worship” (Trump, 2018). Hence, Trump does not believe in global culture or common international values.

In addition, Trump criticizes the dominance of a few large social media platforms that seek to impose their ideas and attitudes on people. He emphasizes that he is working to counter that,

*In the United States, my administration has made clear to social media companies that we will uphold the right of free speech. A free society cannot allow social media giants to silence the voices of the people, and a free people must never, ever be enlisted in the cause of silencing, coercing, canceling, or blacklisting their own neighbors.* (Trump 2019)

Furthermore, Trump calls on all countries to preserve their traditions and values, which are derived from their history, to ensure their security and prosperity (Trump, 2019a).
Accordingly, Trump believes in national culture and values, and the local cultural and media institutions that highlight and enhance them, agreeing with the British Conservative Party. However, Trump’s doctrine differs significantly from that of the Conservative Party. He does not believe in any shared global culture or values. Besides, he opposes the major global media and the world-wide ideas and values. Moreover, Trump does not support international initiatives within the framework of the United Nations as indicated previously, which includes his decision on the withdrawal from UNESCO in 2017. As a result, Trump does not support cultural globalization at all, compared to Steger (2017).

4.4 The ecological dimension

4.4.1 British conservative positions on globalization

The ecological doctrine of the British Conservative Party is based on preserving the natural environment. Thus, the party seeks to reduce carbon emissions that cause climate change and support the clean energy sector,

*We will reduce carbon emissions in line with our international commitments. We will promote small- and large-scale low carbon energy production, including nuclear, wind, clean coal and biogas. We will safeguard our energy security by ensuring there is sufficient spare capacity in the energy system. We will make it easier to go green, including through a ‘Green Deal’ to cut household energy bills. (conservative Party, 2010, p. 91)*

To achieve these goals in addition to other environmental goals such as biodiversity, the party seeks to cooperate with other countries at the global level. Thus, the Conservative government ratified the relevant Paris Agreement,

*The United Kingdom will lead the world in environmental protection. As Conservatives, we are committed to leaving the environment in better condition than we inherited it. That is why we will continue to take a lead in global action against climate change, as the government demonstrated by ratifying the Paris Agreement. We*
were the first country to introduce a Climate Change Act, which Conservatives helped to frame, and we are halfway towards meeting our 2050 goal of reducing emissions by eighty per cent from 1990 levels. (Conservative Party, 2017, p.40)

Furthermore, the party emphasizes that it will continue to work with the relevant international bodies on these issues (Conservative Party, 2017, p. 40).

Accordingly, the Conservative Party adopts environmental policies based on preserving the natural environment and biodiversity, and protecting nature from various pollution risks. Furthermore, the party seeks to cooperate with other countries within the framework of the United Nations and relevant international bodies to implement ambitious environmental policies. Hence, the ratification of the Paris Agreement comes as an important step in this way. However, according to Steger (2017), this agreement is limited as it does not extend beyond the sovereignty of the national states, which is what the party emphasizes. Thus, the party supports ecological globalization with conditions.

4.4.2 President Trump’s positions on globalization

Since the nomination for the presidency by Republicans, Trump has announced his intention to remove restrictions on mining work and extract fossil fuels to improve economic conditions,

*We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more than 20 trillion dollars in job creating economic activity over the next four decades.*

*My opponent on the other hand wants to put the great miners and the great steelworkers of our country, out of work and out of business. That will never happen with Donald J. Trump as president.* (Trump, 2016)
In 2019, Trump explains how his policy in this area has boosted the economy and improved Americans’ living conditions,

_We are marshaling our nation’s vast energy abundance, and the United States is now the number one producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world. Wages are rising, incomes are soaring, and 2.5 million Americans have been lifted out of poverty in less than three years._ (Trump, 2019a)

He celebrates his policies and its positive impact on employment and wages, without mentioning potential environmental hazards.

Besides, in his speeches, Trump did not address environmental issues, nor did he mention the environment. Moreover, in 2017, he announced the United States withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. Accordingly, unlike the British Conservative Party, Trump does not support ecological globalization at all.

### 4.5 Similarities and differences

The British Conservative doctrine is characterized by supporting globalization in all its dimensions, but with conditions. These conditions emphasize the role of the national state and highlight its identity in all fields. This includes preserving British powers in all political, economic, cultural and ecological fields. On this basis, the party seeks to strengthen Britain’s leadership role as a global country. In other words, the party supports interdependence and cooperation between the countries of the world as national units. In the Definition, Baylis et al refers to this as internationalization, which is distinguished from globalization.

On the other hand, Trump does not support globalization in any of its dimensions. He adopts isolationist policies that focus on the American state. Hence, we may find similarities between some of these policies and those of the British Conservative Party in relation to issues of sovereignty and national identity. However, the difference is significant between them, since
Trump does not support global interdependence and cooperation, as is the case with the Conservative Party.

5 Conclusion and Future study

5.1 conclusion

The New Right differs, in Britain and the United States, in its position on globalization after the 2008 financial crisis. On the one hand, successive Conservative governments since 2010 support globalization with its economic, political, cultural and ecological dimensions covered in the study, but with conditions. The party supports economic globalization based on free trade and open markets, that is subject to roles. Besides, it supports political globalization within a global framework based on the independence of nation states and their national sovereignty. It seeks to cooperate with and support regional and international institutions, but while retaining national powers. Similarly, the Party supports cultural globalization. It believes in global values and norms such as democracy and human rights that are established by international media and cultural institutions in the international community. It also supports links between British society and the international community. At the same time, however, it emphasizes the national identity by enhancing the role of the English language and common values in British society. In addition, the party supports ecological globalization. It seeks to preserve nature and protect it from various forms of pollution. Thus, it supports Britain’s role in relevant international initiatives.

On the other hand, Trump’s policies, who is the only Republican president in the United States after 2008, do not support globalization in any of its dimensions covered in the study. Trump does not support economic globalization. He does not believe in free trade and open markets, nor does he believe in relevant regional and international institutions. Besides, Trump does not support political globalization. He does not believe in regional or global governance. Instead, he emphasizes the sovereignty of the American state. Moreover, he does not support international
institutions and their policies since he considers their powers are contrary to national sovereignty. Thus, he continues to withdraw from international institutions and agreements. Similarly, Trump does not support cultural globalization. He does not believe in any shared global culture or values, but only believes in national culture and values. Hence, he does not support global cultural or media institutions. When it comes to ecological globalization, Trump does not care about environmental issues, nor does he mention the environment in his speeches. In addition, he does not support relevant international initiatives.

Consequently, while Trump’s doctrine is based on isolationist policies that do not support globalization or any form of international interdependence and cooperation, the British Conservative Party adopts a doctrine that supports globalization provided that nation states retain their borders and national powers in line with what is referred to as internationalization, which in turn differ from globalization. Hence, some features are similar between the two doctrines. This mainly relates to issues of sovereignty and national identity. It includes keeping decision-making nationally, in the political, economic, cultural and ecological dimensions covered in the study.

The four theoretical dimensions of globalization provide the main ideas and indicators that enable the study to be accomplished appropriately. Nevertheless, the political dimension has a prominent role as it overlaps and frames the other economic, cultural and ecological dimensions. Besides, the economic dimension plays an important role, as it provides initiatives that in turn contribute to stimulating globalization on other dimensions or discouraging it.

As a result, the study shows that the criticism expressed by the leaders of the New Right towards globalization in both Britain and the United States after the 2008 financial crisis reflects different positions. While the British Conservatives do not accept that globalization be without restrictions, emphasizing the role of the nation state in exercising its powers according to the national interest, Trump rejects globalization in all its forms.
5.2 Future study

It is not certain whether the Republicans’ position on globalization is linked to Trump’s rule or is a permanent approach to their ideology. In addition, it is unclear how Britain’s exit from the European Union will reflect on the Conservatives’ position on globalization. Accordingly, a similar study in the light of such changes would be very important.

6 References


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