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## **BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS UNDER THE PREMIERSHIP OF THERESA MAY AND PRESIDENCY OF DONALD TRUMP**

British-American relations have been always unique and even sometimes disputable for political scientists. The main idea is to trail positions of the leaders of these two countries facing current challenges.

For instance, foreign policy did not hold a leading position during the general election campaign in 2010 in the United Kingdom. The leader of Conservative party David Cameron broadly followed the example of United States President Barack Obama, when he took office in January 2009. Although in the period of elections in the United States of America, David Cameron had supported Senator John McCain, the Republican presidential candidate, Conservatives got a political benefit from the victory of Barack Obama.

Then, ex-President of the United States of America Barack Obama and vice Prime-minister of Great Britain David Cameron didn't have constructive dialogue in May, 2010 (when David Cameron headed the Parliament). Their dialogue started by Barack Obama's congratulation with assumption of David Cameron. And then, Obama and Cameron laid out their vision of a special relationship stating that "this partnership is based on common history, traditions and shared values" .

**Key words:** Great Britain, United States of America, Theresa May, Donald Trump, pre-election program, 'special' relations, foreign policy.

### **Introduction**

It's worthy to notice that in 2010 when David Cameron started heading Parliament of Great Britain, there were no major problems in international society. Only a chain of political demonstrations in the Middle East began in December 2010 and got the name of "Arabic spring". It stirred the world society and international organizations, like United Nations. In 2012 Cameron had a mission to help France to make no-fly area across Libya according to Resolution 1973 from UN<sup>1</sup>.

At the time when Theresa May headed Conservative party the world had been shaken by two war conflicts – Syrian Civil War and Conflict on the East of Ukraine. These conflicts drew attention of all civilized countries, including United Kingdom. In 2016-2017 Theresa May in cooperation with administration of US faced the task to give aid to Syrian opposition and financial support to Ukrainian warriors in ATO zone. The last one has been provided on the level of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain and British Embassy in Kyiv.

Now, the first steps of modern bilateral relations between Great Britain and the United States of America can't be explained constructively without analysis.

Author decided to divide this article to four conditional parts:

- Firstly, author worked with articles that related to pre-election program (which in elections was called 'pre-election promises') of two countries, where leaders (Theresa May and Donald Trump) said about their intentions towards the United States and Great Britain (in particular, Brexit), respectively.
- Secondly, author studied the first meeting between Theresa May and Donald Trump.
- Thirdly, author conducted a historical and comparative parallel with former British Prime-minister David Cameron and his steps in foreign policy on the American track, as well as in the direction of the international challenges that the United Kingdom had had to face in the last few years.
- And finally, author made a conclusion for the perspective of the future of British-American relations between British Prime-minister Theresa May and President of the United States Donald Trump.

<sup>1</sup> UN Security Council. Resolution 1973. <<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/268/39/PDF/N1126839.pdf?OpenElement>>.

### Main background and results of referendum

At British referendum society was divided to two parts – those who were against Britain leaving the EU (Britain Remain or Britain-In) and those who were for it (Britain Leave or Brexit). Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Cameron who won the election in 2015 was for Brexit. After Brussels' summit in January 2016 he resumed that he would speak to Parliament about the results of it for UK ("I'll come back to UK and say to Parliament about on holding an early referendum"<sup>1</sup>.) As we know, he had changed his mind radically after this summit and stood for Britain-In.

After the announcement of the results of the referendum<sup>2</sup> David Cameron decided to leave his seat.

He announced it emotionally for one of the papers – "I fought against the Brexit with all my heart, but the British had chosen a different path. They need a new prime minister"<sup>3</sup>.

### Elections in UK and pre-election program of Theresa May

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of July in the first round of elections by conservative parliamentarians of the leader of the Conservative Party, Theresa May immediately became the favorite of the race – gaining 165 votes<sup>4</sup>. In a week on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July Andrea Leadsom who was the main opponent of Theresa May ended her campaign<sup>5</sup>.

Table 1

Tory leadership election result

Candidate	First ballot:		Second ballot:		Members' vote	
	5 July 2016		7 July 2016		Cancelled	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
Theresa May	165	50.2	199	60.5	Unopposed	
Andrea Leadsom	66	20.01.	84	25.05.	Withdrew	
Michael Gove	48	14.06.	46	14.0	Eliminated	
Stephen Crabb	34	10.03.	Withdrew, endorsed May			
Liam Fox	16	04.09.	Eliminated, endorsed May			
<b>Turnout</b>	329	99.7	329	99.7	N/A	

David Cameron announced that he would transfer the powers of Prime Minister to Theresa on the 13<sup>th</sup> of July<sup>6</sup>. The Queen of Great Britain, Elizabeth II, accepted his resignation and gave an audience to Theresa May, on which she proposed to form a new government<sup>7</sup>.

There were 3 main aspects in Theresa May's pre-election program. Two of them touched home policy and one – about referendum. She said: "Our country needs strong, proven leadership – to steer us through this period of economic and political uncertainty, and to negotiate the best possible terms as we leave the European Union"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> UK-EU deal agreed at Brussels summit. *BBC News*. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/live/uk-politics-35601369>> (2016, January 21).

<sup>2</sup> Uberoi, E. Analysis of the EU Referendum results 2016. *House of Commons Library*. <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7639> (2017, May, 04).

<sup>3</sup> Перемитин, Г. Дэвид Кэмерон объявил о решении подать в отставку. *РБК*. <<http://www.rbc.ru/politics/24/06/2016/576ce1809a7947e9f001ad1a>> (2017, March, 03).

<sup>4</sup> PM-in-waiting. Theresa May promises a 'better Britain'. *BBC News*. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36768148>> (2017, March, 03).

<sup>5</sup> Resignation right honorable David Cameron MP as Prime Minister. <<https://www.royal.uk/resignation-right-honourable-david-cameron-mp-Prime-minister>> (2017, March, 03).

<sup>6</sup> Queen receives audience right honorable Theresa May. <<https://www.royal.uk/queen-received-audience-right-honourable-theresa-may>> (2017, March, 05).

<sup>7</sup> Independent Stuff. Theresa May's Tory leadership launch statement. Full text. *The Independent*. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-mays-tory-leadership-launch-statement-full-text-a7111026.html>> (2017, March, 05).

<sup>8</sup> Danny Boyle and Jack Maidment. Theresa May announces snap general elections on June 8 to make 'success' Brexit. *The Telegraph*. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/18/breaking-theresa-may-make-statement-downing-street-1115am1/>> (2017, April, 29).

Theresa May undoubtedly wants to obtain the present position of Prime-minister legally. She announced that general elections would be held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>2</sup>. Also, she promoted herself on the position of the leader of Conservative party. Theresa May also stressed that her initial task would be acceleration process of implementation of Article 50 on the Quit of Great Britain from EU.

Some media-sources noticed the resemblance of her future pre-election program with David Cameron's in 2015<sup>1</sup>. Another supposes that such similarity is conceivable because of Theresa May's big wish to be Prime-minister of the United Kingdom.

#### US elections and Donald Trump's pre-election program

In comparison with Theresa May's election campaign, Trump's was rather difficult. But in majority he defeated Hillary Clinton (304 votes against 227)<sup>2</sup>. And his program touched his 'relations' with Mexico and Muslims.

Table 2

#### USA election results<sup>3</sup>

State	Clinton (D)	Trump (R)	Others	Clinton %	Trump %	Others %
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>U.S. Total</b>	<b>65,853,516</b>	<b>62,984,824</b>	<b>7,801,446</b>	<b>48.2%</b>	<b>46.1%</b>	<b>5.7%</b>
13 Swing States	21,433,214	22,249,342	2,348,069	46.6%	48.3%	5.1%
Non-Swing States	44,420,302	40,735,482	5,453,377	49.0%	45.0%	6.0%
<b>13 Swing States</b>						
Arizona*	1,161,167	1,252,401	159,597	45.1%	48.7%	6.2%
Colorado*	1,338,870	1,202,484	238,866	48.2%	43.3%	8.6%
Florida*	4,504,975	4,617,886	297,178	47.8%	49.0%	3.2%
Iowa*	653,669	800,983	111,379	41.7%	51.1%	7.1%
Maine*	357,735	335,593	54,599	47.8%	44.9%	7.3%
Michigan*	2,268,839	2,279,543	250,902	47.3%	47.5%	5.2%
Minnesota*	1,367,716	1,322,951	254,146	46.4%	44.9%	8.6%
Nevada*	539,26	512,058	74,067	47.9%	45.5%	6.6%
New Hampshire*	348,526	345,79	49,842	46.8%	46.5%	6.7%
North Carolina*	2,189,316	2,362,631	189,617	46.2%	49.8%	4.0%
Ohio*	2,394,164	2,841,005	261,318	43.6%	51.7%	4.8%
Pennsylvania*	2,926,441	2,970,733	218,228	47.9%	48.6%	3.6%
Wisconsin*	1,382,536	1,405,284	188,33	46.5%	47.2%	6.3%
<b>Non-Swing States</b>						
Alabama*	729,547	1,318,255	75,57	34.4%	62.1%	3.6%
Alaska*	116,454	163,387	38,767	36.6%	51.3%	12.2%
Arkansas*	380,494	684,872	65,269	33.7%	60.6%	5.8%
California*	8,753,788	4,483,810	943,997	61.7%	31.6%	6.7%
Connecticut*	897,572	673,215	74,133	54.6%	40.9%	4.5%
Delaware*	235,603	185,127	20,86	53.4%	41.9%	4.7%
District of Columbia*	282,83	12,723	15,715	90.9%	4.1%	5.0%
Georgia*	1,877,963	2,089,104	125,306	45.9%	51.0%	3.1%

<sup>1</sup> Theresa May launches 'different kind of election campaign' by copying David Cameron on day one. *Mirror*. <<http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/theresa-launches-different-kind-election-10270396>> (2017, April 29).

<sup>2</sup> Simon Rogers. US Election – 2016. <<https://simonrogers.net/2016/11/16/us-election-2016-how-to-download-county-level-results-data/>> (2017, May, 04).

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hawaii*	266,891	128,847	33,199	62.2%	30.0%	7.7%
Idaho*	189,765	409,055	91,435	27.5%	59.3%	13.2%
Illinois*	3,090,729	2,146,015	299,68	55.8%	38.8%	5.4%
Indiana*	1,033,126	1,557,286	144,546	37.8%	56.9%	5.3%
Kansas*	427,005	671,018	86,379	36.1%	56.7%	7.3%
Kentucky*	628,854	1,202,971	92,324	32.7%	62.5%	4.8%
Louisiana*	780,154	1,178,638	70,24	38.4%	58.1%	3.5%
Maryland*	1,677,928	943,169	160,349	60.3%	33.9%	5.8%
Massachusetts*	1,995,196	1,090,893	238,957	60.0%	32.8%	7.2%
Mississippi*	485,131	700,714	23,512	40.1%	57.9%	1.9%
Missouri*	1,071,068	1,594,511	143,026	38.1%	56.8%	5.1%
Montana*	177,709	279,24	40,198	35.7%	56.2%	8.1%
Nebraska*	284,494	495,961	63,772	33.7%	58.7%	7.6%
New Jersey*	2,148,278	1,601,933	123,835	55.5%	41.4%	3.2%
New Mexico*	385,234	319,666	93,418	48.3%	40.0%	11.7%
New York*	4,556,124	2,819,534	345,795	59.0%	36.5%	4.5%
North Dakota*	93,758	216,794	33,808	27.2%	63.0%	9.8%
Oklahoma*	420,375	949,136	83,481	28.9%	65.3%	5.7%
Oregon*	1,002,106	782,403	216,827	50.1%	39.1%	10.8%
Rhode Island*	252,525	180,543	31,076	54.4%	38.9%	6.7%
South Carolina*	855,373	1,155,389	92,265	40.7%	54.9%	4.4%
South Dakota*	117,458	227,721	24,914	31.7%	61.5%	6.7%
Tennessee*	870,695	1,522,925	114,407	34.7%	60.7%	4.6%
Texas*	3,877,868	4,685,047	406,311	43.2%	52.2%	4.5%
Utah*	310,676	515,231	305,523	27.5%	45.5%	27.0%
Vermont*	178,573	95,369	41,125	56.7%	30.3%	13.1%
Virginia*	1,981,473	1,769,443	231,836	49.8%	44.4%	5.8%
Washington*	1,742,718	1,221,747	401,179	51.8%	36.3%	11.9%
West Virginia*	188,794	489,371	34,886	26.5%	68.6%	4.9%

In details, Donald Trump's pre-election program consisted of 10 main paragraphs. Author of the article decided to spotlight only foreign policy aspects. They concerned: to build a wall in the border with Mexico, ban Muslims from entering the US, renegotiate the Iran deal and 'Bomb' and/or 'take the oil' from ISIS<sup>1</sup>. The interesting fact was Donald Trump didn't say a word about his foreign relations between European Union and constant European partner – Great Britain. He briefly told journalists about his interest in Russian Federation, and especially, about its leader Vladimir Putin. Some sources said that one of his aims was to renegotiate with Russia<sup>2</sup>.

After his victory at the elections Theresa May was one of the first who congratulated Donald Trump. She insisted the "special relationship" between Britain and the US would remain "strong"<sup>3</sup>. The Prime

<sup>1</sup> Qiu, Linda Donald Trump's top 10 campaign promises. <<http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/jul/15/donald-trumps-top-10-campaign-promises/>> (2017, March, 05).

<sup>2</sup> Ардаев, В. Десять главных предвыборных обещаний Дональда Трампа. *РИА Новосту*. <<https://ria.ru/analytics/20161109/1480990161.html>> (2017, March, 05).

<sup>3</sup> Dathan, M. The reason times racist sexist Donald Trump's election campaign. *Daily Mail*. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3919532/The-Reagan-times-racist-sexist-Donald-Trump-s-election-victory-divides-Britain-s-politicians-Theresa-prepares-respond.html>> (2017, March, 06).

Minister, who had obviously criticized Donald Trump, said she looked forward to working with him in the White House. Also, she promised Britain would stay as “close partners on trade, security and defence”<sup>1</sup>.

In author’s opinion, the reaction of Boris Johnson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, should be exactly mentioned. He also publicly condemned Mr. Trump last year after Trump had criticised London police and wrote on Twitter the morning after results of election: “Congratulations to Donald Trump and much looking forward to working with his administration on global stability and prosperity”<sup>2</sup>.

His welcoming words came less than a year after he became embroiled in a public spat with Mr. Trump after the Republican claimed some parts of London were “no-go areas” because of Muslim extremism<sup>3</sup>.

Donald Trump took an office of the President of USA on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017.

New York Times published an article by Steven Erlanger about May’s future visit to Trump. He said: “Normally, American presidents go on to British leaders about “the special relationship” with a sort of patronizing politeness. But Mr. Trump has already put Mrs. May’s teeth on edge with his cheerful support for a British withdrawal from the European Union, commonly known as Brexit, which she opposed but must carry out. She has not appreciated his warm relationship with those like Nigel Farage, the former leader of the anti-immigrant U.K. Independence Party, who despises Mrs. May’s Conservative Party and who Mr. Trump has suggested would make a fine ambassador to the United States. Still, with Britain planning to leave the European Union in two years or so, Mrs. May needs to show Britons they have big friends out in the world beyond Europe, and the United States is already Britain’s single largest trading partner, not counting the European Union itself. Having put such store into being the first foreign leader to meet President Trump – Mr. Farage and Arron Banks, UKIP’s main financial backer, have met him several times since the election – Mrs. May is determined to put British-American relations on a more traditional track, as a government-to-government partnership”<sup>4</sup>.

#### **Theresa May’s state visit to USA**

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of January Theresa May paid state visit to Donald Trump. Like it was mentioned before, Theresa May became the first leader who met with him.

Besides the usual common interests in British-American relations, both leaders have similar goals in the case of trade – May’s expected output of the UK from the European Union and Trump’s withdrawal of the Trans-Pacific Partnership<sup>5</sup>.

Next day, May addressed with a speech to Republicans’ on their meeting in Philadelphia. At this meeting she mentioned that days when the United States of America and Great Britain had interfered in the affairs of other countries to remake them in their own image, came to an end. She also emphasized that to protect own values was in interests’ of both countries.

After this state visit, Theresa May also underscored that Donald Trump “on 100% behinds NATO”. At the common press-conference leaders of both countries said that they would work to establish new trade agreements between two countries. The prime minister added that a trade agreement between the UK and US was “in the national interest of both our countries”<sup>6</sup>.

To emphasize the favorable moment of Theresa May and Donald Trump’s meeting, author made a decision to compare this visit with the first phase of relations between cabinet of David Cameron and Barack Obama’s administration.

<sup>1</sup> Dathan, M. The reason times racist sexist Donald Trump’s election campaign. *Daily Mail*. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3919532/The-Reagan-times-racist-sexist-Donald-Trump-s-election-victory-divides-Britain-s-politicians-Theresa-prepares-respond.html>> (2017, March, 06).

<sup>2</sup> Dathan, M. The reason times racist sexist Donald Trump’s election campaign. *Daily Mail*. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3919532/The-Reagan-times-racist-sexist-Donald-Trump-s-election-victory-divides-Britain-s-politicians-Theresa-prepares-respond.html>> (2017, March, 06).

<sup>3</sup> Dathan, M. The reason times racist sexist Donald Trump’s election campaign. *Daily Mail*. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3919532/The-Reagan-times-racist-sexist-Donald-Trump-s-election-victory-divides-Britain-s-politicians-Theresa-prepares-respond.html>> (2017, March, 06).

<sup>4</sup> Enlarger, S. Donald and Theresa May: an odd couple. *NY Times*. <[https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/world/europe/theresa-may-trump.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/world/europe/theresa-may-trump.html?_r=0)> (2017, March, 07).

<sup>5</sup> Президент Дональд Трамп та прем’єр-міністр Тереза Мей зустрілися у Білому Домі. *Голос Америки*. <[http://ukrainian.voanews.com/a/tramp-zustrinetsia-z-terezoiu-mei-u-vashyngtoni/3695552.html](http://ukrainian.voanews.com/a/trump-zustrinetsia-z-terezoiu-mei-u-vashyngtoni/3695552.html)> (2017, March, 07).

<sup>6</sup> Theresa May visit: UK and US ‘committed’ to NATO. *BBC News*. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38777263>> (2017, March, 07).

Author of the article considered to recall that the first visit of the ex-Prime minister of Great Britain David Cameron in Washington in July 2010 was overshadowed by the environmental disaster in the Gulf of Mexico. It had been caused by the accident on the oil platform of “British Petroleum”<sup>1</sup>. David Cameron then assured that the company was able to pay compensation to victims in the United States. It was important to note that at the same time, half of the company’s shares belonged to the Americans. Also during that visit there was a speech about litigious territories between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. Barack Obama did not support David Cameron and insisted on reviewing the status of the disputed archipelago, despite the fact that London considered this issue had been long resolved<sup>2</sup>.

As we can observe there were no difficulties between Theresa May and Donald Trump. Their meeting was held in mutually beneficial atmosphere. Probably rollback of ex-leader’s primary experience by both current heads of the states permitted to achieve areas of common interest in current changing world full of new challenges.

Though we don’t know when new signpost of British-American relations will be validated legally – on the basis of documents, arguments, declarations, etc.

### Conclusion

Author of the article analyzed pre-election programs of both leaders and their first but significant meeting on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 2017. With this in mind, let’s look to the perspectives of this bilateral relations. Both leaders are strong conservatives without a clear foreign policy program. We are absolutely sure, that relations between May and Trump will be useful for both sides like they always have been, because of two important reasons. Firstly, we know that Donald Trump’s position would differ from Obama’s. For example, the United States wouldn’t have an active position in United Nations. Secondly, in Theresa May’s side we actually don’t know if she will follow the National Security Strategy-2015 or until the general elections in June 2017 she will only accelerate the process of Brexit.

Author also should mention that if government of Great Britain headed by Theresa May chooses to follow National Security Strategy<sup>3</sup>, they may have to keep to one important thing. There is not only a paragraph about deepening of ‘special relations’ with USA, but also a point about increase of budget expenses for NATO. Former Prime-minister of Great Britain had an intention to make the United Kingdom the first country in Europe and second in the world after United States of America on financing North-Atlantic Alliance.

Like it was mentioned above, after Theresa May and Donald Trump’s meeting during her state visit to the United States she announced strongly 100% adherence to NATO. So, it means that fulfillment of these points from National Security Strategy can be most likely executed by present government.

As it was noticed by the author of the article, as Theresa May’s main goal is to accelerate the process of Brexit the relations between the United States of America take the second place. And that is why, at the first sight there is a conditional ‘ellipsis’ in these bilateral relations.

Author of the article supposed that British-American relations (if only British people choose Theresa May in elections on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June) will come to the foreground after full realization of United Kingdom’s way out from European Union.

All things considered, it seems reasonable to assume that modern British-American relations remain more evident relative to each other in comparison with other tracks of foreign policy of the two leaders – Donald Trump and Theresa May.

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<sup>1</sup> Ученые пока не могут оценить ущерб утечки в Мексиканском Заливе. *РИА-новости*. <<https://ria.ru/spravka/20140422/1004524045.html>> (2016, April, 20).

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