



HM Government

# Foreign policy, defence and development

A FUTURE PARTNERSHIP PAPER

The United Kingdom wants to build a new, deep and special partnership with the European Union.

This paper is part of a series setting out key issues which form part of the Government's vision for that partnership, and which will explore how the UK and the EU, working together, can make this a reality.

Each paper will reflect the engagement the Government has sought from external parties with expertise in these policy areas, and will draw on the very extensive work undertaken across Government since last year's referendum.

Taken together, these papers are an essential step towards building a new partnership to promote our shared interests and values.

# Foreign policy, defence and development: a future partnership paper

## Executive Summary

1. The UK and EU partners share a common goal of a safe and secure world. This will continue after the UK's exit. The UK will remain a committed partner and ally to its friends across the continent, not simply because UK and EU citizens face the same threats and as it is in both our interests to do so, but because the UK has a deep, historic belief in the same values that Europe stands for: peace, democracy, freedom and the rule of law, in our continent and beyond. Promoting our shared values, tackling our shared threats, and maintaining a strong and prosperous Europe will require a deep and special partnership, including on foreign, defence and security, and development engagement.
2. Together, the UK and EU partners face a range of threats that are increasing in scale, complexity and pace. The UK's 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) and the EU's 2016 Global Strategy identified a number of similar challenges and priorities. Long-term shifts in the balance of global economic and military power, increasing competition between states, and the emergence of powerful non-state actors are creating an uncertain international security context, with Europe's security more fragile today than at any time since the end of the Cold War. These common threats mean that continued cooperation is in both our interests.
3. The UK – through our global diplomatic, defence and security, and development action – has played a major role in providing for European security and defence. This will continue, and UK interests will also be served, through strengthened bilateral relationships. The UK will maintain strong alliances with EU Member States, alongside partners beyond Europe, including the US, and from across the Indo-Pacific, the Middle East, and Africa. The UK will also continue to ensure that NATO remains the cornerstone of our defence, be a champion of the UN and multilateralism, and be active in other international organisations. And we will continue to work closely with other countries to drive further reform and effectiveness from the UN and all our multilateral partners.
4. The UK has been at the forefront of working with the EU and European partners. From taking action on international sanctions; to protecting our citizens and values; to using our military assets and capabilities to participate in EU military missions that are responding to crises and conflicts; to using our development funds to help to respond to crisis and promote stability around the world; to taking action with the EU and Member States to tackle transnational serious and organised crime. This paper explores how the UK and other partners currently cooperate with the EU on foreign, defence and security, and development policy, before considering how the UK could do the same once the UK has exited the EU.
5. Given the shared values of the UK and EU partners, the capabilities we offer and the scale and depth of collaboration that currently exists between the UK and the EU in the fields of foreign policy, defence and security, and development, the UK seeks to develop a deep and special partnership with the EU that goes beyond existing third country arrangements. This would be a partnership that not only reflects our shared history and the practical benefits of cooperation in tackling common threats, but also demonstrates the UK's commitment to promoting the values we share across the world, and to maintaining a secure and prosperous Europe.

## Introduction

6. This paper outlines the UK and EU partners' shared values and the threats we face, the UK's role in European security, and the nature of a new, deep and special partnership with the EU that will be required once the UK has left the EU in the areas of foreign policy, defence and security, and development.

## *Our shared values*

7. The Prime Minister made clear in her Lancaster House speech on 17 January 2017 that the UK's decision to leave the EU did not mean that the UK was any less committed to working together with EU partners to ensure the security and prosperity of our citizens.<sup>1</sup> The values we share are historic and deep-rooted in our societies, and the UK will always be an indefatigable advocate for them. They are based on a shared commitment, according to which the UK will work closely with the EU, EU Member States, and its allies around the world to preserve peace and strengthen international security; promote international cooperation; develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms – objectives set out in the Treaty on European Union.<sup>2</sup>
8. The UK supports a strong, secure and successful EU with global reach and influence. UK priorities after it leaves the EU will continue to be based on a European outlook and these shared values. The UK is exiting the EU, not withdrawing from Europe. As the UK leaves the EU, the UK is committed to a 'Global Britain': a country actively engaged in Europe and the world in the interests of the British people, and playing a leading role in advancing European and international security and an international rules-based system. The UK is committed to the common principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the North Atlantic Treaty, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act, Charter of Paris and the Sustainable Development Goals. The UK will continue to work with our EU partners to uphold these principles and values against those who are intent on undermining them. The UK will continue to offer aid and assistance to EU Member States that are the victims of armed aggression, terrorism and natural or man-made disasters.
9. The UK will continue to support the EU working in a complementary way with NATO. For almost 70 years, NATO has been the bedrock of the UK's national defence, stability in the Euro-Atlantic area, and the strongest and most effective military alliance in the world. Our collective Article 5 commitment – that an armed attack against one state shall be considered an attack on all – underpins the security of the UK and its allies.

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<sup>1</sup> The government's negotiating objectives for exiting the EU: PM speech, Department for Exiting the European Union, January 2017

<sup>2</sup> Treaty on European Union, October 2012

10. NATO and the EU share 22 members and have the same values.<sup>3</sup> Together they are essential in addressing the challenges our continent faces. The EU has a valuable role in tackling external threats and challenges, both in partnership with NATO and in areas where NATO is not operating. In 2016, at the NATO Warsaw Summit, the two organisations agreed an unprecedented Joint Declaration, committing them to enhancing cooperation across a range of priority areas, in recognition of the fact that, “A stronger NATO and a stronger EU are mutually reinforcing. Together they can provide better security in Europe and beyond”.<sup>4</sup>
11. These values and principles must continue to be promoted globally and the UK remains committed to using its assets, capabilities and influence alongside the EU and its European partners to do so. Cooperation to date has been necessary, and in both our interests, to tackle a range and scale of threats, which have never been as uncertain, diverse and changing as they are now.

### ***Our shared foreign and security threats***

12. The world is in a process of rapid and fundamental change, with long-term shifts in the balance of global economic and military power, increasing competition between states, and the emergence of more powerful non-state actors. As well as predictable threats and opportunities, the UK and the EU are increasingly likely to have to deal with unexpected developments.
13. The 2016 European Global Strategy notes that European security “entails a parallel interest in peace in our neighbouring and surrounding regions. [...] It implies a broader interest in preventing conflict, promoting human security, addressing the root causes of instability and working towards a safer world”.<sup>5</sup> In characterising these shared threats, the EU’s 2016 Global Strategy and the UK’s 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review identify similar priorities:
  - tackling terrorism, extremism and instability;
  - tackling the impact of technology, especially cyber threats;
  - deterring state-based threats and intensifying wider state competition;
  - responding to crises rapidly and effectively;
  - strengthening the rules-based international order and tackling global challenges, including migration and global health security;
  - building resilience at home and abroad;
  - reducing conflict;
  - promoting stability, good governance and human rights;
  - supporting our defence and security industries to build our mutual prosperity; and
  - strengthening our capabilities to disrupt serious and organised crime and to prosecute criminals.

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<sup>3</sup> Relations with the European Union, NATO, June 2017

<sup>4</sup> Joint declaration by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, July 2016

<sup>5</sup> A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign And Security Policy, European Commission, June 2016

14. European countries face common threats that are increasing in scale, diversity and complexity – from the rise of Daesh and instability in the Middle East and North Africa, to the crisis in Ukraine, and to cyber attacks. In particular, the threat of **terrorism** and **extremism** to all European citizens has increased, demonstrated by recent attacks across European cities. This terrorist threat is fed, supported and sanctioned by extremist ideologies. The variety and method of attack is also wide-ranging, from unsophisticated knife, vehicle and gun attacks to more complex plans, involving firearms and explosives at multiple locations.
15. Long-term shifts in the balance of global economic and military power have led to increasing competition between states. Whether it is continued aggressive behaviour by Russia, North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles or regional **conflict** and **instability** that will affect our citizens abroad, the UK and EU partners face a more uncertain international context.
16. Migration is a global challenge which has had a significant impact in Europe. **Instability**, **extremism** and **conflict** in the Middle East and Africa have driven refugee flows which, combined with economic migrants looking for a better future, have created a migration crisis in and around Europe.
17. The UK and European partners have consistently championed a **rules-based international order**, which promotes and upholds our shared values. The context, however, is changing, driven by the growing role of non-state actors and criminal political elites, the impact of technology and longer-term shifts of economic wealth to the south and east of the world. While the changes create new challenges and opportunities, the UK and European partners must continue to promote our shared values, which are vital to our prosperity and security.
18. Globalisation and technological advances bring both opportunities and new challenges. The **cyber threat** the UK and its European allies face from state actors and non-state actors remains significant. This threat knows no international boundaries and the UK and European partners operate in a single cyberspace. We collectively get stronger when each country improves its cyber defences. But we are vulnerable to attacks on parts of the networks that are essential for the day-to-day running of our countries and economies.
19. Economic security and national security are two sides of the same coin. Trade drives prosperity, which in turn underpins political stability and security. Building resilience in the UK economy, and that of European partners, mutually protects us by increasing our ability to respond to natural disasters and other threats, such as cyber attacks. The **defence** and **security industry**, for example, contributes directly to our security through providing the capabilities that we need to counter shared threats but also promotes our mutual prosperity. The UK and European partners are also reliant on the space industry for security, the functioning of our economies, and disaster management and military capabilities.
20. The UK and European partners also face a range of other shared threats that can cause **instability** should we be unable to respond rapidly, including civil emergencies, major natural disasters, and energy and health security.

21. The **international nature of public health threats** arising from infectious diseases, and chemical, environmental and radiation hazards, whether from natural sources, accidental releases, or deliberate intent, pose significant risk to the security, prosperity and public health of the UK and the rest of Europe. The UK is a world leader in tackling these threats but they can only be effectively addressed through close collaboration with European and wider international partners.
22. In a rapidly changing, globalised world, the UK, the EU and EU Member States must work closely together to tackle these challenges. The UK's actions since its decision to leave the EU show its commitment to continuing to uphold and promote European values and meet our shared threats by playing a leading role in European foreign, defence and security, and development policy.

### **The UK's current role in European foreign and security policy**

23. The UK is – and will remain – a major global diplomatic, defence, development and trade policy actor. The UK has the largest defence budget in Europe<sup>6</sup> and the second largest in NATO (after the US).<sup>7</sup> The UK is the only European country that meets both the NATO target of spending 2 per cent of GDP on defence, with 20 per cent of this on equipment,<sup>8</sup> and the UN target of spending 0.7 per cent of gross national income (GNI) on international development.<sup>9</sup> The UK has also committed to invest at least 50 per cent of development spend in fragile states and regions.<sup>10</sup> The UK is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a leading member of other international fora such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the G7, the G20, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Commonwealth. The UK and France are the two European permanent members of the UN Security Council and the only European countries with an independent nuclear deterrent.
24. The sections below outline some of the key areas where the UK has been responding to shared threats, and has been using its spectrum of capabilities to play a significant role in protecting and promoting European security and values.

### ***Foreign policy***

25. The UK has worked closely with others to tackle shared threats and to enhance European security. The UK has accomplished a significant amount together with our European partners: creating NATO, the world's most successful defence organisation and the fundamental guarantor of European security; developing a stronger collective European defence effort following the end of the Cold War; building stability in the Western Balkans; helping to deliver the Iranian nuclear deal; responding to Russian aggression in Ukraine; and addressing root causes of migration and instability worldwide.
26. A prominent example of UK foreign policy success is its work to deliver the Iran nuclear deal. Agreeing the deal in July 2015 represented a major step forward in preventing Iran from developing a nuclear weapons capability by imposing limitations on Iran's nuclear

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<sup>6</sup> General Government Expenditure by Function, Eurostat, July 2017

<sup>7</sup> Defence Expenditure of NATO Countries (2010-2017), NATO, June 2017

<sup>8</sup> Defence Expenditure of NATO Countries (2010-2017), NATO, June 2017

<sup>9</sup> Net Official Development Assistance (Indicator), OECD, 2017

<sup>10</sup> UK Aid: Tackling Global Challenges in the National Interest, DFID, November 2015

programme, monitored and verified through unprecedented access from the International Atomic Energy Agency, in return for easing sanctions. The UK played an essential role in a 13-year joint diplomatic effort involving France, Germany, Russia, China, the US and EU, and the UK continues to engage fully with its partners, hold Iran to its commitments and in turn encourage British companies to trade with Iran since the implementation of the deal in January 2016.

27. The UK is also continuing to contribute to European security and has, in the past six months, deployed troops to Estonia and Poland as part of NATO's enhanced forward presence as well as committing to host the 2018 Western Balkans Summit. The UK continues to lead the way in tackling sexual violence in conflict, disrupting and dismantling networks involved in modern slavery and undermining the business model of organised crime groups involved in people smuggling by working in source, transit and destination countries. The UK has also continued its campaign for a more robust and effective international response to refute propaganda and disinformation from both state and non-state actors, including extremist ideology and attempts to undermine our democracy. The UK's pursuit of European interests and commitment to uphold European values remains steadfast.
28. Working with the EU institutions and other EU Member States, the UK has also contributed significantly to European action on a range of recent international priorities, such as supporting stability in Somalia, promoting reform in Ukraine and Counter Terrorism (CT) capability building in Tunisia.
29. On CT and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) the UK has worked closely with the EU and its institutions, including the EU CT Coordinator, to reduce the risk of terrorism to our citizens and shared interests both within the EU and around the world. This includes collaboration to keep pace with the evolving threat, including through technological change. The UK has coordinated with EU partners in its work to support other countries to strengthen their CT capabilities, and to develop common approaches to priority issues like foreign terrorist fighters, using the UK's counter terrorism strategy (CONTEST) as a model from which others can draw to develop their own approaches. A critical part of this approach has been to collaborate with EU and other partners.
30. The UK is a significant contributor to European efforts to tackle serious and organised crime. The threats posed by organised criminal groups threaten our collective security, are transnational in their nature, and cause a wide range of harm to society. For example, firearms smuggling networks supply both criminals and terrorists; modern slavery gangs exploit the most vulnerable around the world and financial crime can undermine the integrity and stability of our financial markets and institutions. Serious and organised crime exacerbates, drives and perpetuates conflict beyond the borders of the EU and hampers our efforts to achieve sustainable development goals. The UK and EU partners have shared threats and priorities and the UK is a significant contributor to delivering the EU's Policy Cycle for Serious and Organised Crime.
31. Sanctions are a vital and effective foreign policy tool and the UK has taken a particularly active role in driving policy on the global and European stage, in support of our shared values and to tackle our common threats. EU sanctions encompass a range of measures such as travel bans, asset freezes, trade restrictions and broader economic measures, and have been employed in relation to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the conflict in Syria, and by putting pressure on Iran to come to the negotiating table.



32. In the EU, the UK has been the most active Member State in proposing autonomous EU sanctions as a foreign policy tool, and that many of the asset freezes applied to terrorist organisations by the EU are based on UK national proscriptions or asset freezes underlines our impact. The UK has also been able to encourage cooperation between the EU and like-minded partners, including the United States, increasing the reach and impact of agreed measures.
33. The UK is establishing its own national legal framework for sanctions but continues to see a strong mutual interest in cooperation and collaboration with European partners.

**Box 1: EU sanctions against Russia following the illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014**

Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea, and destabilising activities in Ukraine, directly challenge European security and the rules-based international order. The UK worked in NATO, the EU and the UN to ensure that Russia was held to account for its actions, with sanctions one of our main foreign policy tools.

EU sanctions encompass a range of measures such as travel bans, asset freezes, trade restrictions and broader economic measures. For example, there are currently 153 individuals and 40 entities sanctioned for their involvement in undermining Ukraine's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.<sup>11</sup> The UK jointly led this action with EU partners. The sectoral sanctions were extended in July 2017.<sup>12</sup> The UK also helped promote coordination between European and US actions, demonstrating a united Western position on non-recognition of Russian authority in Crimea. President Putin has said publicly that "concerning our possibilities on the international financial markets, the sanctions are severely harming Russia".<sup>13</sup>

34. Responding to crises rapidly and effectively is crucial to the UK's security and prosperity. The UK and EU partners collaborate on disaster response, preparedness and prevention via the EU Civil Protection Mechanism which allows Member States to pool their resources and share technical expertise. The UK has a world class reputation in disaster management and, working with other Member States, helps other nations rapidly build their maturity. The UK also contributes specialist teams to an EU pool of experts that can be deployed to respond to disasters anywhere in the world.
35. The UK has particular expertise in tackling difficult emerging health and public global health issues, such as those posed by high-threat chemical, biological or radiological agents, and issues such as antimicrobial resistance and infectious disease. Enabling continued close collaboration benefits both the expertise and resilience of the UK and the EU. The UK has a well-developed integrated health protection system that is an important contributor to threat identification, risk assessment and mitigation in the region.

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<sup>11</sup> EU Restrictive Measures in Response to the Crisis in Ukraine, European Commission, 2017. Correct on date of publication.

<sup>12</sup> EU Restrictive Measures in Response to the Crisis in Ukraine, European Commission, 2017

<sup>13</sup> Putin – The Interview: 'For me, it is not borders that matter', Bild, January 2017

## ***Defence and security***

36. The UK's defence capabilities and current cooperation with EU partners make an essential contribution to European security. In 2016 the UK spent 2.17 per cent of GDP on defence, raising the EU22 average to 1.35 per cent.<sup>14</sup> British Armed Forces are deployed in Estonia and Poland to deliver NATO's enhanced Forward Presence, and UK Typhoon aircraft have been deployed to Romania to police the skies over the Black Sea. The UK is currently leading NATO's Very High Readiness Joint Task Force. Since 1962, the UK has declared our nuclear capability to the defence of NATO, thereby contributing to the ultimate guarantee of collective Euro-Atlantic security.
37. The UK's defence budget is the second largest in NATO and accounts for more than 20 per cent of spending on defence by NATO allies other than the United States.<sup>15</sup> The UK Government continues to meet NATO's targets of spending two per cent of GDP on Defence and 20 per cent of this on researching, developing and procuring new equipment.<sup>16</sup> This enabled the Government to commit in 2015 to spend £178 billion over the forthcoming decade on equipment and equipment support<sup>17</sup> with the UK's research and development spending representing around 40 per cent of the 27 European Defence Agency (EDA) Member States' total.<sup>18</sup>
38. In addition to this commitment to NATO, the UK also has defence and security relationships with European partners through bilateral and other frameworks.
- The UK-France Lancaster House Treaties provide a framework for cooperation across defence policy, military capability and nuclear matters. This includes establishing the Combined Joint Expeditionary Force – a Franco-British force – for use in a wide range of crisis scenarios, up to and including high intensity combat operations.
  - Similarly, the UK is enhancing its defence relationship with Germany, where the UK retained a significant military presence after the end of the Cold War. The UK and Germany continue to explore opportunities for further cooperation.
  - The UK is also working with several partners to develop the Joint Expeditionary Force<sup>19</sup> that will be able to respond rapidly, anywhere in the world, as part of a coalition or on behalf of international organisations.
39. While the UK actively contributes to the safety and security of Europe through its Armed Forces and operations, the UK also contributes to the growth and competitiveness of EU defence and security industries through research and development. The UK uses its significant expertise and experience to tackle increasingly hybrid threats to security, including cyber threats, both at the EU level and globally. The UK also has an important role in the EU space programmes, helping to improve our shared disaster management and military capabilities.

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<sup>14</sup> EUISS Yearbook of European Security 2017, EUISS, May 2017

<sup>15</sup> Defence Expenditure of NATO Countries (2010-2017), NATO, June 2017

<sup>16</sup> Single Departmental Plan, Ministry of Defence, March 2017

<sup>17</sup> Spending Review and Autumn Statement 2015, HM Treasury, November 2015

<sup>18</sup> Defence Data 2013-2014 and 2015, European Defence Agency, June 2016. All EU Member States, except Denmark, are EDA participating members.

<sup>19</sup> Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden

40. The UK also supports European security interests through conflict prevention, stabilisation and peacebuilding in fragile states. The UK has shaped and directly supported UN, NATO and EU missions promoting security, peace, regional stability, economic stability, the rule of law, justice and tackling serious and organised crime. Our £1.2 billion Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF) is one of the world's largest mechanisms for addressing conflict and instability – helping to secure the European neighbourhood and promote peace and stability overseas.<sup>20</sup>
41. The UK has also brought to bear wider leverage and influence in support of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and European security. For example, the UK has been a strong supporter of the EU taking an appropriate role in addressing developing areas of security risk, such as hybrid threats and cyber defence. UK subject matter experts have been instrumental in developing the EU's capacity to tackle these threats, and in driving forward the Single European Sky initiative and Europe's Military Aviation Strategy.
42. The UK has been able to use its permanent membership of the UN Security Council to support these priorities, including securing UNSC Resolutions for Operations SOPHIA and ALTHEA. The UK will continue to use its global influence to promote European security interests and values.

### ***Common Security and Defence Policy***

43. The UK was a founding member of the EU's CSDP, which provides the framework for military operations and civilian missions conducted in support of the overarching EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. The UK currently provides over 150 personnel to EU operations and missions, in addition to key expertise for the EU's crisis management structures and EU military staff.<sup>21</sup> The UK contributes people, finance, equipment or operational support to all 15 CSDP operations and missions.<sup>22</sup> For instance, the UK:
- has successfully commanded the EU's Operation ATALANTA off the Horn of Africa, which has helped reduce the number of pirate attacks from 176 in 2011 to just seven in the past three years;<sup>23</sup>
  - is a leading contributor to Operation SOPHIA, the EU's response to the migrant situation in the Mediterranean – the UK is one of only a few Member States to have a ship continuously assigned to the operation since it began in June 2015, provide personnel, and on top of its share of common costs, funded almost €600,000 for Libyan Coastguard training;<sup>24</sup>
  - has a key leadership role in the EU Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, helping to maintain security in the region and the UK keeps a 120-strong intermediate reserve company, ready to deploy in the event of instability;<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Conflict, Stability and Security Fund, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, July 2017

<sup>21</sup> Defence Secretary underlines UK commitment to European security, Ministry of Defence, March 2017

<sup>22</sup> Military and Civilian Operations and Missions, European External Action Service, May 2016

<sup>23</sup> EUNAVFOR Somalia Key Facts and Figures, 2017

<sup>24</sup> Immigration Minister's Explanatory Memorandum on Migration in the Mediterranean, European Scrutiny Committee, House of Commons, March 2017

<sup>25</sup> Appendix 5: Common Security and Defence Policy Missions, 'Europe in the world: Towards a more effective EU foreign and security strategy', House of Lords, February 2016

- provides valued civilian expertise in conflict prevention, crisis management, rule of law, justice, security sector reform, capacity building, and community policing to missions in Ukraine, Georgia, Kosovo and Somalia;
- provides forces and the Operational Headquarters (OHQ) for multiple EU Battlegroup rotations, and UK OHQ Northwood will be acting as OHQ for the EU Military Exercise (MILEX) 17 in Autumn this year;
- provides strategic airlift capability, which is a significant asset that has enabled the EU and Member States to launch operations at distance and at short notice, including helping French troops move to and from Operation Barkhane in Mali; and
- drives progress on EU-NATO cooperation, including on hybrid, cyber and strategic communications.

### **Box 2 – Case study: Horn of Africa – Operation ATALANTA**

Operation ATALANTA is the EU's military effort to counter piracy and armed robbery at sea off the Horn of Africa and in the Western Indian Ocean. Since its launch in December 2008, the UK has commanded the EU Naval Force (EU NAVFOR) from its OHQ at Northwood, Middlesex, appointing a 2\* Royal Navy or Royal Marine Operation Commander. ATALANTA has helped suppress Somali-based piracy from a high of 32 captured vessels and 736 hostages in January 2011<sup>26</sup> to just six attacks so far this year,<sup>27</sup> and the overall cost of Somali piracy is estimated to have dropped to \$1.7 billion from \$7 billion in 2010.<sup>28</sup> In promoting a fully integrated approach to security, EU NAVFOR has simultaneously ensured the safe delivery of over 1.5m tonnes of World Food Programme aid to the Somali people.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, Operation ATALANTA has had a key role to play in support of UK foreign policy objectives in Somalia, to build capacity in terms of maritime and coastguard law enforcement and thus provide indigenous long-term security to the region. With approximately one eighth of world trade passing through the Gulf of Aden annually,<sup>30</sup> as well as some 65 per cent of the UK's oil and natural gas supplies,<sup>31</sup> ensuring freedom of navigation is important to national interests.

<sup>26</sup> Mission, EU NAVFOR, 2017

<sup>27</sup> Key Facts and Figures, EU NAVFOR, June 2017 – Correct as of 13/06/2017

<sup>28</sup> The State of Maritime Piracy 2016, Oceans Beyond Piracy, May 2017

<sup>29</sup> 'EU NAVFOR Proud to Have Protected by Sea Over 1.5 Million Tonnes of WFP Humanitarian Aid for People of Somalia', EU NAVFOR, July 2017

<sup>30</sup> About Us, About MSCHOA and OP ATALANTA

<sup>31</sup> Piracy off the coast of Somalia: Operation ATALANTA, European Scrutiny Committee, 2014

Taking into account the various criminal and cross-border challenges in the region, Operation ATALANTA remains part of a series of concerted efforts conducted by the EU, NATO, the Combined Maritime Forces, the UN and other international partners to tackle both the symptoms and the root causes of transnational crime. In reinforcing the Somali capacity to meet these security challenges – through political dialogue, active engagement, CSDP missions and targeted development cooperation assistance<sup>32</sup> – this comprehensive approach to security and capacity building in the Horn of Africa is a strategic priority both the UK and EU partners will continue to share.

### **Defence industry**

44. The UK has, for the last decade, been Europe's leading exporter of military equipment,<sup>33</sup> and in 2015, the Government committed to spend £178 billion over the forthcoming decade on equipment and equipment support.<sup>34</sup> UK defence investment and exports have developed world-leading UK expertise across many sectors ranging from avionics, to missile systems, to sonar technology. The Defence and Security Organisation gives government support for company-led marketing campaigns to grow the UK's position in the global defence, security and cyber export markets. In 2016, UK industry achieved £5.9 billion of defence exports and £4.3 billion of security exports.<sup>35</sup>
45. As one of the most open and competitive defence markets in the world, the UK and its industry has decades of experience of collaborating with global partners to deliver cutting edge capabilities that not only support the UK's prosperity but also enhance the ability of the UK's Armed Forces to work, and fight, alongside the UK's allies and partners. This collaboration supports tens of thousands of jobs across Europe. The UK works closely with European partners on a range of world class capability programmes.
  - Eurofighter Typhoon: the aircraft is the result of a partnership of four European countries and their leading aerospace and defence companies. This partnership sustains 100,000 highly skilled jobs across Europe.<sup>36</sup> Typhoon is currently in service with air forces in the UK, Saudi Arabia, Germany, Italy, Spain and Austria, with orders from Oman and Kuwait.
  - Meteor: a world leading air-to-air missile. It is the result of collaboration between six European nations, led by MBDA UK, but with more than 60 per cent of the development workshare undertaken by other European states.<sup>37</sup>
46. To date, much of European capability collaboration has taken place bilaterally between nations and in multinational groupings. For example, the UK is a signatory to the Letter of Intent (LOI) Framework Agreement Treaty and is a member of the Organisation for Joint Armament Cooperation (OCCAR). These groupings continue to promote European collaboration in the defence sector.

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<sup>32</sup> Council Conclusions on the EU Horn of Africa Regional Action Plan 2015-2020, European Council, October 2015

<sup>33</sup> UK Defence and Security Export Statistics for 2016, Department for International Trade, July 2017

<sup>34</sup> Spending Review and Autumn Statement 2015, HM Treasury, November 2015

<sup>35</sup> UK defence and security export statistics 2016, July 2017

<sup>36</sup> About us, Eurofighter Typhoon

<sup>37</sup> Further Memorandum by the Ministry of Defence, Defence Committee Written Evidence, House of Commons, 2003

47. The UK also supports a stronger EU focus in this area to promote competition, innovation and collaboration, while ensuring that capabilities remain nationally owned and available to all multilateral organisations including both NATO and the UN. The EDA was established in 2004 to facilitate cooperation on a wider basis across the EU. The EDA has signed Administrative Arrangements with Norway (2006), Switzerland (2012), Serbia (2013) and Ukraine (2015), enabling them to participate in EDA projects and programmes.
48. More recently, in November 2016, the European Commission launched the European Defence Action Plan. This paved the way for the launch of a European Defence Fund (EDF) in June 2017, which will help coordinate and financially supplement Member State investments in defence research and capability development. Under the EDF, the research component – the Preparatory Action for Defence Research – is open to EU Member States and Norway. The drafting of regulations concerning a major element of the capability component, the European Defence Industrial Development Programme, is ongoing.

### **Cyber security**

49. The UK is one of the world's leading digital nations and is also a leader in the field of cyber security. The 2016 National Security Cyber Strategy reiterated the Government's commitment to invest £1.9 billion over five years to enhance the UK's cyber capabilities.<sup>38</sup> This includes through investing in tools to defend UK systems and infrastructure, deter adversaries and develop a whole-society capability. The UK is one of the first nations to have offered publicly to make these capabilities available to support NATO operations.
50. The UK has worked with EU partners and other allies to secure global agreement that international law applies in cyberspace and that human rights apply online as they do offline. The UK has driven diplomacy to counter malicious cyber activity, for example by championing the EU's cyber diplomacy toolbox, and through promoting NATO-EU cooperation.
51. The UK has contributed significant expertise and experience to the development of the EU's Network and Information Security (NIS) Directive and participates in the developing NIS Computer Security and Incident Response Teams (CSIRT) and NIS Cooperation Group networks. Further, the UK is a major contributor to the European Union Agency for Network and Information Security (ENISA) and the UK has a leading role in current European efforts to find ways to better protect against the most serious shared cyber threats.

### **Space**

52. The Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015 set out the Government's intention to enhance the resilience of military users and key domestic resilience responders using new technologies incorporating the Galileo system. The UK has been particularly involved in the development of the programme's security modules and encryption, and as such has played an important role in the delivery of a secure and resilient system. The main EU space programmes, Galileo and Copernicus, make explicit provision for non-EU Member States to participate. Although there is no standard framework for participation, Norway and the US are in negotiations with the EU to secure access to the Galileo Public

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<sup>38</sup> National Cyber Security Strategy 2016 to 2021, HM Government, November 2016

Regulated Service. The European Space Agency (ESA) is an international organisation with 22 Member States from across Europe. The UK was a founding member of the ESA, and European collaboration on space has been an important enabler of innovation and technological development in the UK space sector. The UK will continue to play an active role in the ESA after it leaves the EU.

### ***International development***

53. The UK is a global leader in development. Based on provisional OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) data, the value of the UK's Official Development Assistance (ODA) contribution in 2016 was £13.3 billion compared with a combined total of £47.1 billion of ODA from the EU27.<sup>39</sup> Balanced against GNI, the UK was one of only five EU countries to have met the UN resolution target of spending 0.7 per cent of ODA in 2016, whilst the average across the EU27 was 0.3 per cent.<sup>40</sup>
54. The UK's commitment to helping the world's poorest goes hand in hand with promoting its own interests and standing up for the values it believes in on the global stage. UK aid is spent where it is most needed, and delivered to the highest standards of value for money and transparency. This ensures that the UK delivers for the world's poorest and most vulnerable by providing life saving humanitarian aid and by promoting global prosperity.
55. Trade is also central to development, with potential benefits for developing countries and the UK. It is a key driver of economic growth which can trigger positive structural changes in a country's economy, helping to raise incomes, create jobs, lift people out of poverty and enhance stability.
56. The UK shares with the EU commitments to eradicate extreme poverty and to help build prosperity, peace, stability and resilience in developing countries, and the UK has worked closely with the EU around the world to tackle some of the most pressing development challenges, including in Afghanistan, The Sahel, the Horn of Africa and the Western Balkans. The UK has also worked collaboratively to shape policies and approaches where the EU plays an important role.
57. The UK-EU partnership in Somalia, which provides over £250 million of aid per year,<sup>41</sup> has been instrumental in rallying the international community and setting Somalia on the path towards increased stability and prosperity since 2013. Together, the UK and the EU championed the ground-breaking New Deal for Somalia which cemented international support for development objectives in Somalia, as well as establishing an effective coordination mechanism that has improved the efficacy and transparency of aid flows, helping to ensure aid reaches those Somalis who most need it. The UK and the EU also jointly fund the UK-led Somalia Stability Fund, as well as the two largest multi-donor trust funds, led by the World Bank and the UN, which underpin Somalia's progress by delivering improvements to basic service delivery, infrastructure, provision of security and justice, and public financial management.

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<sup>39</sup> Council conclusions on annual report 2017 on EU development aid targets, May 2017

<sup>40</sup> Net Official Development Assistance (Indicator), OECD, 2017

<sup>41</sup> Aid (ODA) disbursements to countries and regions, OECD, June 2017.

58. The UK has a strong track record of catalysing international action on development issues, including by building coalitions with our European partners on specific themes or geographic regions. For example, the UK played a crucial role in delivering a shift in the response to the Syria crisis at the Supporting Syria and the Region conference in 2016, and by working closely to secure reforms at the World Humanitarian Summit in the same year.
59. Further, in 2017 the UK led and convened a Family Planning Summit in London, working together with seven other EU Member States, which sought serious ambitious commitments on the provision of safe, reproductive services for women and girls globally. The collaboration brought about by the summit led to unprecedentedly fast action around new, urgent areas in the field of family planning, including for adolescents and in humanitarian crises.

### **Box 3 – Case study: Supporting Syria and the region**

The UK is a leader in the international humanitarian response to the Syria crisis and has played a significant role in mobilising the international community. In February 2016, the UK co-hosted the Supporting Syria and the Region conference, which secured the largest amount of funding ever raised in a single day in response to a humanitarian crisis.<sup>42</sup> The international community agreed ambitious and transformative goals through “Compact” agreements to provide education and economic opportunities in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey for Syrian refugees and their host communities. The multi-year funding, and the pioneering “Compact” approach secured in London, set both the pace and standard for the international response.

This year the UK and the EU co-hosted the Brussels Conference on the Future of Syria and the Region, building on the achievements in London in 2016, and secured pledges of \$6 billion for 2017 and \$3.7 billion for 2018-20.<sup>43</sup> The UK and EU partners also worked together to reach an international agreement to improve the humanitarian response inside Syria, by implementing the Grand Bargain commitments made at the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016.

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<sup>42</sup> ‘UK leads new approach to prevent and respond to crises at the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit’, DFID, May 2016

<sup>43</sup> ‘Donors pledge more than US\$6 billion for Syrians, hosts’, UNHCR, April 2017



## **External migration**

60. The UK and EU partners share both common challenges and joint priorities in tackling illegal migration. These include reducing the drivers of migration by improving protection and offering economic opportunities in source and transit countries; tackling networks of people smugglers and traffickers; cooperating at shared and external borders; gathering better information on existing and developing migration routes; and increasing returns from Europe.
61. The UK and EU partners have built a strong relationship through working together to tackle these issues.
- The UK has supported and shaped the €2.8 billion EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa to better manage migration from Africa to Europe and address the root causes of illegal migration and refugee flows.<sup>44</sup>
  - The UK has played a strong role in the Horn of Africa, including as chair of the EU-Horn of Africa Khartoum Process, which has enhanced cooperation with African partners in that region. The UK has supported migration management; provided local alternatives to migration; supported refugee-hosting countries like Uganda; and built local capacity to tackle people smuggling and human trafficking. The UK supports the current Ethiopian Chair of the Khartoum Process as Rapporteur, and is ready to support Italy as the in-coming chair to build on these successes. The UK has also worked bilaterally to strengthen capacity in key transit countries, such as Turkey, to enhance migration management and the ability to control and stem flows to Europe.
  - The London Syria Conference in 2016 showed that the UK can create a comprehensive package that supports refugees and the populations of the countries hosting them, benefitting both e.g. Lebanon/Jordan. The UK has worked closely with the EU institutions and Member States to address the consequences of the Syria conflict, including through our bilateral contribution to the EU's €3 billion Facility for Refugees in Turkey and joint work on the partnership compacts in Jordan and Lebanon to strengthen economic resilience and enhance opportunities for Syrian refugees.<sup>45</sup> The UK is building on this compact approach to jointly develop similar support in Ethiopia.
  - In June, the Prime Minister announced an additional £75 million migration programme over three years to tackle the migration crisis in the central Mediterranean route, to provide humanitarian assistance, facilitate voluntary returns, and also build the capacity of transit countries.<sup>46</sup> This is in addition to more than £100 million in humanitarian assistance allocated to the Mediterranean migration crisis by the UK since October 2015,<sup>47</sup> including over £50 million in humanitarian assistance to refugees arriving in Greece, Italy, and the Western Balkans, as well as our substantive contribution to joint EU efforts to date.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Joint Statement on World Refugee Day 2017, European External Action Service, June 2017

<sup>45</sup> The UK's Relations with Turkey, Foreign Affairs Committee Report, House of Commons, March 2017

<sup>46</sup> 'UK tackles deadly migration crisis in Central Mediterranean', DFID, June 2017

<sup>47</sup> Explanatory Memorandum on the Protection of Children in Migration, Cabinet Office, July 2017

<sup>48</sup> '£30 million in support for refugees arriving in Europe in Winter', DFID, January 2017

#### **Box 4 – Case Study: Migration in the Mediterranean**

The UK's goal is for safe, legal and well-managed migration from source countries. In pursuit of this goal, the UK works closely with our European partners, whether through regional frameworks like the Khartoum Process in the Horn of Africa, or by providing expert staff to help respond to migration pressures in Greece and Italy. The UK has deployed its diplomatic expertise, defence assets and development funds to assist in the area.

The UK is tackling the root causes of migration to reduce the need of migrants to leave their home country or move on from a safe third country in their region. The UK is investing in education, jobs and livelihoods for both refugees and the host communities. For example, in Ethiopia, the UK is providing £80 million for a refugee compact to create 100,000 new jobs for Ethiopians and refugees, giving them 'out-of-camp' employment rights and helping to shape a new Ethiopian response.<sup>49</sup> The UK was also able to make use of its extensive overseas diplomatic network to enable cooperation with partners in the Gulf and South Asia to help stem the large scale arrivals from Bangladesh via Libya.

The UK is taking steps to reduce suffering along key migration routes by assisting vulnerable people on the move. This is why the UK's and EU's migration and humanitarian related projects include substantial support to migrants inside detention centres.<sup>50</sup> More than 1,200 migrants have been supported to return to their homes.<sup>51</sup>

The UK also aims to resettle vulnerable migrants from their region, as it has from Turkey, Iraq and Egypt, providing a direct and safe route to the UK avoiding dangerous crossings in the Mediterranean. One scheme, the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, was launched in January 2014 and over 8,500 have already been resettled in the UK as a result.<sup>52</sup>

The UK's Organised Immigration Crime Taskforce is working in partnership with source, transit and destination countries. The Taskforce works closely with European Member States and Europol to disrupt organised crime groups involved in immigration crime through participating in intelligence development and sharing, as well as arrests and prosecutions, and capacity building.

In addition, the UK uses its military assets to support Operation SOPHIA, the EU's countering illegal migration operation in the Mediterranean. The UK is one of a few countries to have had a ship continuously assigned to the operation, and its naval assets have destroyed 172 smuggling boats, saving over 12,000 lives, since the Operation began.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> 'Prime Minister pledges new UK support to help tackle migration crisis', DFID, Sep 2016

<sup>50</sup> Safety, Support and Solutions Programme for Refugees and Migrants in Europe and the Mediterranean region, Development Tracker

<sup>51</sup> Conflict, Stability and Security Fund: Annual Report 2016/17, HM Government, July 2017

<sup>52</sup> '8,500 refugees arrive on the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme', Home Office, August 2017

<sup>53</sup> MOD internal analysis

## **The UK's Future Partnership with the EU**

62. The UK remains resolutely committed to European security and values, as this paper has outlined, and the shared threats we face mean continued close cooperation is vital to both UK and EU interests. Our future relationship and cooperation could take a range of forms, including by mirroring participation by other third countries contributing to European security, which offer differing levels of assets and capabilities.
63. The UK would like to offer a future relationship that is deeper than any current third country partnership and that reflects our shared interests, values and the importance of a strong and prosperous Europe. This future partnership should be unprecedented in its breadth, taking in cooperation on foreign policy, defence and security, and development, and in the degree of engagement that we envisage.
64. It should take as its starting point both our shared interests and the degree of engagement that has evolved through our membership of the EU. But as this paper has set out, the threats we face are increasing and changing, and therefore our future partnership should also look forward to areas where we need to do more together.
65. As the UK leaves the EU, the Government will also work with the devolved administrations and the governments of Gibraltar, the other Overseas Territories and the Crown Dependencies to ensure their priorities are taken into account as negotiations with the EU progress.

### ***Promoting our shared values, and combatting shared and emerging threats***

66. Given the shared threats and challenges we face, and the UK's deep commitment to European values, it is in the interests of both the UK and the EU to continue to work together to meet the challenges of the day. Whether this is responding to crises and conflicts with continued cooperation through NATO and CSDP missions and operations, or tackling serious and organised crime and its underlying drivers, or challenging state based threats and upholding the rules-based international order through aligning sanctions regimes, the UK and EU will be stronger acting together.
67. The UK and the EU must also look to the future. Emerging threats such as cyber and hybrid warfare, as well as the continued rise of extremism and terrorism, mean that close cooperation on our future joint security is in both our interests. The UK is therefore offering a deep and special partnership that will make available UK assets, capabilities and influence to the EU and European partners that could encompass the areas outlined below.

### ***Foreign policy***

68. Given our shared interests and values, the UK and the EU should remain close partners in foreign policy issues. This could be done through regular dialogue and specific cooperation. The UK and the EU should have **regular close consultations on foreign and security policy issues**, with the option to agree joint positions on foreign policy issues. This could include **cooperation on sanctions listings**, including by sharing information and aligning policy where appropriate.

69. The UK and the EU could also continue cooperation in areas where we have common objectives and shared threats, including **cooperation and continued support through existing foreign policy mechanisms** which serve both UK and EU partners' interests, such as election observation missions, and conflict management tools such as the Early Warning System and Stabilisation Mechanisms. The UK will also seek to continue to promote European values through **cooperation in regions where we share common objectives**, including the Western Balkans, North Africa and Eastern Neighbourhood.
70. The UK wants to continue to have close collaboration with the EU on **Counter Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism issues around the globe** and in how we work with third countries, where we will continue to have a wide range of shared priorities and objectives. There are clear benefits for both sides in coordinating our efforts to protect our citizens by making best use of our resources and ensuring that we are taking complementary action in areas where we have similar objectives.

### ***Defence and security***

71. An important element of our future partnership will be maximising the effectiveness of the UK and the EU in defence and security, whether in operational, institutional or industrial cooperation. The UK would like to establish how best to utilise UK assets, recognising the expertise and many military and niche capabilities that the UK contributes to the EU's military "Force Catalogue". This ambitious new partnership would **provide the opportunity for the UK and the EU to work together in CSDP missions and operations**.
72. With this deep level of cooperation, **the UK could work with the EU during mandate development and detailed operational planning**. The level of UK involvement in the planning process should be reflective of the UK's contribution. As part of this enhanced partnership, the UK could offer assistance through a **continued contribution to CSDP missions and operations**, including UK personnel, expertise, assets, or use of established UK national command and control facilities.
73. NATO will continue to be the cornerstone of our security and the **UK will continue to champion and drive forward greater cooperation between the EU and NATO**, in accordance with the Joint Declaration and Implementation Plan. Given the range of defence and security challenges faced by Europe, it becomes ever more important that the EU and NATO work successfully together. The UK will continue to champion EU-NATO cooperation, in particular: **improved coordination in the analysis of and response to crises**; coherent and mutually **reinforcing development of national and multinational military capability requirements**, avoiding any duplication; and **closer cooperation to promote stability and resilience in Europe's neighbourhood**, particularly in relation to terrorism.
74. The European **defence industry** sector is closely integrated with leading companies having a presence across several European nations, including the UK, where all the constituent parts of the UK play their part. The sector is highly innovative and at the forefront of maintaining Europe's technological excellence. The UK has an important role in continuing this through innovation, research and collaboration. Open markets and customs arrangements that are as frictionless as possible are important to the continued success of this sector and to ensure that British and European Armed Forces can access the best war-fighting capability to keep us safe.

75. As part of the deep and special partnership, the UK wants to explore how best to ensure that the **UK and European defence and security industries can continue to work together to deliver the capabilities that we need** to counter the shared threats we face, and promote our mutual prosperity. This could include future **UK collaboration in European Defence Agency projects and initiatives. We could also consider options and models for participation in the Commission's European Defence Fund including both the European Defence Research Programme and the European Defence Industrial Development Programme.** Our future partnership would mean European capabilities could be developed in support of our joint security and shared values, with the UK's research and development expertise, and its world-leading facilities, such as the UK Defence Science and Technology Laboratory, used to support shared objectives.
76. Given the extent of the UK's involvement and expertise in **space**, and the unique nature of Galileo's application to UK and EU security, as well as science and innovation, the EU and the UK should consider all options, including new arrangements, to ensure our future **cooperation on space maintains our security and supports mutual prosperity.**

### **Cyber security**

77. Cyber security is a key element of protecting European security and values, and to ensure that European nations remain at the forefront of technology. It will continue to grow in importance. The UK is a world leader in cyber security and seeks to maintain the broadest possible cooperation to address the shared cyber security threats that the UK and its European partners face. These threats are a challenge to our values, as we have seen both states and non-state actors use cyber tools to attack our democratic and governmental institutions, like recent attacks on the NHS. The UK's partnership with EU agencies and bodies should be as flexible and innovative as the nature of the threats we face. The UK is ready to maintain and deepen our shared ability to support our collective security, and to uphold our values, by responding robustly to state-based threats and non-state actors through:
- **collaborating closely through participation in the CSIRT network and Cooperation Group**, and sharing relevant threat information, joint analysis and through coordinated investigations to improve our shared ability to prevent, detect and attribute attacks and prosecute those responsible;
  - continuing to work together to **promote strategic frameworks for conflict prevention, cooperation and stability in cyberspace**, and to ensure the continuation of a free, open, peaceful and secure cyberspace that supports our common prosperity and social well-being;
  - continuing to **work together to develop effective cyber security legislation and international standards**, for example on products and encryption, to work collaboratively to promote their adoption in relevant international bodies, and to adopt a mutually consistent, robust public stance to deter harmful activity in cyberspace; and
  - continuing to encourage the **development of the cyber security industry** across borders, and collaboration on research and development.

### ***International development***

78. The UK is a global leader in development and the UK shares a commitment with the EU to eradicate extreme poverty and help build prosperity, peace, stability and resilience in developing countries. In support of these values, the **UK will continue to use its international development budget through its international development partnerships**, to advance global development impact or to tackle specific country problems.
79. Continued close working with European partners will form an important part of the UK's future international development strategy, not least as working collaboratively with other countries helps drive impact and coherence across the system. Such close collaboration would be on a case-by-case basis and be subject to UK's standards on full transparency, accountability, risk and assurance, results and value for money.
80. The UK envisages that these partnerships could facilitate **collaboration and alignment on development policy and programming** in support of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and our common interests, as well as continued cooperation on early warning, conflict prevention and stabilisation. This would enable the UK and EU partners to work coherently in response to specific crises overseas by coordinating our humanitarian and development effort on fragile states and regions to tackle extreme poverty, as we are doing effectively in Syria, and to help the world's most vulnerable, including by addressing the root causes of migration and instability, as we continue to do together in the Horn of Africa.
81. This collaborative partnership could be underlined and enhanced by the **reciprocal exchange** of development and humanitarian policy experts, and by sharing approaches to **building global prosperity** in the most challenging contexts to reinforce our collective ability to **tackle the causes of instability and insecurity**.

### ***External Migration***

82. Migration is one of the greatest challenges that Europe faces, and it is an area where coordinated work is vital. As part of our future partnership, the UK will continue its **strategic cooperation with the EU on external migration**, including with key EU regional frameworks. EU-UK cooperation would be supported by the UK's bilateral engagement with a range of source and transit countries. This would be in the interests of the EU, the UK, and of developing countries, and will include ways of cooperating with and alongside the EU on priority regions in which European partners have significant influence and continue to commit considerable resource.

### ***Cross-cutting Issues***

83. To meet our shared threats and maintain our values, continuity of areas that are at the heart of our joint foreign policy, defence and security, and development infrastructure will be vital. This includes maintaining the ability to share sensitive information that protects our security, or to learn and benefit from the experience and expertise of our military and security experts. In support, therefore, of our proposed deep and special future partnership the UK could also offer:
- reciprocal **exchange of foreign and security policy experts and military personnel**;
  - classified **information exchange** to support external action; and
  - **mutual provision of consular services** in third countries where either EU Member States or the UK lack a diplomatic presence, and continued co-location of diplomatic premises.

### **Conclusion**

84. The UK is unconditionally committed to maintaining European security. In tackling the diverse, changing threats we all face today, it is in the interests of both the EU and UK that we ensure cooperation on European security. The UK supports a future partnership with the EU unlike any other EU-third country relationship. What the UK is offering will be unprecedented in its breadth, taking in cooperation on diplomacy, defence and security, and development, and in its depth, in terms of the degree of engagement that the UK and the EU should aim to deliver. This partnership should be rooted in our shared values and our common assessments of the threats we face. It should take as its starting point the degree of existing cooperation that has evolved through the UK's membership of the EU and be capable of adapting to the future threats and opportunities. The UK's contribution to a future partnership will be significant, drawing on our global defence, development and diplomatic presence. It is the UK's ambition to work as closely as possible together with the EU, protecting our citizens, promoting our values and ensuring the future security of our continent.

