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National Security Relations with France after Brexit

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BRITAIN'S DEPARTURE from the EU will put a much greater load on bilateral relations with its former partners. Membership of the EU involves continuous coordination on a vast range of issues, and creates the habit of thinking and working together. Disconnected from that network, there is a real risk that Britain will drift apart from its European neighbours and come to seem less relevant to their perceptions of their core interests.

That would be particularly damaging in the case of France, a country with which Britain shares not only a long and rich history, but a similar worldview and vital national security interests. President Emmanuel Macron has made clear that his top international priority is a stronger and more dynamic EU, on the basis of Franco-German leadership. So Britain will have to work harder to maintain its key relationship with France, even in areas that lie outside the scope of the EU. This paper will examine the current state of cooperation in the areas of defence, security and foreign policy, and make some specific proposals, in advance of the Franco-British Summit on 18 January, for how these should be further developed in the post-Brexit period.

Conclusions and Recommendations

- Brexit will not weaken the case for close UK–French defence and security cooperation, but it will change the context and create the risk of the two countries drifting apart. More structured ministerial consultations, for example in a two-plus-two foreign and defence minister format, would be a useful way of reinforcing cooperation.
- The first priority in UK–French nuclear cooperation is to bring the Teutates programme agreed in 2010 to full operational capacity on schedule in 2022, and to ensure that both countries derive full benefit from it.
- Britain and France, as Europe's two nuclear powers, should step up their consultations on the implications for their nuclear deterrence policy of the changing strategic environment, in particular a more aggressive Russia, the emergence of North Korea as a nuclear power, and the uncertainties about the longer-term US commitment to

NATO following President Donald Trump's hesitations over re-affirming the Article V commitment. They should take a joint initiative on nuclear deterrence policy at the July 2018 NATO Summit.

- The successful development of a Combined Joint Expeditionary Force gives Britain and France a highly trained pool of forces capable of a wide range of missions up to high-intensity combat. To keep up the momentum of the initiative, it will be important to find an opportunity to employ the capability. Given the troubled state of international security, opportunities should not be lacking, whether as part of a multilateral operation – for example, under UN or NATO auspices – or as a bilateral deployment in circumstances where both countries have interests at stake.
- The Unmanned Combat Air System programme is a flagship for UK–French defence equipment cooperation, aiming to deliver a key capability for the 2030s. It supports innovative research and vital defence industrial skills. The two governments should maintain the programme during the current demonstration phase to produce airframes by the early 2020s for operational testing; a withdrawal by either side at this stage of such a significant programme would undermine confidence in the wider Lancaster House defence equipment programme.
- If UK–French equipment cooperation is to offer real savings to the two countries, the model developed with MBDA in the missile sector, which has achieved real efficiencies through inter-dependence and specialisation, should be applied to other sectors as part of refreshing the 2010 agenda.
- It would be damaging to British, French and wider European interests for the proposed European Defence Fund to erect protectionist obstacles to cooperation between the British and French defence industries, the two largest in Europe.
- Bilateral cooperation between the intelligence and policy communities of the two countries on counterterrorism and cyber threats is long established and has become even closer in response to recent terrorist attacks. It is crucial that Brexit does not adversely affect this.
- Given the scale of movement of people and goods between the two countries, Britain and France have a particular stake in achieving an EU–UK strategic partnership providing continuity on law enforcement and criminal justice. The alternative of negotiating new

bilateral agreements would be long, complex and uncertain, and any gap would create serious security problems.

- France is bearing the brunt of the problems and costs of ensuring the security of the juxtaposed British border controls at Calais. Britain should continue to contribute to the costs, to help with humanitarian issues and to take joint action against the traffickers.
- Post-Brexit, Britain will have to work harder through bilateral contacts to influence EU decision-making, and it will have to become more entrepreneurial in foreign policy if it is to exert real influence. The UK should aim to strengthen its foreign policy partnership with France, in the UN Security Council, in NATO and through small-group diplomacy.

The Context of UK–French Bilateral Relations

Britain and France are the only two European countries with truly global interests and commitments. As a legacy of their imperial pasts, both have continuing obligations to widely dispersed overseas territories. They have diplomatic networks of a similar size (Britain is represented in 168 countries, France in 162). Both are Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. Both also participate in all the other main multilateral institutions and the G7 and G20 processes. The Commonwealth and the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie are broadly comparable groupings, each drawing on a shared linguistic and cultural heritage, and providing Britain and France with important networks of influence.

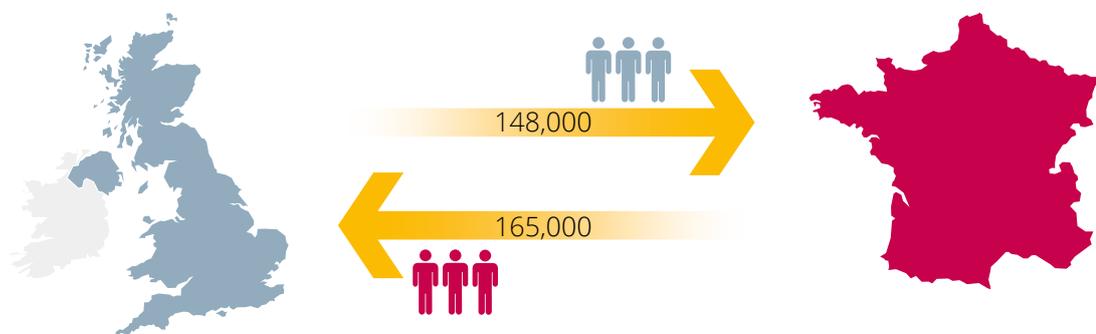
The two countries are among each other's largest trading partners, and investors in each other's economies (see Figure 1). The British government has chosen French technology to launch the renewal of the UK's nuclear power generation capacity at Hinkley Point and other sites.¹ This will tie the two countries' civil nuclear industries together for the 60-year life of these reactors.

The affinity between the people of Britain and France is evident in the extraordinary scale of movement between the two countries. There are around 12 million visits by British people to France each year,² and around 4 million in the other direction.³ There are an estimated 150,000 British citizens living in France and similar numbers of French people in Britain (see Figure 2).⁴

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1. EDF Energy, 'Final Contracts Signed for Hinkley Point C', press release, 29 September 2016.
 2. Figure of 11.9 million British visitors to France in 2016 cited in Ministère de l'économie et des finances, 'Études économiques: Chiffres clés du tourisme', *Chiffres clés du tourisme*, 2017, <https://www.entreprises.gouv.fr/files/files/directions_services/etudes-et-statistiques/stats-tourisme/chiffres-cles/2017-Chiffres-cles-tourisme.pdf>, accessed 9 January 2017.
 3. Figure of 4.1 million French visitors to the UK in 2016 cited in Office for National Statistics, 'Travel Trends: 2016', 18 May 2017.
 4. See Office of National Statistics, 'Living Abroad: Migration Between Britain and France', 8 August 2017.

Figure 1: France and UK Trade in Goods and Services, 2016

Sources: Office for National Statistics, 'Who Does the UK Trade With?', 3 January 2018, <<https://visual.ons.gov.uk/uk-trade-partners/>>, accessed 11 January 2018; OEC, 'France', <<https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/fra/>>, accessed 11 January 2018.

Figure 2: Number of Citizens in the Other Country, 2015

Source: Office for National Statistics, 'Travel Trends: 2016', 18 May 2017.

Britain and France have stood together through the gravest crises of the last century. The Commonwealth War Graves cemeteries in France record the sacrifice of around 700,000 British and Commonwealth servicemen in two world wars: a powerful symbol of the deep ties that bind the two countries.⁵ The Normandy Memorial Trust is working to construct a national memorial to the more than 22,000 who fell under British command during the Battle of Normandy, to be inaugurated on the 75th anniversary of D-Day in 2019.

5. Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 'Annual Report 2015–2016', 2016, p. 31.

Defence Cooperation

This remains the area in which the similarities between Britain and France are most striking. Both are nuclear weapon powers, with the largest defence budgets in Europe, armed forces of the size and capability to take the lead in significant combat operations, and a tradition of overseas intervention in the interests of international security. The two armed forces were drawn together by the experience of sharing leadership of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the tough circumstances of Bosnia in the mid-1990s, and then working alongside each other in the subsequent NATO operations in Bosnia and Kosovo. The convergence of thinking at this period between London and Paris led to the agreement between Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Jacques Chirac at the Saint-Malo summit in 1998, which opened the way to the EU defence and security structures that exist today.⁶

Britain and France were both part of the international military campaign in Afghanistan from 2001, but were divided over the invasion of Iraq in 2003. For the rest of the decade, those two gruelling campaigns were Britain's overriding defence priority.

Prime Minister David Cameron's government came to power in May 2010 with the conviction (as set out in the 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review) that Britain should build 'new models of practical bilateral cooperation with those countries whose defence and security posture is closest to our own',⁷ and saw particular scope to do so with France. This drew an enthusiastic response from President Nicolas Sarkozy. Both leaders saw advantages in terms of improving the capability of the two armed forces to deploy and fight together, while saving money through more joint procurement and sharing facilities.

President Sarkozy's decision to bring France back into the NATO military structure in 2009 opened the way for Britain and France to work together more closely in NATO. This was reinforced by joint UK-French leadership of the Libya air campaign in 2011, working through the NATO command-and-control apparatus. Both countries have been strong supporters of the shift of emphasis in NATO back to its core purpose of collective defence, and both participate in the Enhanced Forward Presence initiative.

It is over European defence that Britain and France have had different views, at least about longer-term objectives. France's ambition has always been European military autonomy. Saint-Malo achieved a reconciliation between this and Britain's priority of not undermining or duplicating NATO. The resulting limited European military capabilities have proved useful in Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions. Britain has participated alongside France in many. After leaving the EU, Britain would need to be invited to participate in future

6. For an account of the role played by the Saint-Malo agreement in the development of European Defence, see Peter Ricketts, 'The EU and Defence: The Legacy of Saint-Malo', *RUSI Journal* (Vol. 162, No. 3, June/July 2017).

7. HM Government, *Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The Strategic Defence and Security Review*, Cm 7948 (London: The Stationery Office, October 2010), p. 59.

missions on a case-by-case basis. Both Britain and the EU would gain from continuing to involve Britain closely in CSDP activities. But this will require a pragmatic approach to finding a new relationship, recognising that Britain's military capabilities and longstanding role in European security puts it in a different position from other non-members.

Meanwhile, the EU's institutional focus is on the development of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). This would not undermine the Saint-Malo model if it produced increased European military capacity which could be used for EU, NATO or UN operations. However, some of the proposals in President Macron's 26 September speech – for a common EU intervention force, defence budget and doctrine for action – would have been very uncomfortable for Britain if it had been staying in the EU.

The shared interests of Britain and France in European security, and the continued viability of NATO in the face of a more aggressive Russia and a range of threats from states and terrorist groups, underline the need for the two countries to ensure they do not drift apart by stepping up bilateral cooperation after Brexit. New structures could replace the habitual contact at regular EU meetings. Two-plus-two foreign and defence minister meetings have proved useful in reinforcing other defence relationships, for instance with Australia, and are worth considering.

Brexit will not weaken the case for close UK–French defence and security cooperation, but it will change the context and create the risk of the two countries drifting apart. More structured ministerial consultations, for example in a two-plus-two foreign and defence minister format, would be a useful way of reinforcing cooperation.

The current framework for the bilateral defence and security relationship between the UK and France was set in two treaties signed by Prime Minister Cameron and President Sarkozy at Lancaster House in November 2010. The first was a broad treaty on defence and security cooperation.⁸ The second was a technical treaty on nuclear cooperation, with the delphic title of 'Joint Radiographic/Hydrodynamic Facilities'.⁹

The following sections consider the progress made on this agenda, and identify areas where a new impulse is needed, starting with the most eye-catching and sensitive area of nuclear cooperation.

The Bilateral Defence Agenda

Nuclear Cooperation

An independent nuclear deterrent is fundamental to the defence policy of both the UK and France. However, the two countries have different approaches to independence. The UK

8. 'Treaty Between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic for Defence and Security Co-operation', 2 November 2010.

9. 'Treaty Between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic Relating to Joint Radiographic/Hydrodynamics Facilities', 2 November 2010.

maintains operational independence of its four-boat submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) system, including a nationally developed warhead. However, it has from the outset worked in the closest cooperation with the US. It currently procures the Trident D5 missile from the US, maintains a common pool of missiles with it, and is developing a common missile compartment for the successor to the *Vanguard*-class submarines.

France has always attached great importance to independence of procurement as well as operation. France operates two systems: a four-boat SLBM system and an air-launched cruise missile delivered by land or carrier-based aircraft. The missiles, warheads and all systems are indigenously developed.

These differences have limited the scope for nuclear cooperation between Britain and France, particularly in the areas of technology and operations. Nonetheless, a Joint Nuclear Commission has met since 1992. In 1995, President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister John Major jointly declared that they did not see situations arising in which the vital interests of either country could be threatened without the vital interests of the other also being threatened.¹⁰

President Sarkozy and Prime Minister Cameron decided in 2010, as part of the wider effort to deepen the defence relationship, to take a major step forward in the most sensitive area of nuclear cooperation. In a powerful show of confidence in the strategic partnership, they agreed that Britain and France would share a single facility, in France, for testing the safety and viability of their nuclear warhead designs.

One of the two Lancaster House Treaties established this programme, known as Teutates, based at Valduc in France. A 2013 RUSI paper explained that the facility ‘will examine the behaviour of nuclear materials in explosive conditions by using radiographic X-rays to monitor the detonation of materials representative of those within nuclear warheads’ – in other words, this would be a simulation, not involving any nuclear explosion.¹¹ The treaty provided for the joint use of the advanced radiographic machines, and separate national areas to ensure a secure environment for national programmes. It was agreed that the Valduc facility would be supported by a Technology Development Centre at the UK Atomic Weapons Establishment in the UK.

The first, French phase of Teutates was completed in 2014. The second, British, phase is now scheduled for completion in 2018, with a third phase to add two further radiographic machines, bringing the facility to full operating capacity by late 2022.¹²

10. ‘UK-French Joint Statement on Nuclear Cooperation’, 30 October 1995. See also John Major, ‘Mr Major’s Joint Press Conference with President Chirac’, <<http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1411.html>>, accessed 9 January 2018.

11. Hugh Chalmers and Malcolm Chalmers, ‘The Future of the UK’s Co-operative Nuclear Relationships’, RUSI Occasional Paper, June 2013.

12. Ministry of Defence, ‘The UK’s Future Nuclear Deterrent: 2016 Update to Parliament’, 20 December 2016.

The treaty guaranteed Britain access to the Valduc site for at least 50 years. Prime Minister Cameron commented at the time that avoiding duplication of facilities in this way would save the UK millions of pounds.¹³

It will be important to maintain the momentum in UK–French nuclear cooperation generated by the ambitious and far-sighted initiative taken in 2010. The two governments should examine whether there are further nuclear stockpile stewardship measures which could be shared, building on the experience from Teutates. For the reasons set out above, cooperation on technology or operations is likely to be limited.

The first priority in UK–French nuclear cooperation is clearly to bring the Teutates programme to full operational capacity on schedule in 2022, and to ensure that both countries derive full benefit from it.

The other area for further work is on nuclear doctrine and policy. The UK's 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review commented, in discussing the role of the nuclear deterrent: 'There is a risk that states might use their nuclear capability to threaten us, try to constrain our decision making in a crisis or sponsor nuclear terrorism. Recent changes in the international security context remind us that we cannot relax our guard'.¹⁴ France's 2017 Defence and National Security Strategic Review framed the issue in these terms: 'Nuclear deterrence is embedded in the more global framework of the defence and national security strategy, which takes into account the entire spectrum of threats, including those considered to be under the threshold of our vital interests'.¹⁵ The next NATO Summit in July 2018 would be the right moment for Britain and France to demonstrate leadership in this area with a joint initiative to modernise NATO deterrence policy.

Britain and France, as Europe's two nuclear powers, should step up their consultations on the implications for their nuclear deterrence policy of the changing strategic environment, in particular a more aggressive Russia, the emergence of North Korea as a nuclear power, and the uncertainties about the longer-term US commitment to NATO following President Trump's hesitations over re-affirming the Article V commitment. They should take a joint initiative on nuclear deterrence policy at the July 2018 NATO Summit.

13. David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy, 'UK-France Summit Press Conference', 2 November 2010.

14. HM Government, *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015: A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom*, Cm 9161 (London: The Stationery Office, 2015), para. 4.64.

15. French Government, 'Defence and National Security Strategic Review', October 2017, para. 243, <<https://otan.delegfrance.org/2017-Strategic-Review-of-Defence-and-National-Security>>, accessed 9 January 2018.

Operations

The broader Lancaster House Treaties set out three main objectives:

- Maximising defence capacity through coordinating development, acquisition, deployment and maintenance of a range of capabilities.
- Reinforcing the defence industry of the two countries, including cooperation on equipment programmes.
- Deploying together into theatres in which both parties agreed to be engaged.

A more detailed Letter of Intent fleshed out more specific commitments in two main areas.¹⁶ The first was in the area of operations, to develop a Combined Joint Expeditionary Force (CJEF) with land, maritime and air components, drawn from the two national forces. The aim was to be able to deploy up to a brigade-level force into a wide range of scenarios, including high-intensity combat. A series of annual exercises has increased inter-operability, and the force is now close to full operational capability. The distinctiveness of the CJEF is that it gives the British and French governments a new and powerful option for demonstrating their joint resolve to contribute to crisis management or post-crisis stabilisation work. A package of forces drawn from the CJEF pool could be tailor-made for a specific set of circumstances, including the necessary enablers. It could, for example, provide a self-contained and rapidly deployable leading element to meet an urgent requirement for peacekeeping or stabilisation forces under UN or NATO auspices. It might also provide a way for Britain to contribute to EU military missions, depending on the arrangements for British participation agreed in the Brexit negotiations. Moreover, it would be available to respond to emergencies such as disaster relief or non-combatant evacuation, in circumstances where Britain and France wished to show that they were acting together.

The successful development of a Combined Joint Expeditionary Force gives Britain and France a highly trained pool of forces capable of a wide range of missions up to high-intensity combat. To keep up the momentum of the initiative, it will be important to find an opportunity to employ the capability. Given the troubled state of international security, opportunities should not be lacking, whether as part of a multilateral operation – for example, under UN or NATO auspices – or as a bilateral deployment in circumstances where both countries had interests at stake.

A second operational commitment in the Letter of Intent was to build up the capacity to deploy an integrated carrier strike group, using assets from both countries, to coincide with the entry in service of the UK carriers. That remains highly relevant as the UK rebuilds expertise in the operation of aircraft carriers.

16. This letter was not published, but its contents are summarised in UK Government, 'UK-France Summit 2010 Declaration on Defence and Security Co-operation', 2 November 2010.

Equipment Cooperation

The Letter of Intent also set out an ambitious list of priorities for equipment cooperation. The most significant were as follows, along with the progress made so far.

Two programmes were envisaged on unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). The first, for the next generation of medium altitude long endurance drone (in effect, a Reaper successor), was abandoned when an initial feasibility phase showed that the two countries had different requirements. The second was for a larger Unmanned Combat Air System (UCAS), also known as the Future Combat Air System (FCAS), for the post-2030 period. The two governments confirmed in December 2016 that they had signed an agreement to enable the consortium led by BAE Systems and Dassault to move the programme on from its initial feasibility phase to develop a €2 billion demonstrator programme for operational testing from 2025.¹⁷ This would prepare for a decision on moving to full operational capability beyond 2030.

The Unmanned Combat Air System programme is a flagship for UK–French defence equipment cooperation, aiming to deliver a key capability for the 2030s. It supports innovative research and vital defence industrial skills. The two governments should maintain the programme during the current demonstration phase to produce airframes by the early 2020s for operational testing; a withdrawal by either side at this stage of such a significant programme would undermine confidence in the wider Lancaster House defence equipment programme.

The 2010 Letter of Intent also set out agreement to a ten-year plan for the complex weapons sector – that is, advanced missiles – aiming for a single European prime contractor and for savings of up to 30% for the two countries. Since then, the UK-French-Italian company MBDA has successfully developed joint programmes such as the Meteor air-to-air missile for both armed forces. The model of mutual dependency was extended in 2016 when an agreement came into force creating four centres of excellence at MBDA sites in France and the UK, each specialising in one aspect of missile capability, for the benefit of both countries.¹⁸ The 2017 French Defence and National Security Strategic Review cited MBDA as the model for a form of cooperation that balances interdependence with the necessary guarantees of access and autonomy for each country.¹⁹

17. Ministry of Defence and Harriet Baldwin, 'UK Strengthens Defence Partnership with France', news story, 16 December 2016.

18. Ministry of Defence and Michael Fallon, 'Defence Secretary Announces UK-French Missile Cooperation', 17 November 2016.

19. French Government, 'Defence and National Security Strategic Review', para. 226.

The Letter of Intent also covered commitments to:

- Develop a prototype mine countermeasures system. This programme continues, and the two governments announced a further £117 million in funding in late 2016.²⁰
- Agree a common support plan for the two countries' A400M transport aircraft fleet. The Ministry of Defence announced in 2017 that a two-year global support contract worth £63 million had been agreed with France and Spain. This built on a spares pooling agreement between the UK and France, which had already yielded savings of around £22 million for each country.²¹

A limited number of other areas of cooperation have developed since 2010. For example, ministers announced in 2016 that they had signed an agreement on acoustic testing to aid future warship design.²² But if the momentum of equipment cooperation is to be sustained, new projects will be needed.

If UK–French equipment cooperation is to offer real savings to the two countries, the model developed with MBDA in the missile sector, which has achieved real efficiencies through inter-dependence and specialisation, should be applied to other sectors, as part of refreshing the 2010 agenda.

The Implications of EU Defence Cooperation

The European Commission has proposed an ambitious new European Defence Fund that will cut across UK–French defence industrial cooperation. As set out in its Communication of 7 June 2017,²³ this would comprise a research fund of €500 million per year, and a capability fund notionally rising to €5 billion per year in the medium term, to fund capability development and joint acquisition by EU member states. In the short term, the Commission is proposing a two-year, €500 million European Defence Industrial Development Programme to 'support industry in the development phase for collective investments in cutting-edge products and technology'.²⁴ The December 2017 European Council called for the swift adoption of this latter programme in 2018, with first projects financed in 2019.²⁵

20. Ministry of Defence and Harriet Baldwin, 'UK and France Begin Build of Unmanned Mine Clearance Craft', press release, 20 October 2016.

21. Ministry of Defence and Harriet Baldwin, '£410M RAF Atlas Aircraft Support Contract Secures at Least 400 UK Jobs', 5 January 2017.

22. Ministry of Defence and Harriet Baldwin, 'UK Strengthens Defence Partnership with France'.

23. European Commission, 'Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions', COM(2017) 295 final, 7 June 2017.

24. *Ibid.*

25. European Council, conclusions adopted by the European Council following the European Council meeting of 14 December 2017, EUCO 19/17, CO EUR 24 CONCL 7.

Depending on how the rules for these funds are written, they could tilt the playing field against cooperation with companies outside the EU. **It would be damaging to British, French and wider European interests for the proposed European Defence Fund to erect protectionist obstacles to cooperation between the British and French defence industries, the two largest in Europe.**

It would also be ironic, as the Commission cites, as a model for the cooperation it is seeking to encourage, the UK-French missile programmes developed by MBDA.

Security Cooperation

Britain and France have both suffered a series of attacks by Islamist terrorists in recent years. In many cases these were European citizens who had fought for Daesh (also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, ISIS) in Syria and Iraq and returned home radicalised. In some cases they were recent migrants.

Bilateral cooperation between the intelligence and policy communities of the two countries on counterterrorism and cyber threats is long established and has become even closer in response to recent terrorist attacks. It is crucial that Brexit does not adversely affect this.

This cooperation covers the whole spectrum from operational cooperation, to policy exchanges on de-radicalisation strategies, and cyber threats from states and criminals. Prime Minister Theresa May and President Macron announced in June 2017 a joint initiative to tackle online radicalisation, working with technology companies to develop tools to identify and remove harmful material automatically, with a threat of creating a new legal liability if companies fail to remove content.²⁶

Linked to the huge movement of people between the two countries, there is also a great deal of law enforcement and criminal justice cooperation which depends on the toolkit of EU instruments developed over many years. These include data-sharing arrangements (such as the databases of fingerprints and DNA and the Passenger Name Register systems), shared instruments such as the European Arrest Warrant, and EU agencies such as Europol.

Britain has proposed a strategic agreement between the EU and the UK in the form of a treaty to continue the current level of access for the UK to this EU toolkit after Brexit. **Given the scale of movement of people and goods between the two countries, Britain and France have a particular stake in achieving an EU–UK strategic partnership providing continuity on law enforcement and criminal justice. The alternative of negotiating new bilateral agreements would be long, complex and uncertain, and any gap would create serious security problems.**

A distinctive part of UK–French (and UK–Belgian) security arrangements is the juxtaposed border controls at the Eurostar and Eurotunnel terminals. Maintaining quick and efficient handling of the very large volumes of people and freight that pass through them each day is vital to the

26. Prime Minister's Office and Theresa May, 'UK and France Announce Joint Campaign to Tackle Online Radicalisation', 13 June 2017.

economies of both countries. The French authorities have also had to maintain heavy police and gendarmerie contingents in Calais in recent years to prevent migrants seeking to reach the UK from breaking into the ferry or Eurotunnel terminals. The large numbers of migrants who have gathered at Calais (and now increasingly at other ports along the Channel coast) continue to pose law and order problems and the French authorities incur significant costs as a result. Despite the difficulties, UK–French cooperation has been close, with the UK paying for many of the security improvements at the port and shuttle terminals, and working with France on humanitarian issues and in returning volunteers among the migrants to their home countries.

The juxtaposed controls are based on the UK–French Le Touquet Treaty of 2003. As such, they should not be affected by Brexit. But they became politically controversial in France during President François Hollande’s term, with opposition leaders claiming that France was bearing all the burden of keeping the British border secure from migrants who wanted to get to Britain. During the election campaign, Macron spoke of wanting to renegotiate the agreement. The issue is not as acute as it was a year ago, but it could re-emerge, particularly in the event of an acrimonious Brexit. **France is bearing the brunt of the problems and costs to ensure the security of the juxtaposed border controls, particularly at Calais. Britain should continue to contribute to the costs, to help with humanitarian issues and to take joint action against the traffickers.**

Foreign Policy Cooperation

Brexit will not change the fact that the UK and France share a common interest in the international rules-based order, and common responsibilities to defend it as Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. The two countries have a long record of coordinating closely and voting together in the Security Council, and in working together in managing international crises.

France has always insisted, as has Britain, that it acts in the Security Council as a sovereign nation, not as a member of the EU. Britain should look for ways to strengthen the partnership with France in the Security Council, including through initiatives which support French priorities.

However, by leaving the EU, the UK will not be part of the constant process of consultation and policymaking that goes on among EU members on a daily basis in the ambassador-level Political and Security Committee (PSC), monthly at the ministerial meetings and in many joint meetings with third countries. EU members conduct most of their international activity through the EU.

French energies will go largely into forging EU positions to support French priorities. It will often be in Britain’s interests to align itself with EU positions, for example in imposing sanctions, where action by Britain alone would have little impact. But influencing EU decision-making from the outside will be much harder than as a member. It may be possible to negotiate structured consultations with the PSC. But Britain will have to work harder upstream, with individual member states, and with France in particular, given French weight within the EU on foreign policy issues.

Britain's foreign policy influence will depend largely on the extent to which it can put forward worthwhile initiatives to address international problems, harness its many assets (diplomatic, developmental, military) behind them, and then invest political energy in delivering them. France has a long tradition of initiative-taking of this kind, and has often worked well with Britain in leading small groups focused on a specific problem (such as the Iran nuclear negotiations, which were piloted by Britain and France over more than ten years). When considering a new diplomatic initiative, Britain should systematically consider whether to do so in partnership with France.

Post-Brexit, Britain will have to work harder through bilateral contacts to influence EU decision-making, and it will have to become more entrepreneurial in foreign policy if it is to exert real influence. The UK should aim to strengthen its foreign policy partnership with France, in the UN Security Council, in NATO and through small-group diplomacy.

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