SPECIAL REPORT

Remaining plugged into European defence and security after Brexit:

Australia and Germany



About the author

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Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Lisa Sharland and Michael Shoebridge for providing feedback throughout the writing process as well as Peter Jennings for offering advice on cooperation possibilities. Special thanks applies to all the German, EU and Australian officials and experts as well as members of both defence forces that shared their opinions, knowledge and ideas on initial questions and thought-processes, and that helped to shape the final direction this report has taken. The author would like to extend special gratitude to Sofia Patel for playing a vital role in the early stages when the idea for this report was born.

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First published December 2018

Published in Australia by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute

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INTRODUCTION

In March 2019, the UK is scheduled to leave the EU after voting in favour of Brexit in the 2016 referendum. This will have long-lasting implications not only for both the UK and the EU's remaining member states but also for third countries that have close ties to the continent, such as Australia. Until now, due to its historical and cultural ties, Australia has usually approached Europe through the UK as a gateway. With the advent of Brexit, Canberra would be well advised to prepare other avenues through which to cooperate with European partners.

While relations with the UK will remain a priority, other European countries have increasingly been put on the agenda. Australia will need to deepen its influence on the continent in order to maintain strong ties with the EU in the absence of Britain. Peter Jennings, Executive Director of ASPI, and David Ritchie, former Australian ambassador to Germany, are on point, writing 'when Britain leaves we will also need very good friends within the new European Union.'

With the immediate region taking priority for Australia—for obvious reasons—leaving 'common path dependency' when it comes to strategic thinking will be necessary in order for like-minded partners to adjust to current and future global security issues. Particularly as a proponent of the international rules-based order, Australia should engage more with like-minded European partners such as Germany to address challenges to that order.

Just as Australia and the EU are negotiating a free trade agreement and getting ready to ratify the framework agreement they signed in 2017, Canberra should also focus on security and defence relations with the continent, which will change in the aftermath of Brexit.

The Australian Government's 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper specifically called for strengthening bilateral partnerships in Europe, naming France and Germany as two substantial players for Australia. However, that mention wasn't followed by any details or a particular strategy for advancing those relations. To provide some ideas and recommendations, this paper sets out some opportunities and limits for Australian security and defence cooperation with Germany following Brexit.

WHY GERMANY?

Australia and European countries have a long experience of security cooperation within international organisations, especially through NATO operations but also within one of the EU's missions. Furthermore, several large Australian defence contracts have been awarded to a variety of European defence industry companies, among them the German companies Rheinmetall and Lürssen, continuing a long history of the ADF acquiring German-designed military equipment. The analysis in this paper examines Australia's relationship with Germany by assessing existing ties and demonstrating future opportunities for increasing cooperation. However, to provide accurate recommendations for both government stakeholders it's also necessary to highlight the limits in this partnership.

Germany and Australia not only share values and support the international rules-based order, but have a long history of cooperating on international issues within the UN and through forums such as the G20. Both states are middle powers that are shaping the regions around them but also beyond. They regularly comment, react and coordinate responses to international law violations and call out challengers of the international rules-based order. Facing a lot of similar security challenges makes it only sensible to explore options to increase existing cooperation. The Defence White Paper explicitly mentions Germany as a partner with which to tackle such global security issues.⁴

After the UK, Germany is Australia's most important European trading partner. Cultural and socio-economic bonds between Berlin and Canberra are strong and flourishing, and the Australian Government is aware of Germany's leverage across the whole of Europe. That leverage, in particular, would allow a gateway for Australia to slowly replicate its long and trusted relationship with London with other European partners.

Germany and Australia share a mutual commitment to facing security challenges, which provides the necessary means for deepening existing cooperation in areas such as cybersecurity, space security, intelligence and information sharing, as well as for strengthening military ties and defence industry partnerships. A tendency towards greater cooperation in some fields is already evident, for example in regular consultations and exchanges between the Five Eyes countries and partners such as Germany and Japan.⁵

Germany (along with the rest of Europe) sees Australia as a friend and a facilitator of further engagement in a region that Berlin is yet to fully understand. While Germany serves as gateway-to-be into a no-UK-EU, Australia can reciprocate and be a gateway for German and other European engagement in the Indo-Pacific. To maintain the international rules-based order, collaboration between friends globally is necessary, and Australia and Germany have an opportunity to jointly take on a leadership role to demonstrate their commitment to that order.

EXISTING TIES

Due to their shared values and interests, Germany and Australia have been cooperating on a range of securityand defence-related issues for a while now. Australia is an important and valued partner of NATO, and Germany and Australia cooperated in NATO's missions to Afghanistan. Canberra contributed to the EU's EUCAP Nestor mission in 2014 and 2015,⁶ and the two governments regularly meet to discuss shared interests.

Germany and Australia have had diplomatic relations since 1952. In 2013, then Australian Foreign Minister Bob Carr signed the Berlin–Canberra declaration, which announced the intention to establish a strategic partnership to intensify the bilateral ties and cooperation of the countries in multilateral collaborations. In 2017, representatives from both governments came together in Perth for the Asia–Pacific Regional Conference, demonstrating increasing German interest in the region.

On 6 September 2016, the inaugural 2+2 ministerial meeting was held. Foreign and defence ministers from both sides agreed to deepen bilateral relations and cooperation on foreign policy and international security. Since 2016, think tanks in both countries have collaborated and organised annual Track 1.5 dialogues. The German political foundation Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung opened an office in Canberra in 2017 with a key focus on foreign and security policy in areas such as cybersecurity and counterterrorism.

Earlier, in 2014, both governments agreed to establish the Australia–Germany Advisory Group, which in November 2015 presented 59 proposals to advance the bilateral relationship in a variety of fields, including by establishing intergovernmental links on 'foreign, defence, and security policy'. Subsequently, in December 2016, a progress report assessing the implementation or advancement of the 59 recommendations was published.

Despite the geographical distance between them, Berlin and Canberra have excellent relations, and both sides have expressed their willingness to expand those relations. Germany is seen as a constant and a reliable partner in Europe that's plugged in differently across the continent and has special relationships with all parts of Europe. Particularly in regard to foreign and defence policies, Australia values the consistency of Berlin, irrespective of the parties in power, which will play a particularly important role following the announced departure of long-time Chancellor Angela Merkel.

Awarding recent tenders to German companies Rheinmetall and Lürssen, Canberra continues to trust German industrial quality. Much ADF equipment is being supplied by German manufacturers, including Rheinmetall MAN military vehicles, multiple rifles by Heckler & Koch, and the Eurocopter/Airbus Tiger armed reconnaissance helicopter (which, admittedly, has been subject to criticism in the past). More tools for the Army and the RAN are now following: Rheinmetall's Boxer combat reconnaissance vehicle and Lürssen's offshore patrol vessels.

The defence industry relationship between the two countries has a long tradition, while defence policy cooperation has been slowly growing in recent years, also due to mutual engagement. As mentioned above, Australia has been part of NATO and EU missions (so far, one civilian one, but with the legal requirements set for possible military participation in the future), in which it worked closely and side by side with Germany. Cooperation in Afghanistan was mainly facilitated through NATO, but bilateral information exchanges also took place to develop shared approaches and develop counter-measures together, such as sharing knowledge and skills to deal with improvised explosive devices.

Germany has been sending observers to the RAAF's Exercise Pitch Black since 2016. This demonstrates political willingness to cooperate on both sides, and has the potential for future German troop participation outside the exercise's operational headquarters (and obviously in other exercises) and for Australian military personnel in exercises across Europe.

OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITS

Both the 2016 Defence White Paper and the 2017 Foreign Policy White paper defined key security challenges and sent a clear message that the relationship with Germany holds enormous potential for Australia. For Canberra to improve relations with the European continent and secure influence in the future no-UK-EU, gateways will be needed. There are certainly many opportunities to create stronger ties with Germany, but also limits that shouldn't be underestimated when approaching the bilateral defence and security relationship.

Germany and Australia share clear compatibilities but operate in resource-constrained environments. Both have to balance regional engagement and sustainment with global responsibilities. The geographical distance between Berlin and Canberra is still often pointed to as a hindrance to deeper bilateral relations. However, that ignores the fact that in a globalised and interconnected world we don't have the luxury of ignoring certain topics or regions, particularly when they involve relations with like-minded countries. And, after all, Berlin is closer to Australia than London is.

Certainly, one could argue that both countries' varying responsibilities and focus areas could limit their ability to deepen defence and security cooperation. Can Germany, with its responsibilities in Europe and Africa, support Australian interests in the Indo-Pacific? Is there a justification for Germany to become more vocal and active on issues involving the South China Sea? Can both publics be convinced that allocating more resources to engagement with the other is necessary? Should relations be pursued on a bilateral level, when cooperation in international organisations such as NATO and the G20 is already fruitful? Would it be better to seek an EU approach rather than selected bilateral collaborations? Should Australia focus on cooperating with geographically 'closer' countries? How can Germany meet pressing issues, such as those on NATO's eastern and southern flanks, while looking into the distance at the Pacific?

Those are all valid questions and concerns. However, in a changing world in which the international rules-based order is under attack, countries such as Germany and Australia are needed to maintain it. Both are middle powers that have a shared interest in collaborating to address global tasks rather than shying away from them. In Germany especially, political, intellectual and analytical circles have undergone a reckoning process: they've realised that the security and threat environments have changed and acknowledged that the international community expects Germany to step up its engagement in security matters—which it can do in collaboration with partners such as Australia.

In 2014, then German President Joachim Gauck also urged the country to deepen its foreign policy engagement. It was a watershed moment for all of Europe, which realised that it could no longer shy away from international responsibility as conflicts moved to Europe's doorstep. Germany increased its diplomatic engagement through the 'Normandy format' arrangement with Russia, Ukraine and France, attempting to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in Ukraine. It was also one of the key players in the Iran negotiations and contributes to the international alliance against ISIS/Daesh.

Nevertheless, despite recent publicly stated commitments from both German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen expressing willingness to increase defence and security spending, the broader constituency remains oblivious to the issue. The broader German public doesn't support increasing the spending and Germany playing a bigger role in defence and security matters globally. ¹⁰ As Markus Kaim puts it: 'German politicians have traditionally avoided communicating to their constituency that Germany could or even should play a bigger, more responsible role in international affairs and in multilateral crisis management in particular.'¹¹

As the role of the US as guarantor of the international order changes, we'll need more global engagement between like-minded countries such as Germany and Australia. German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas delivered a speech at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo in Japan in July 2018 and wrote an op-ed in *Handelsblatt* a month later, advocating for a new world order with like-minded countries and supporters of the international rules-based order at the helm. This demonstrates that Germany's political leadership understands the issue very well. However, it's essential to understand that often, in 'the German context, leading always means "in a European context" and "together with others". The demonstrates that German context is a supporter of the international context.

SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY COOPERATION

Cooperation on security is at least as important as trade and cultural exchanges. While official government visits are taking place between Canberra and Berlin quite regularly, contacts among the state, territory and *Länder* governments should be fostered, particularly to enable the sharing of insights into countering terrorism and violent extremism. A major opportunity would be to jointly identify and develop counterterrorism measures to protect energy and other critical infrastructure.

The cybersphere and space should also be looked at more closely and bilaterally. In cybersecurity, both Germany and Australia have basic structures but the field requires the ongoing development and advancement of knowledge. Both countries use whole-of-government approaches, including foreign policy, domestic policy and defence policy in their cyber policy, so they should also collaborate to share solutions.

In August 2018, Germany announced that it would create a federal agency for innovation in cybersecurity, which is supposed to begin working in early 2019 and will be situated within the Interior Ministry. With a budget of €200 million for the next five years, the agency will boost the security of independent infrastructure and develop the necessary technology, pushing for Germany to become an internationally leading cybersecurity nation, according to Interior Minister Horst Seehofer.¹⁴ Once the German agency is operational, interagency cooperation, including exchanges of lessons learned and joint projects with the Australian Cyber Security Centre and the Cyber Security Cooperative Research Centre, could be fostered.

Common challenges in the cybersecurity sector include personnel recruitment (public service versus private industry), closer collaboration with industry, and a general decline in STEM education. In recruitment, Germany could learn from the Australian Government's scheme to reskill veterans to become cybersecurity experts through the Department of Human Services. At the announcement of the scheme, AustCyber CEO Michelle Price stressed the opportunities that governments have to address 'skill gaps in the sector'. ¹⁵

Both countries have been slow to acknowledge security challenges arising from developments in space technology that affect our scientific, economic and, especially, defence interests, but Australia and Germany are both keen to do more. The Australian Government has announced the formation of the Australian Space Agency. ¹⁶ Germany operates on space issues mainly through engagement in the European Space Agency, but Australia could learn from insights and experience gained through that agency. Australia, on the other hand, has geographical features that would allow for beneficial cooperation on space-related security matters. It has large areas of unused territory close to the equator and a relatively benign climate, which could be very attractive to Germany and the European Space Agency. The circumstances in both countries offer considerable potential to advance opportunities for engagement on space security.

Diplomatic resources could also be used to maximise cooperation on defence and security. While Australia's departments of Defence and Foreign Affairs have a strong focus on the Indo-Pacific and many representatives in that region, the Australian Government's representation across Europe is smaller, including its numbers of military attachés.

The 2016 Defence White Paper stated the ambition to increase the number of attachés. ¹⁷ The realisation of that ambition will depend on resourcing, but in the meantime the government could make better use of existing resources and interagency cooperation. The Australian Embassy in Berlin is well positioned due to its centrality on the continent to coordinate flows of security and defence information to and from other Australian diplomatic posts in Europe.

For example, one option could be for Australia to install a first secretary at its embassy in Warsaw, who could also report on security relations in Central and Eastern Europe to the defence attaché in Berlin. Regional insights will be necessary for future strategic thinking and defence planning. If each Australian embassy in Europe were to focus on a specific area or theme, Canberra's limited diplomatic resources might be more efficiently used. For instance, the embassies in the Baltic region could focus on cybersecurity, the embassy in France could focus on European engagement in the Indo-Pacific, and the embassy in Berlin could work on the defence industry (the personnel dedicated to that work are currently located in the Australian High Commission in London). Post-Brexit, it would be wise to have additional defence and defence industry expertise in Australian diplomatic missions across the continent. Regular reassessments would then allow Australia to determine where further defence personnel might be located.

The German Embassy in Canberra has recognised the increasing relevance of security and defence matters in the bilateral relationship. In mid-2018, it installed a second position (a deputy defence attaché), clearly demonstrating Germany's political commitment.

In foreign and security policy cooperation, more exchanges of lessons learned and experiences in particular security environments should be fostered. Berlin's experience with the Russian Government could advance Australia's understanding of Russia's global actions and ambitions, while Canberra's expertise in understanding how the Chinese state is using its growing strategic and economic power could be highly valuable to the German Government.

One of the recommendations in the report of the Australia–Germany Advisory Group was to foster strategic dialogue between Australian and German stakeholders. A Track 1.5 dialogue between ASPI and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs has taken place in 2016 and 2018, and further meetings are planned. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has partnered extensively with ASPI and other organisations to host several dialogues a year on cybersecurity, counterterrorism, energy and regional security, but more and closer cooperation between security and strategic think tanks and research institutes in Germany and Australia should be fostered. That could involve a variety of organisations, such as the German Council on Foreign Relations and the Lowy Institute, but could also take in German representatives of international organisations such as the European Council on Foreign Relations, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, defence and security research institutes at universities, the Australian Defence Force Academy and the universities of the Bundeswehr. Those institutes should explore further opportunities to host visiting research fellows and to exchange analysts.

Australia sided with Germany (and other European partners) during the aftermath of Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea. Meanwhile, the South China Sea issue is high on Canberra's agenda but has received very little attention from German and other European governments (with some exceptions, such as the UK Government). In the 2016 2+2-meeting between German and Australian foreign and defence ministers, China's actions in those waters were recognised as having the potential to affect the whole world. The German Government now has the opportunity to add its voice to those criticising China's militarisation of the South China Sea, and further down the line could also consider deploying a frigate to the region, probably in coordination with European partners.

MILITARY AND DEFENCE COOPERATION

A German military presence in Australia's region needs to be considered in light of circumstances and possibilities. Having some sort of German Navy engagement in the Indo-Pacific has been considered for decades but faces several hurdles: the passage would take several weeks, Germany doesn't have bases in the region, the Horn of Africa and the Mediterranean are currently taking priority, and inspections of the Bundeswehr's arms and equipment have revealed poor maintenance. However, that wouldn't prevent periodic visits by German frigates. Such visits could be combined with participation in regional exercises and crew exchanges, and would allow Germany to advertise its defence industry capabilities throughout the region. Should European countries participate in freedom of navigation operations, the German Navy could potentially participate during a frigate's visit to the region.

Both Canberra and Berlin are dealing with growing challenges with limited resources. To maintain the countries' deployment capabilities, burden sharing should be better explored. Sharing tasks and costs can allow for capacity building in both countries' neighbourhoods as well as in hotspots around the world.

For example, Germany is militarily very engaged in Africa in peacekeeping and training missions. If Australia were to increase its engagement on that continent, it could learn from German experiences and benefit from a division of labour. Collaboration within UN missions should be prioritised: Canberra and Berlin could share responsibilities for training local forces, provide peacekeeping measures and take turns in deploying personnel to specific posts to foster sustainability in such missions.

Australia is highly experienced in collaborating with European partners on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, especially after natural disasters in the Pacific, but that cooperation can be expanded. Crisis management requires both civilian and military staff exchanges to prepare the operational side of cooperation after disasters.

In general, deeper military people-to-people relations established on a foundation of shared platforms should be prioritised, but military-to-military relations need better linking and development, which will require a change in the culture of engagement. Germany and Australia need to see each other as valuable partners in defence relations, which will require the long-term development of a culture of trust among all ranks.

One step should be to commit resources to regular officer exchanges to ensure continuity. For example, Australian officers participating in courses at the German Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (the leadership academy of the German defence force) would gain vital skills, knowledge and contacts. Their participation in courses for the National General Staff Service or the International General Staff Service could be connected to a later defence attaché career in Germany.

Usually, positions in the Australian Command and Staff Course and Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies courses are reserved each year for countries such as Germany and France, but it remains the embassies' choice to take up the opportunity for their defence diplomatic personnel to participate. Australia could consider providing an additional European spot to rotate different European countries' officers through the courses to provide access to smaller EU countries that can't commit resources every year. This would ensure the build-up of skills and understanding among European partners, as the officers' acquired insights could be shared with other European countries.

The opportunity for secondments of German and Australian public servants should also be explored to develop institutional memory, beyond 2+2 ministerial meetings.

Large-scale German–Australian military exercises are unlikely because of time and resource constraints, but both sides should continue to increase their participation in regional exercises. For example, Germany recently sent a small group of officers as observers in Australia's two-yearly Exercise Pitch Black; a larger number should be deployed in further iterations to participate in the field part of the exercise.

Likewise, Australia should grow its numbers of participants in exercises held across Europe and its close neighbourhood. That could continue through Australia's close partnership with NATO and participation in NATO exercises across the continent, but Canberra should also look for opportunities beyond that. With worrying rhetoric coming from the White House and with European leaders pushing for more defence cooperation among the countries on the continent, Australia should consider becoming more involved in European-led security activities. Even though Australia's main engagement takes place through bilateral relationships, the EU is central to policy in European countries and is increasingly so in defence and security matters. Therefore, Canberra could initially consider increasing participation in EU-led civilian and military missions, as it did in the civilian EUCAP Nestor mission.

DEFENCE INDUSTRY COOPERATION

Depending on the future development of the EU's defence and security policies, other opportunities may also arise for Canberra, such as in defence industry projects.

It's possible for non-EU members to participate in initiatives under the EU's Common Defence and Security Policy. Consequently, the Australian defence industry could take part in joint ventures with EU defence industry stakeholders in projects under PESCO¹⁹ or the European Defence Fund. This brings possibilities for defence industry research and innovation, especially if Australian companies focus on niche developments to gain a long-term footing in the European defence market.

With multiple Australian procurement tenders awarded to German companies, the defence industry relationship between Germany and Australia is on a positive track for the next few decades. Rheinmetall is committed to the Australian market and has established the Rheinmetall Centre of Excellence, which may also offer a platform to engage with the wider region.

Interoperability between militaries is not only an issue within NATO or within the EU but, due to increasing global connectivity, needs to be advanced worldwide. It would make joint missions more likely and easier to facilitate. This would allow for the German and Australian defence industries to establish global logistical chains and jointly explore new export markets, for example in Southeast Asia. The Australian defence industry has the chance to collaborate with German firms in Australia and in Europe. Focusing on niche capabilities and contributing partial systems would be the best chance for a homegrown Australian industry, rather than attempting to build complex new systems entirely from scratch and competing with long-established European defence companies.

One focus area could be Australia's growing local space industry, which has the chance to focus on the development of niche capabilities, entering the European market and offering an alternative to other international providers.

Another example is unmanned aerial vehicles. The Australian Army, in association with the 2018 Invictus Games and with the support of various industry organisations, held the first ever Military International Drone Racing Tournament in October. ²⁰ Australia has great expertise in this area, can quickly develop drones, and has been very active in engaging the start-up scene. A combination of private-sector and government engagement offers great potential for Canberra to develop this capability and to export its expertise. Australia also has solid experience with deployed drones, which it could share with German counterparts (and others).

CONCLUSION

Citing the geographical distance between Berlin and Canberra as a barrier to closer cooperation has to become an excuse of the past. If the Australian Government intends to remain plugged into European security and defence after the UK leaves the EU in early 2019, Canberra will need to develop stronger ties with other European partners to replicate the strong bonds it has with London.

Germany is one of those partners. Canberra and Berlin can look back on a fruitful partnership, having been engaged and having collaborated in multilateral forums on various issues. Both sides have expressed their willingness to deepen existing ties as common challenges grow. Germany and Australia see each other as like-minded countries, sharing similar values, and both are proponents of the international liberal rules-based order and committed to protecting and advancing that order.

Opportunities to cooperate on security and defence deserve particular attention. Amid changing US presence and engagement and growing international security challenges, it's wise for Germany and Australia to invest more into their bilateral relationship to jointly find solutions to shared threats and advance solutions to security problems.

Both can take more steps to deepen their security collaboration in fields such as counterterrorism, cybersecurity and space, especially by exchanges of lessons learned between governments, policymakers and practitioners, driving a holistic whole-of-government approach.

Challengers of international security, such as Russia and China, need to be met in the best way possible. As Berlin has vast experience with Moscow, and Canberra with Beijing, both should make use of the opportunity and advance each other's skills in handling the respective other by sharing their experiences. Cooperation is vital to maintain the international rules-based order.

Even with limited resources, the Australian diplomatic presence across Europe needs to be increased if Canberra aims to deepen relations with the future no-UK-EU. Increasing the number of its diplomatic personnel will enable the Australian Government to gain a better understanding, particularly if its embassies are given regional focus areas and take on particular topics. In particular, this could support stronger defence and security policy with different European partners. It could also contribute to the coordination of responses to international security issues. Joint statements would send an important message of partnership and like-mindedness.

Deeper relations between security and defence institutions in Germany and Australia should be explored, using exchanges and visits to contribute to regular dialogues. Equally important are closer people-to-people contacts within their militaries, which could be fostered through regular officer exchanges to create mutual understanding of strategic thinking and culture and by mutual participation in military exercises. While resources are limited, sending small contingents would allow to advance interoperability that could then be relied on in joint missions and operations. While burden sharing is regularly discussed among transatlantic and European partners, there are also opportunities in this area for partners such as Germany and Australia, particularly at the UN level.

Cooperation and joint project developments are also a great opportunity for the countries' defence industries. While German defence companies are well established in the Australian market, better connectedness with the no-UK-EU would open new opportunities for Australian companies. Non-EU members can in some areas participate in EU-based defence missions and defence industry projects. Participation in joint ventures by delivering partial systems and niche capabilities represents a great chance for Australian industry stakeholders. Likewise, German industry can explore the Indo-Pacific region by having a representation in the region through Rheinmetall's Centre of Excellence, for example, or possibly by jointly driving exports into Australia's backyard.

While both countries are operating with limited resources, their commitment to each other will be necessary to face the challenges of today and tomorrow. Each has unique capabilities and knowledge that would benefit the other.

Last year, during his first visit to Australia, German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier reiterated that relations are good and that they can become better. Well, they need to, especially in a changing world and a changing Europe.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Acknowledge the importance of remaining plugged into European security and defence developments after Brexit.
- 2. Acknowledge the need to deepen bilateral defence and security ties with partners such as Germany.
- 3. Acknowledge that Germany and Australia, as middle powers in their respective regions, have an interest and duty to protect the international liberal rules-based order together, and mutual actions need to be taken in a coordinated approach to achieve that end.
- 4. Facilitate contacts between all levels of government to exchange lessons learned on security issues such as cybersecurity, counterterrorism and space.
- 5. Explore opportunities to expand cooperation between think tanks and other research institutes focusing on security and defence analysis, for example by opening visiting research fellow positions.
- 6. Commit resources to expand Australia's diplomatic presence across Europe, including of defence personnel, and to assign focus areas to selected embassies.
- 7. Commit to regular participation in officer exchanges at senior and junior levels to build a long-term mutual understanding of strategic culture and to create close people-to-people contacts.
- 8. Increase the participation of defence personnel in regional military exercises to foster interoperability.
- 9. Explore opportunities for burden-sharing in international missions to ensure consecutive and sustainable training and mission success.
- 10. Foster defence industry cooperation to produce joint ventures for participation in European defence measures.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADF Australian Defence Force

EU European Union

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

RAAF Royal Australian Air Force

RAN Royal Australian Navy

STEM science, technology, engineering and mathematics

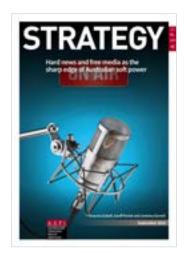
UK United Kingdom

UN United Nations

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