



Ministry
of Defence

SMA UK MoD Panel Discussion

Germany: A Focal Point of Post-COVID Global Order, but How Will It Decide?

Part of the SMA UK MoD Speaker Series, entitled

*COVID-19: Second- and Third-Order Effects—System
Shocks, Disruption, and Emergence*

**Wednesday 9 September 2020
1030-1200 EDT/1530-1700 GMT**

[Join the Event](#) via MS Teams

Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) provides planning support to Commands with complex operational imperatives requiring multi-agency, multi-disciplinary solutions that are NOT within core Service/Agency competency. Solutions and participants are sought across USG and beyond. SMA is accepted and synchronized by Joint Staff/J-39 DDGO and executed by ASD (EC&P).

Agenda

Panel Overview: German domestic politics is driving global events in a way unseen since the 1945. Germany is critical to European Union (EU) decision-making and the EU is critical to the evolving global order. Germany's recent surprise decision to back common European debt illustrates its role as a global focal point, with big implications for the EU's future and thus global economic order. Covid-19 has increased Germany's relative power in Europe. But what are the German perspectives on technology, security or burgeoning Sino-US competition?

Understanding twenty-first century global strategy requires understanding Germany. We bring together a top panel to go from German domestic politics, to European security, to the transatlantic dimension and then to China.

Series Description: The US Joint Staff Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) and the UK Defence Science Technology Laboratory (Dstl; part of the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence [UK MoD])¹ have partnered to create the "COVID-19: Second- and Third-order Effects—System Shocks, Disruption, and Emergence" speaker series. With all of the focus on the very important tactical aspects of arresting the infectious disease and preserving life in response to the novel coronavirus (first-order effects), the aim of this series is to elevate the conversation to a more strategic level and consider the second- and third-order effects across global systems. In this context, it is perhaps helpful to view COVID-19 as a *Gray Rhino*,² one of many highly probable, high-impact, yet underappreciated threats that could present similar patterns of systemic shocks and disruption in the future.

Our approach in this series is to ask gifted thinkers to apply a combination of foresighting and sensemaking for the SMA and the UK MoD communities. Speakers will explain what they are watching, communicate how they are making sense of these observations and patterns (analytic approaches), and give us a hint of what we should be keeping an eye on (e.g., Are there historical patterns? Should we expect transformative changes to the global order and who might be advantaged by them? Where do the speakers see fragility, anti-fragility, adaption, and even perhaps emergent behaviors that may have consequences?). Our goals are to reach beyond monitoring; to actively understanding the breadth, complexity, and impact on national defense and security with the clear aim of working towards mitigation, resilience, and sustainability; and to turn thought into action.

What do the second- and third-order impacts from the Gray Rhino that is COVID-19 teach us about future Gray Rhinos beyond infectious disease? What does this Gray Rhino reveal about the often-underappreciated relationships between national security, economic and financial systems, governance, populations and the social contract, and political stability throughout the globe? How might this understanding shape our decisions going forward? The future global world order, technology and COVID, the health and security nexus, societal resilience, and the utility of the systems thinking, and net assessment are just a few of the issues that we hope to explore in this series.

Speakers: The speakers for this discussion are provided below.

- **Thomas Bagger** (Director of Foreign Policy, Office of the German Federal President)
- **Moritz Koch** (Senior Correspondent, Handelsblatt)
- **Ulrich Speck** (Senior Visiting Fellow, German Marshall Fund)
- **Constanze Stelzenmüller** (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution)

The moderator will be Nicholas Wright (Consultant, Intelligent Biology; Affiliated Scholar, Georgetown University Medical Center; Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience, University College London; and International Security Fellow, New America).

¹ SMA POC: Nicole Peterson, npeterson@nsiteam.com; UK POC: Ella Fleming, efleming@mail.dstl.gov.uk

² Popularized by Michele Wucker, a *gray rhino* is a highly probable, high impact yet neglected threat: kin to both the elephant in the room and the improbable and unforeseeable black swan. Gray rhinos are not random surprises but occur after a series of warnings and visible evidence.

Speaker Biographies

Thomas Bagger (Director of Foreign Policy, Office of the German Federal President)

Thomas Bagger is Director of Foreign Policy in the Office of the Federal President. From 2011 to 2017 he was Head of Policy Planning at the German Federal Foreign Office. From 2009 to 2011 Thomas Bagger served as Head of the Foreign Minister's Office in Berlin. He is now Director of the Planning Staff at the Foreign Office. His previous postings abroad included Washington, DC, Ankara and Prague. He also worked as a speechwriter for Foreign Ministers Klaus Kinkel and Joschka Fischer. Before joining the Foreign Office in 1992, Bagger worked as a research associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Ebenhausen.



Moritz Koch (Senior Correspondent, Handelsblatt)

Moritz Koch is senior correspondent at Handelsblatt in Berlin. Moritz Koch, born 1978, studied politics and economics at the University of Hamburg and the Johns Hopkins University. During his studies he wrote freelance for *Stern* and worked for the think tank Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. After his internship and a year as a business editor at the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, he went to New York as a correspondent in September 2008 - just in time to witness the bankruptcy of the investment bank Lehman Brothers and the escalation of the financial crisis. He has been reporting from Berlin since summer 2017 and focuses on foreign policy and international economics.



Ulrich Speck (Senior Visiting Fellow, The German Marshall Fund)

Dr. Ulrich Speck is a German foreign policy analyst based in Berlin and Heidelberg. He is a Senior Visiting fellow at The German Marshall Fund in Berlin. His focus is German and European foreign policy, transatlantic relations and the transformation of the international order.

Previously Speck has worked for Radio Free Europe in Prague and Brussels, for Carnegie Europe in Brussels and for the Transatlantic Academy in Washington D.C. He was also an Associate Fellow at the Spanish think tank Elcano Royal Institute. Speck's articles have been widely published by German and international media (New York Times, Financial Times, Moscow Times) and in foreign policy magazines (Berlin Policy Journal, The American Interest). He is regularly quoted by leading international newspapers: The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, Financial Times, The Economist, Le Monde, The Guardian and others.

Speck has co-edited books on the Revolution of 1848/49, on American Empire, and on modern anti-Semitism. He holds a PhD in modern history from the University of Frankfurt.



Constanze Stelzenmüller (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution)

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller is currently a senior fellow in the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution. From October 2019 through March 2020, she was the Kissinger Chair on Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Library of Congress. She served as the inaugural Robert Bosch Senior Fellow at Brookings from 2014 to 2019. Prior to Brookings, she was a senior transatlantic fellow and Berlin office director with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). Her areas of expertise include transatlantic relations; German foreign policy; NATO; the European Union's foreign, security and defense policy; international law; and human rights. Previously, she was a writer and editor at the German weekly DIE ZEIT (1994 to 2005).

Dr. Stelzenmüller's essays and articles have appeared in a wide range of publications, including Foreign Affairs, Internationale Politik, the Financial Times, the Washington Post, and Süddeutsche Zeitung. She is also a frequent commentator on American and European radio and television including Presseclub (ARD), National Public Radio, and the BBC.



Nicholas Wright (Consultant, Intelligent Biology; Affiliated Scholar, Georgetown University Medical Center; Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience, University College London; and International Security Fellow, New America)

Dr. Nicholas Wright is an affiliated scholar at Georgetown University, honorary research associate at University College London (UCL), Consultant at Intelligent Biology and Fellow at New America. His work combines neuroscientific, behavioural and technological insights to understand decision-making in politics and international confrontations, in ways practically applicable to policy. He leads international, interdisciplinary projects with collaborators in countries including China, the U.S., Iran and the UK. He was an Associate in the Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC and a Senior Research Fellow in International Relations at the University of Birmingham, UK. He has conducted work for the UK Government and U.S. Department of Defense. Before this he examined decision-making using functional brain imaging at UCL and in the Department of Government at the London School of Economics. He was a clinical neurologist in Oxford and at the National Hospital for Neurology. He has published academically (some twenty publications, e.g. Proceedings of the Royal Society), in general publications such as the Atlantic and Foreign Affairs, with the Pentagon Joint Staff (see www.intelligentbiology.co.uk) and has appeared on the BBC and CNN. Wright received a medical degree from UCL, a BSc in Health Policy from Imperial College London, has Membership of the Royal College of Physicians (UK), has an MSc in Neuroscience and a PhD in Neuroscience both from UCL.

