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LEADOFF

Liebe Mitglieder,

hat eigentlich schon jemand Wladimir Putin gefragt, wer im kommenden Jahr in Deutschland Kanzler werden soll? Oder ob wir eher warme oder kalte Weihnachten haben? In beiden Fällen hat er wohl ein entscheidendes Wort. Er kann unseren Strom abstellen – das Internet lässt grüßen. Und er kann die öffentliche Debatte mit Informationen bereichern, die einen Kanzlerkandidaten in ein besseres oder schlechteres Licht rücken. Seine Cyber-Staubsauger haben nicht nur auf den Servern des Bundestages fleißig diesbezügliches Wissen gesammelt.

Das neue Jahr wird spannender als wir uns das je haben vorstellen können. Das Zauberwort, diesen und anderen Gefährdungen zu begegnen, heißt Resilienz. Haben wir noch vor kurzem mit größter Hartnäckigkeit jeden Euro in unseren Budgets gesucht, den man einsparen kann, so werden jetzt vernünftige Redundanzen gebraucht. Resilienz lässt uns unter Stress – z.B. Viren- und Trojaner-Dauerbeschuss – besser durchhalten und unter Schock – bei Ausfall von Strom und Gas, Telefon und den Computern – den Betrieb wieder rasch hochfahren. Sind wir vorbereitet? Nein! Kann man sich vorbereiten? Ja! Endlich mal Platz für ein paar neue Vorsätze fürs Neue Jahr. Das ist auch gut so. Denn Putin ist nicht allein da draußen. Im Gegenteil. Und er könnte wieder unser Freund werden.

Ihnen und Ihren Familien wünsche ich ein frohes Weihnachtsfest. Machen Sie das Neue Jahr zu einem guten Jahr.

Ralph Thiele, Vorstandsvorsitzender

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Sea blindness? Wie man einen strategischen Erzählfaden spinnt

Länder wie die Slowakei, Ungarn oder auch Tschechien teilen ein Schicksal: Sie alle haben keinen freien Zugang zum Meer. Damit fehlt es diesen Staaten allein aus geographischen Gründen an etwas, worüber die meisten europäischen Nachbarn ganz selbstverständlich seit Jahrhunderten verfügen und wovon sie in vielerlei Hinsicht profitieren.

Denken wir nur an Frankreich, Deutschland, Spanien, Italien, Portugal, Niederlande, Belgien, Griechenland, Polen, das Baltikum, Großbritannien oder auch die skandinavischen Länder. Der freie Seezugang prägt das Selbstverständnis der klassischen Seefahrernationen. Er beeinflusst das Bewusstsein der Menschen, inspiriert zu unternehmerischen Handeln und findet Ausdruck in Kunst,

Literatur und Musik. Der freie Zugang zum Meer wirkt aber auch auf staatliches Handeln und formt nicht zu Letzt sicherheitspolitische Strategien.

Vor diesem Hintergrund erweist sich das Nichtvorhandensein eines freien Seezugangs als substantieller Mangel und strategischer Nachteil – etwa mit Blick auf Handel und Handelswege, Schiffbauindustrie, Fischerei und Tourismus oder auch die Nutzung des Meeres aus Gründen der Sicherheit. Der freie Seezugang ist ein hoher Wert an sich, und er schafft Werte. Er ist damit von immenser volkswirtschaftlicher, sicherheitspolitischer und gesellschaftlicher Bedeutung.

Nicht ohne Grund betreiben etwa Frankreich und Großbritannien eine sehr aktive maritime Politik, die vor allem auch darauf setzt, die eigene Industrie zu stärken. Das Maritime ist Teil der Staatsräson, es ist tief verankert in der Seele beider Völker. In Frankreich zeigt sich dies beispielsweise an der hohen Beteiligung des Staates an der Werft DCNS.

In Großbritannien beschloss die Regierung vor wenigen Jahren ein riesiges Marine-Beschaffungsvorhaben und zugleich eine Vereinbarung mit der heimischen Industrie über die langfristige Wartung und das Aufrechterhalten von Kapazitäten. Auch dies ist Ausdruck der Grundüberzeugung, dass das Maritime von strategischer Bedeutung und Teil der Staatsräson ist. Sogar die Krone ist bemüht, ihre emotionale Nähe zur Marine herauszustellen: 2014 taufte Königin Elizabeth im Beisein des Premierministers den neuen britischen Flugzeugträger auf den Namen „Queen Elizabeth“.

In Deutschland sind wir weit entfernt von solcher Symbolik und Emotionalität. Trotz freiem Zugang zum Meer, langer Hansetradition, großer Exzellenz im Schiffbau und der Existenz einer eigenen Marine. Trotz der Tatsache, dass Deutschland eine der größten Handelsnationen der Welt ist und die Abhängigkeit vom Handel es notwendig macht, internationale Seewege durch die Bundeswehr

zu schützen. Irgendwie ist hier alles anders als bei vielen anderen klassischen Seefahrernationen. Seit jeher richtet der Deutsche den Blick mehr aufs Land als aufs Meer. Hierzulande baut nicht der Staat die Schiffe, sondern der deutsche Mittelstand. Verglichen mit Frankreich und Großbritannien, überlässt die Regierung das Maritime weitgehend sich selbst und dem freien Wettbewerb.

Mancher Kritiker wird auch sagen: Die Politik geht zu oft auf Tauchstation, und darunter leidet insbesondere die Schifffahrts- und Schiffbauindustrie. Einige Werften sind sprichwörtlich gestorben, und die Reeder drücken die globalen Überkapazitäten. Diejenigen, die sich in Regierung und Bundestag ernsthaft und durchaus engagiert mit den maritimen Problemen befassen, kann man an beiden Händen abzählen, allenfalls füllen sie Fachkreise, Zirkel und Grüppchen.

Medial betrachtet ist der maritime Sektor ein klassisches Randthema. Ein vielsagendes Beispiel: In der laufenden Legislatur wurde die Drogenbeauftragte der Bundesregierung deutlich mehr von den überregionalen Tageszeitungen zitiert als der Maritime Koordinator der Regierung. Ob in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Rundfunk, Fernsehen und Online-Kanälen – über das Maritime wird relativ wenig berichtet. In den Redaktionen finden sich auch nur wenige Journalisten, die sich hier wirklich gut auskennen. Höhepunkt der Berichterstattung sind Pleiten, Übernahmen oder auch die Kieler Woche. Die große Ausnahme war kürzlich die Beschaffung – oder besser – vorläufige Nichtbeschaffung des Mehrzweckkampfschiffes MKS 180 und fast zeitgleich die Nacht-und-Nebel-Beschaffungs-Operation der Korvette 130. Allerdings interessierten sich die Journalisten mehr für die damit verbundenen politischen Implikationen als für die wirklichen Sachfragen. Zumeist wird eben an der Oberfläche geschürft. Wirklich große Seltenheit haben preisverdächtige Recherchen wie der vor wenigen Wochen auf WELT.de erschienene multimediale Beitrag zur Elbvertiefung.

Zwangsläufig stellt sich die Frage, warum sich Deutschland so wenig für das Maritime erwärmt, warum das Maritime in den Köpfen der Bürger so wenig Raum hat.

An wichtigen Themen fehlt es jedenfalls nicht. Man könnte etwa fortlaufend über den Hamburger Hafen als einem der größten europäischen Warenumschnagplätze berichten, weil er für die deutsche Wirtschaft von immenser Bedeutung ist. Oder aber darüber, dass deutsche Werften an Nord- und Ostsee Spezialschiffe aller Art auf höchstem Niveau bauen oder bauen könnten. Theoretisch könnte man auch über die Tragödie einer Werft in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern erzählen, die die besten Konverterplattformen der Welt anbieten konnte und damit einen großen Beitrag zur Umsetzung der Energiewende „made in Germany“ hätte leisten können. Doch die meisten Aufträge aus Deutschland gingen an ausländische Konkurrenten mit staatlicher Beteiligung. Die hiesige Traditionswerft stand also am Abgrund und wurde einmal mehr von einem ausländischen Schiffbauer aufgekauft. Jetzt baut man dort Kreuzfahrtschiffe.

Auch die Deutsche Marine liefert viele interessante Themen. Die MKS 180 und die Korvette 130 wurden bereits genannt. „Ursula von der Leyen: Harte Kritik wegen Korvettenkauf“ oder auch „Neue Korvetten bringen von der Leyen in Erklärungsnot“, lauteten stereotyp die Überschriften. Monate zuvor hatte der Inspekteur der Marine, Vizeadmiral Andreas Krause, in seiner Wilhelmshavener Erklärung sehr präzise und klar erläutert, warum Deutschland so dringend neue Schiffe braucht. „*Wir arbeiten heute in weiten Teilen am Limit. Die Reserven sind aufgebraucht oder stehen in See*“, sagte der Marinechef. Allein dieses Zitat ist politisch brisant, zumal es hier um die Sicherheitsinteressen aller Deutschen geht. Trotzdem hielten sich die politischen Reaktionen seinerzeit in Grenzen.

Woran aber liegt das? Warum werden diese, für Deutschland relevanten Debatten nicht gesamtgesellschaftlich geführt? Die Ant-

wort auf diese Fragen führt zum Titel dieses Beitrags: Man kann Deutschland tatsächlich eine gewisse Sea Blindness attestieren. Nur vergleichsweise wenige Politiker, Verbände, Unternehmen, Experten, Medien und andere Meinungsmacher treiben das Thema wirkungsvoll voran. So kommt es, dass der Erzählfaden des maritimen Sektors weit vor der Mainlinie abreißt. Südlich von Hannover diskutiert kaum mehr jemand über diesen Wirtschaftssektor. Nord- und Ostsee werden in weiten Teilen Deutschlands auf Urlaubsreise, Sandstrand und Segelturn reduziert. Der Hamburger Hafen ist für viele nur ein Ort romantischen Fernwehs, umwoben von Seemannsgarn. Das Bewusstsein dafür, dass das Maritime grundlegend für die Export-Importnation Deutschland ist, geht schon verloren, wenn der baden-württembergische Mittelständler mit Schenker sein Produkt auf die große Reise gibt. Mit anderen Worten: Das Maritime hat keinen gesamtdeutschen Resonanzboden. Damit geht ein immenser Bedeutungsverlust in der Wahrnehmung einher.

Nun, die „Maritime Convention“ möchte an den hiesigen Zuständen etwas ändern. Ein solches Anliegen ist richtig und notwendig. Denn dieser Wirtschaftsbereich verdient eine erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit – in der Politik, in den Medien und in der Gesellschaft. Klar ist aber auch: Eine einzelne Initiative allein kann das Problem nicht lösen. Es braucht noch größere Anstrengungen und eine umfassende Strategie, um die Aufmerksamkeit nachhaltig zu steigern. Die folgenden vier Punkte enthalten dazu erste Überlegungen:

Thema Sprecherrolle: Der Sektor spricht nicht mit einer Stimme, sondern mit vielen Einzelstimmen. Damit verliert die Branche an Durchschlagskraft. Andere Branchen lösen dies über eigene Sprecher, die sich auch in allgemeinpolitischen Debatten profilieren. So gelingt es etwa einem Alexander Erdland, sich als Vertreter der deutschen Versicherer (GDV) über die Medien sehr stark einzubringen. Zuletzt haben wir dies in der Debatte um die Bun-

desfernstraßengesellschaft beobachten können. Das gleiche gilt für Matthias Wissmann vom Verband der deutschen Automobilindustrie (VDA), der sich beispielsweise für die Themen Freihandel und Digitalisierung stark macht und die Gesamtbranche damit sehr erfolgreich medial und politisch positioniert.

Thema Inhalte: Die Branche sollte für sich ein gemeinsames Narrativ und Kernbotschaften entwickeln. Welche Bedeutung hat der maritime Sektor für Deutschland? Wie setzt er sich zusammen? Welche Grundprobleme gibt es? Welche Antworten hat dieser Wirtschaftssektor aber auch auf aktuelle politische, wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Fragen? Ob Industrie 4.0, Bundesfernstraßengesellschaft oder die Integration von Flüchtlingen – einmischen, neue Interessenskreise erschließen und dadurch an Profil gewinnen, darum geht es.

Ein gutes Beispiel: Der Präsident des Zentralverbandes der deutschen Seehafenbetriebe veröffentlichte gerade eine Pressemitteilung zur Situation seiner Branche. Er formulierte darin klare Forderungen an die Politik und äußerte sich zudem zum Thema Digitalisierung und Hafenwirtschaft. Die Pressemitteilung wurde über die Nachrichtenagentur dpa verbreitet und schließlich von zahlreichen Medien, darunter auch WELT und FAZ, aufgegriffen. Die Inhalte erreichten also viele Leser in ganz Deutschland.

Thema Kanäle: Eine gezielte Kommunikation braucht die richtigen Instrumente: Print, Fernsehen, Homepages, soziale Medien, die klassische Pressemitteilung, Veranstaltungen oder auch das Hintergrundgespräch. Der Einfluss klassischer Medien geht zurück, digitale Kanäle gewinnen an Bedeutung. Derzeit gibt es jedoch keine digitale Plattform, die aktuelle Einschätzungen, Daten und Fakten über den maritimen Sektor in ausreichendem Maß und für jedermann abrufbar bereithält. Die digitale Sea Blindness ist hier hausgemacht!

Thema Allianzen: Blickt man auf die industriellen Wertschöpfungsketten, so wird deutlich, dass letztlich jede Industrie ein potenzieller Bündnispartner des maritimen Sektors ist. Das gilt auch für die Politiker in fast allen Handlungsfeldern. Konkret bedeutet dies, über gemeinsame Initiativen nachzudenken, um neue Verbündete, Zuhörer, Leser oder einfach nur Interessierte in ganz Deutschland zu gewinnen. Auf diese Weise kann den eigenen Belangen mehr Gewicht verliehen werden. Ein Beispiel: Im vergangenen Jahr fand in einer Landesvertretung in Berlin eine gut besuchte Veranstaltung zum Thema Raumfahrt statt. Anwesend der Astronaut Alexander Gerst und auch ein Vertreter des Frankfurter Flughafens, der den technologischen Wert der Raumfahrt für den Luftverkehr anschaulich erklärte. Eine klassische win-win-Situation für die deutsche Raumfahrt und den traditionellen Luftverkehr.

Alles in allem: Die Seefahrt hat wie die Raumfahrt naturgemäß eine enorme Anziehungskraft. Das Meer ist Raum für kühne Abenteuer, für Erfindergeist, für Fortschritt. Hier finden sich Persönlichkeiten, deren Lebensgeschichte fasziniert. Kapitäne, Matrosen, Kaufleute, Soldaten, Schiffbauer und Reeder, um nur einige zu nennen. Das Maritime ist also alles andere als langweilig.

Wer mehr zum Thema Industrie 4.0, zum autonomen Fahren oder zur Elektromobilität wissen will, also zur Zukunftstechnologie schlechthin, der muss nur einen Blick auf das Containerterminal Altenwerder in Hamburg werfen. Die weltweit führenden Unternehmen, die Schiffsmotoren so groß wie Einfamilienhäuser bauen, sitzen im Süden von Deutschland. Und unscheinbar im Bremer Europahafen befindet sich ein Hidden Champion des weltweiten Kaffee- und Teehandels. Das Unternehmen Vollers, das die Coffee Converter App entwickelt hat, die den Preis für Rohkaffee in jede bevorzugte Währung oder jedes Gewicht umrechnet.

Noch einmal: Dem Maritimen fehlt es nicht an spannenden Themen

und auch nicht an Akteuren, die dabei helfen können, mehr Aufmerksamkeit für den Wirtschaftssektor zu generieren und den Erzählfaden über die Mainlinie hinaus weiter zu spinnen.

Dr. Joachim Peter

Dr. Joachim Peter ist Director bei der Brunswick Group. Er berät namhafte nationale und internationale Unternehmen vor allem in den Bereichen Public Affairs, Krisenkommunikation und Positionierung. Zuvor war Joachim Peter Redakteur und Korrespondent der Tageszeitung DIE WELT, Referatsleiter für Strategische Kommunikation in der Leitungsebene des Bundesministeriums der Verteidigung sowie Textchef Politik der Nachrichtenagentur dapd. Der Beitrag gibt ausschließlich die persönliche Auffassung des Autors wieder. Dieser Beitrag wurde erstmalig auf der 10. Maritime Convention 2016 am 21.11.2016 vorgetragen.

THEMEN

Mutual recognition helps bridge civilizations

Donald Trump has been far from friendly to China, repeatedly criticizing the world's second largest economy for engaging in "unfair and unlawful practice" of tariff imposition and currency manipulation. Then, why did some Chinese commentators and citizens express their fondness for the politically incorrect candidate over Hillary Clinton in the US presidential election?

To some Chinese, Trump's rise testified to the internal decay of the US's liberal democratic system and the virtual rebellion of the working class against the establishment. Others forecast that the Sino-US relations could become more business-like, because Trump, as a businessman, knows how to make deals and reach a compromise.

In this sense, he appears more acceptable than the Democratic front-runner who often raised such issues as human rights in a show of the hypocrisy and biases of the West against the rest of the world.

As indicated in the Chinese acceptance of the Republican candidate, the Chinese state and peo-

ple prefer the isolationist and pragmatic Republican policy lines to the interventionist Democratic ones. To better understand this puzzle, it is important to look at the Chinese people's worldview and self-identities and how these could interact with the competing ideas and ideologies held by the US and the rest of the world.

First, we need to think about whether China is a nation state or a civilization. Even before the birth of the Westphalian nation state in the 17th Century, history records the countless rises and falls of states and empires in China during several millennia.

Even after many Chinese empires had been defeated and occupied by such non-Chinese outsiders as Mongols and Manchus, the Chinese civilization survived miraculously by integrating the invaders and eventually sinicizing them.

In this way, Zhang Weiwei's depiction of China as a "civilizational state" is just a play on words, because it is impossible to confine China in the straitjacket of a nation state in spite of the qualifier, "civilizational."

Therefore, the current intercivilizational misunderstanding stems largely from the fact that the outside world, particularly the US, did not give due recognition to the Chinese worldview and self-identities and treated China as one of the non-Western states or targets for democratization and liberalization.

The civilizational values and the founding principles of the US have greatly contributed to the world and it is natural for it to propagate them across the world. However, the way it has exercised its power has been problematic and offended the self-esteem of other civilizations.

Without consulting Western intellectuals, such as Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, the author of the Art of War, achieved the mastery of war strategies and tactics and even elevated his works to the level of philosophy. It is ridicu-

lous to judge whose philosophy reached a higher level between Confucius and Plato or Kant or Hegel.

One of the timeless teachings of Confucius has been that it is never a waste of time to nurture the desire to learn from one another and pursue a harmony between them. In the same vein, Clausewitz analyzed war from his theory of a floating balance among emotion, reason and probabilities and argued that achieving peace is the goal of war rather than the total destruction of the enemy.

In a nutshell, a proper recognition of the others, rather than a condescending demeanor, is a shortcut to ending the current disputes between "we and the rest." No matter how great or powerful any single state or civilization might become, the "rest" will be always bigger and more populous than it.

*Dr. Andreas Herberg-Rothe,
Miriam Förstle, Key-young Son*

Andreas Herberg-Rothe is a renowned Clausewitz scholar and senior lecturer at the faculty of social and cultural studies, University of Applied Sciences, Fulda, Germany.

Miriam Förstle is his assistant in the research project "Western and Non-Western conceptions of international relations."

Key-young Son is Humanities Korea Professor at the Asiatic Research Institute, Korea University, Seoul.

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THEMEN

Terrorism and Counter-terrorism – A View from Europe

The Maritime Threat

Maritime domain defines "all areas and things of, on, under, relating to, adjacent to, or bordering on sea, ocean, or other navigable waterways, including all maritime related activities, infrastructure, people, cargo, and vessels and other conveyances".

In the maritime domain we presently face several threats ranging from maritime terrorism, piracy

and armed robbery, territorial disputes in the regional seas, trafficking of illicit narcotics, trafficking of weapons, human trafficking, environmental degradation, and global climate change.

How does NATO Admiral Clive Johnstone view the potential maritime threats caused by terrorists? He recently expressed his concern that the so-called Islamic State (IS) is seeking to establish its own maritime force to spread its activities into the Mediterranean. These activities could include launching attacks against cruise liners, oil terminals, or container ships.

In this context we should not forget the plans of the Al-Qaida chief planner for maritime terrorism, Abdul Al Rahman Al Nashiri, also known as the Prince of the Sea, who was arrested in November 2002 in the United Arab Emirates. Nashiri had developed a strategy which included the following four elements:

- Ramming or blowing up medium-sized ships in the vicinity of other ships or in harbours;
- Attacking super tankers from the air with small planes, packed with explosives;
- Underwater attacks against ships using divers;
- Attacks against cruise liners and taking hostages

Maritime terrorism, like all forms of terrorism, stems predominantly from political, ideological or religious sources. Terrorists thus seek to identify and effectively hit industrial infrastructures.

They may focus their attention on those so-called choke points and mega-harbours which account for 75 percent of all international sea transport activities and that are sustained by around 50,000 ships that utilize 2,800 ports.

The strategically important Strait of Malacca is one such critical choke point. It connects the Indian Ocean with the South China Sea and the Pacific. It is the most significant trade route between the Far East, the Gulf States and Europe. Approximately 90.000 ships use the Strait every year

and one third of the world trade, 80 percent of oil exports to East Asia and two thirds of LNG exports pass through the Strait of Malacca.

Should a super tanker be sunk in the Strait of Malacca it would block all traffic, thereby forcing shipping to fall back on the Indonesian Sunda and Flores Passage. This would result in a detour of at least 1.000 km and two extra days at sea. The resulting costs would increase by approximately \$ 8 billion per year.

As the largest of the world's ports are located in South and East Asia, terrorists focus their planning on such ports as Kobe, Tokyo, Yokohama, Pusan, Shanghai, Kaohsiung, Hong Kong and Singapore. Mega ports in the United States and Europe, such as Los Angeles and Rotterdam, may also range within terrorist focus.

Several successfully executed maritime attacks demonstrate terrorist intentions:

October 2000 A successful attack was carried out against the U.S. destroyer USS Cole in Yemen. Seventeen U.S. Sailors were killed, and 39 wounded.

October 2002 The French oil tanker Limburg was attacked off Ash Shahir by a terrorist group with connections to Al Qaeda. One member of the crew was killed and 90.000 tons of oil spilled into the Gulf of Aden. The monthly container traffic in Yemen shrank from 43.000 to 3000. The country's economy declined by 1 percent of GDP and 3.000 dockworkers were made redundant.

February 2004 The Abu Sayyad Group attacked a ferry in the Philippines, 116 people lost their lives.

August 2005 Israel's security service Shin Bet warned four Israeli cruise liners – en route to Turkey – about a possible terror attack, and redirected their ships to Cyprus.

November 2008 Ten members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic mili-

tant organisation based in Pakistan, carried out a series of twelve coordinated shootings and bombing attacks across Mumbai which lasted four days, and resulted in 164 fatalities and at least 308 injured. The attackers travelled by sea from Karachi, Pakistan, across the Arabian Sea, hijacked an Indian fishing trawler, killed four members of the crew and forced the captain to sail to Mumbai. After murdering the captain, the attackers entered Mumbai on a rubber dinghy.

July 2009 Egypt's security authorities prevented an attack against the Suez Canal and the adjacent oil pipeline. According to sources in Cairo the terror group consisted of 24 Egyptians and one Palestinian.

July 2010 A suicide attack was carried out by the Abdullah Azam Brigade (a militant group with connections to Al Qaeda) on the Japanese oil tanker M. Star in the Strait of Hormuz. One member of the crew was injured and the hull severely damaged.

In view of time constraints, I would like to focus here on the terrorist attacks in 2016. On August 5, Indonesia's elite counter-terrorism forces arrested six Indonesian men who allegedly plotted to attack Marina Bay in Singapore, using rockets launched from Batam Island, Indonesia.

On October 13, 2016, the U.S. military launched cruise missile strikes on three coastal radar sites in Houthi-controlled areas in Yemen, in retaliation to failed missile attacks on a U.S. Navy destroyer.

Allow me to turn to the issue of land-based terrorist attacks.

Land-based Terrorist Attacks

Devastating, coordinated attacks were carried out in Paris on the evening of 13th November 2015, which brought to mind the sophisticated terrorist attacks in Mumbai, in 2008. Three suicide bombers struck outside the Stade de France during a football match. This first attack was followed by several mass shootings,

and a suicide bombing at cafés and restaurants. Gunmen carried out an additional mass shooting and took hostages at a concert in the Bataclan theatre, which culminated in a standoff with police. The attackers were either shot or detonated themselves when police raided the theatre.

During the attacks, executed by three, three-member groups, 130 people were killed, 368 injured, 99 of them severely. Seven assassins died at the scenes of their attacks. On 18th November, Abdelhamid Abaaoud (29), the presumed lead operative of the attacks was killed in a police raid in Saint Denis, along with two others. The IS claimed responsibility for the attacks.

On 18th March, 2016, Salah Abdeslam (27), one of the Paris attack suspects, was shot and arrested in a police raid in the Molenbeek district of Brussels following a four-month international manhunt. Abdeslam, a twenty-seven year-old French national raised in Brussels, fled Paris by car to Belgium, a mere few hours after the 13th November attacks in 2015. Police believe he also masterminded the logistics of the Paris attacks and escorted the three suicide bombers, who detonated themselves at the Stade de France.

On 12th January, 2016, the terrorist Nabil Fadli (28) walked up to a tour group visiting Sultanahmet Square in the historic centre of Istanbul and detonated himself, killing thirteen people including twelve Germans. Having eluded security measures at the time, Fadli entered Turkey from Syria on 5th January, and was registered and fingerprinted as a refugee. Fadli was a member of the IS.

On 22nd March, 2016, three coordinated suicide bombings occurred in Belgium: two at Brussels Airport Zaventem, and the third at Maelbeek metro station in central Brussels. A total of five attackers were involved. Ibrahim El Bakhraoui (29) and Najim Laachraoui (24) died in a suicide bombing at Brussels Airport. Mohamed Abrini (31) assisted them

in the airport bombings. He was arrested on 8th April 2016.

The younger brother of Ibrahim El Bakhraoui, Khalid El Bakhraoui (27), died in a suicide bombing at Maelbeek metro station. Osama Krayem (24) assisted him in the suicide bombing. He was also arrested on 8th April, 2016.

32 civilians were killed in the attacks, and a further 300 people injured, 62 of them critically.

On the evening of 14th July 2016, 85 people were killed and 308 injured when a cargo truck was deliberately driven into crowds celebrating Bastille Day on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice, France. The driver, Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel (31), was a Tunisian national resident in France. The terrorist was finally shot in the ensuing gun battle with police. The IS claimed responsibility for the attack.

In the month of July, Germany was confronted with several terror attacks.

On 18th July 2016, a seventeen-year-old Afghan refugee, Riaz Khan Ahmadzai, also known as Muhammad Riyad, severely injured four tourists from Hong Kong with a knife and hatchet on a regional train near Würzburg. A fifth person was injured outside the train once it had been stopped when the attacker sought to flee the scene. He was later shot by a Special Forces Commando. The IS claimed responsibility for the attack.

On 22nd July, 2016, eighteen-year-old Ali David Sonboly, of dual nationality (Iranian-German) carried out a shooting in the vicinity of the Olympia shopping centre in Munich. Ten people were killed, including the perpetrator, and 35 others were injured. He was located by police approximately one kilometre from the shopping centre where he then killed himself. Though not motivated by the IS, Sonboly had psychological problems, and admired people who committed amok-attacks.

And, finally: On 24th July, 2016, a twenty-seven-year-old Syrian asylum seeker, Mohammad Daleel, detonated himself outside a wine bar in the German town of Ansbach. He had been refused entry to a music festival after failing to show an entrance ticket. Fifteen people were injured in the blast, four of whom remain in serious condition. The perpetrator had been denied asylum a year earlier, and had a history of suicide attempts. Police found a video on the bomber's phone showing his declared support for the leader of Islamic State, Bakr al Baghdadi.

Security sources in Germany are convinced that the perpetrator in Würzburg and Ansbach had been in contact with the so-called Islamic State "at least for a period of several weeks", and that they had been issued with detailed instructions by members of the IS up to the execution of their respective attacks.

The arrest by Leipzig police of terrorist suspect and Syrian refugee Jaber Albakr on Monday, October 10, 2016 underlines the terrorist threat in Germany. Albakr planned to execute a terrorist attack at Tegel Airport, Berlin, and was equipped with the necessary explosives. On Wednesday, October 12, he committed suicide in his cell.

A few facts – dating from December 2015 – illustrate the terrorist threat posed by European foreign fighters who join the IS in Syria and Iraq.

In its European Union Terrorism Situation Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2016, the European Police Office (Europol) estimated that in 2015 over 5,000 Europeans (now 7,800) travelled to Syria and Iraq. In 2015, 151 people died and over 360 were injured as a result of terrorist attacks in the EU. A total of 1077 individuals were arrested in the EU on terrorism-related charges.

In August 2016, European Security Services determined that seventeen followers of the so-

called Islamic State entered Europe disguised as refugees.

German sources claim that by the end of 2015 more than 780 individuals travelled from Germany to Syria and Iraq to join the IS and other terrorist groups as fighters or supporters (in August 2016, more than 800). One-hundred and twenty German nationals have been killed in combat, while 300 returned to Germany, many of them traumatized. Others have acquired combat experience and represent a potential threat to the country.

Radical Islamists in Germany are also actively trying to win over to their cause newly arrived refugees. The German Domestic Intelligence Service (BfV) is aware of more than 340 attempts by conservative Salafists and other Islamists to recruit refugees, especially unaccompanied minors. Approximately 1100 individuals in Germany have been classified as potential terrorists.

Counter-terrorism Update

The EU Intelligence Analysis Centre (INTCEN) plays an important role in combating international terrorism.

In December 2015, Federica Mogherini, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the European Commission, appointed Dr. Gerhard Conrad as Director of the EU Intelligence Analysis Centre (INTCEN) at the European External Action Service (EEAS).

Among his chief tasks are the strengthening of cooperation between European intelligence services, and the provision of valuable strategic analyses to EU decision-makers, including topics in and around international terrorism.

Issuing papers, however, will not be enough. Attending meetings of the Political and Security Committee (PSC) as often as possible is also necessary. Among the PSC's key functions is the close auditing of the international situation, along with assistance in policy definition within the Common Foreign and Security Policy

(CFSP) and the CSDP. I am confident that ambassadorial level intelligence briefings at such meetings will prove fruitful. Furthermore, INTCEN is to be bolstered by an increased staff of over 100 personnel, including "hybrid warfare" analysts.

On 25th January 2016, the European Counter Terrorism Centre (ECTC) at Europol, under the aegis of the European Council, initiated its activities in The Hague. The ECTC is to function as a reinforced central information hub by means of which member states will be in a position to increase and enhance information-sharing and operational coordination.

The ECTC focuses on tackling the problem of foreign fighters, sharing intelligence and expertise on terrorism financing, online terrorist propaganda and extremism, as well as illegal arms trafficking.

After having surveyed the situation on sea and land allow me to include a few remarks with respect to the use of military means in the air for countering threats posed by the so-called Islamic State. At the NATO Summit in Warsaw, held from the 8th to the 9th of July, 2016, the Alliance agreed to enhance its support for the Global Coalition of 60 plus states: countering ISL is to be implemented by way of providing direct NATO AWACS support to boost the coalition's situational awareness.

The support is scheduled to commence in October 2016. With their powerful radars, the AWACS planes will operate in international and Turkish airspace, thus enabling them to monitor airspace for hundreds of kilometres into Syrian and Iraqi territories. The planes may also be converted into command posts for coordinating bombing raids and other air operations.

Germany also sent six Tornado reconnaissance jets and a tanker aircraft to Incirlik towards the end of last year as part of the fight against Islamic militants. In April this year, German defence officials revealed plans for a 65 mil-

lion Euro investment in the airbase. Scheduled for completion in 2017, the proposal included an air control tower, accommodation for troops and combat headquarters.

Furthermore, on 29th January, 2016, the German Parliament approved Germany's participation in a training mission for Iraq armed forces and Kurdish Peshmerga. Up to 150 German troops are to be deployed in this mission.

Chancellor Merkel's Nine-Point Security Plan

To conclude allow me to cite the Nine-Point Security Plan as outlined by German Chancellor, Dr. Angela Merkel, at a Press Conference on 28th July, 2016 in Berlin.

1. Early Warning System: One goal is to create a system whereby government agencies are able to take immediate action when detecting early signs of radicalization among refugees.
2. Security Personnel: The Federal Government should be authorized to hire additional security forces and acquire advanced equipment "wherever necessary".
3. Decryption Agency: A central agency will be tasked with the decryption of online communications for national security purposes.
4. German Army: The time has come for soldiers of the German Armed Forces to receive the necessary training for deployment in large-scale counter-terrorism operations.
5. Research/Prevention: Research on Islamist terrorist organizations and radicalization is to be bolstered and, in some cases, expanded.
6. Information Sharing: The European Member States should begin sharing intelligence on terrorist suspects at the earliest possible date.
7. Gun Control: It is incumbent upon the European Parliament to legislate restrictive measures relating to the ownership of and trade in firearms at the earliest possible date. At a national level, the online

sale of weapons is set to be criminalized in the near future.

8. Intelligence Agencies: Cooperation between allied intelligence agencies should be strengthened and information sharing accelerated.
9. Expulsion: Efforts to expel failed asylum seekers from Germany to safe countries will be accelerated, and the threshold for expulsion lowered.

Dr. Peter Roell

Dr Peter Roell has been President of the Institute for Strategic, Political, Security and Economic Consultancy (ISPSW) in Berlin since January 2006.

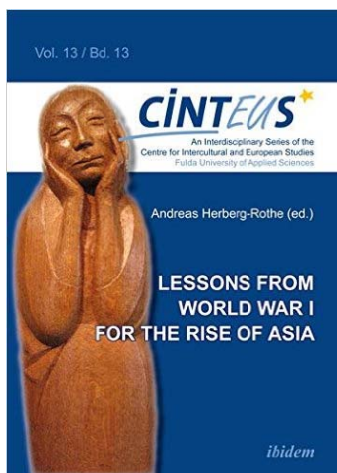
The opinions expressed in this contribution are those of the author.

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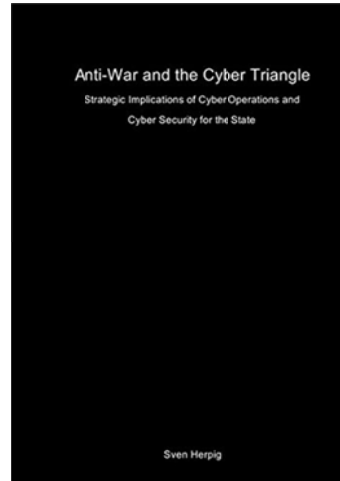
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THEMEN

Risk Agility and Decision Making in the 21st Century

As risks have evolved from being phenomenological occurrences in the natural world, the twenty-first century is in many ways the era of man-made risk and man-stoked fires. From cyber risk – which is increasingly mutating to impact all facets of the modern economy – to terrorism, climate change, and reputation risk, mounting a credible defense to these risks requires

as much soft skill as it does technical risk and analytical capabilities. Moreover, twenty-first century survival depends very much on our ability to harness risk, encourage bounded risk taking, and improving overall organizational and societal resilience.

Like no time in human history, the priorities of risk and resilience have taken center stage. Yet, risk does not live in isolation, nor does it conform compliantly to the classification systems used by traditional risk management approaches. Rather, decision makers must view risk as a dynamic process that cannot be adequately contained with static tools. The placebo affect that can be created by believing that certain risks are “covered” through traditional approaches to risk management is often more dangerous than the risk itself.

The example of VW is instructive. Once considered a paragon of corporate governance and a leader in the automotive industry, in 2015 VW grappled with a rapidly eroding reputation and a precipitous decline in its market value due to an entirely preventable emission-rigging scandal. It turns out its alleged emissions-cheat device, which was set to reduce engine output while emission tests were conducted on diesel vehicles, was also connected to the company’s kill switch. No direct competitive force (perhaps other than the urge to cut corners and gain market share – all due to internal sources of pressure) and no discernible outside factor, caused VW executives to make these ill-fated choices. They did that entirely on their own.

In another era perhaps VW may have escaped the prying eyes of regulators and the public. Today, firms must opt in favor of transparency in order to remain competitive. VW’s case is very much emblematic of risk in our times, where climate change, reputation and technology converged to amplify the losses to the company’s shareholders, inviting worldwide scrutiny. Actions that were once accepted as an externality are now treated as something punish-

able with monetary fines and sometimes irreversible damage to a firm's hard earned reputation.

Climate change is no longer some distant reality in a far off arid developing country. Catastrophic draught is a reality in California. Following Super Storm Sandy, when images of New York's Stock Exchange covered with sandbags were beamed around the world, Wall Street, Main Street and board rooms everywhere contemplated their response to increasingly extreme natural risks. In the aftermath of the VW scandal, companies that do not leave light environmental footprints, or try to cut regulatory corners, fail to review their "green" posture at their peril. Being perceived as thoughtful about the environment is no longer simply a nice marketing motif, it should be thought of as a source of competitive advantage and survival.

Adaptability and Agility

Whether we respond to risk through fear or fiat, risk agility is the key attribute of the survivors. Adaptability and agility have always been the secret survival mechanism of the fittest. Many methodologies have lulled us into ignoring our instincts under the guise that we are safe and that risks are hedged. Compliance, which in some cases is merely the act of grudgingly checking boxes, is not an adequate form of risk management for the twenty-first century.

Risk agility implies a certain mastery of risk, decision making under opacity, and a level of simplicity in the face of complex, heavily interconnected systems. This is both the source of ease in implementing well considered approaches to risk management and decision making, as much as it is one of the confounding factors. Agility, by definition implies nimbleness, speed and an intellectual acuity that often betray large, complex organizations.

The modern multinational is anything but agile – imagine a super tanker making a U-turn. Now imagine a super tanker with Francesco Schettino at the helm – the

captain of the doomed Costa Concordia – navigating through rough seas, while facing a mutinous crew and a system failure caused by a breach. As vivid as this image is, modern corporate leaders share the waters of the market in conditions this risky, and with captains this reckless. The best among them must make decisions that impact the lives of their crew, their missions and, in the direst of circumstances, the very survival of their ship – all with limited information or all the wrong signals.

The inexorable reality is that no matter how opaque choices are, the defining attribute of a leader is his or her ability or obligation to choose. The defining attribute of an agile enterprise is the ability to align all resources to enterprise-dependent decisions. Even in the best of cases, decisions are often made applying the 80-20 rule, or some other maxim that justifies 'permitted' uncertainty in boardrooms, executive committees and government.

For many global enterprises, indecision and paralysis have crept into the decision matrix. Entire continents, such as Africa, are ring-fenced from investment under the perception that the investment climate is too risky or illiquid. New technologies and disruptions are ceded to upstarts, and better ways of organizing for resilience and agility are left to tech companies. Sometimes the best choice to make is no choice at all. For large and complex organizations, gaining momentum and responsiveness can be an exercise in futility. The perpetual motion machine of organizational behavior and the profit motive stand in the way of agility. Our natural orientation toward risk aversion blinds us to clear warning signs that trouble lies ahead.

The Risk Ready Firm

In a risk-ready firm, it is everyone's business to remain in business, which requires a flat risk-response structure that leverages multidisciplinary risk management approaches. In financial institutions, risk management is largely a backward-looking activity that is

heavily quantitative and most often driven by regulatory fiat. In the non-financial world, particularly in the manufacturing industry, risk management is much more qualitative, given the tangible (observational) nature of errors in a system or process. Charting a course as a hybrid between the two yields three-dimensional risk management, wherein the filter to noise ratio is controlled, and better, more instinctive responses can emerge.

Culturally, fear of failure and an aversion against reporting bad news must be confronted in all its guises in order for organizations to fully unlock value from risk. Withholding bad news does not make it go away or make it better. In fact, bad news tends to become amplified, and festers with time. In VW's case, company leaders received clear warning signs of the emissions-rigging scandal dating back to 2007, if not earlier. In the Germanwings tragedy, managers received clear signals that Andreas Lubitz, the suicidal co-pilot, was clearly a danger in the skies. Nevertheless, these risk signals were ignored, despite the relatively simple approaches to mitigate and respond to their presence.

Many risk management approaches unfortunately impose far too much complexity on organizations, making them a source of risk amplification rather than a source of risk abatement. As the old adage goes, complex systems fail in complex ways. Simplicity, therefore, is a key attribute of an agile risk management framework. Some of the most enduring ways to avoid losses merely outline proscribed activities, as opposed to delineating every possible situational response. Greater simplicity is needed in risk management – and in decision making systems – in order to keep up with the times.

The other principal weakness of traditional risk management frameworks and how they hamper agility is that they often rely on historical data to drive current understanding and future directions. The challenge of taking this approach is that it is not very effective against unprecedented,

emerging, or never before seen threats. Moreover, despite all the rigor of statistical methods, for many risk domains, such as cyber and reputation risk, the data set is shallow and largely unreported. The omerta that follows a potentially embarrassing cyber risk or reputational exposure hampers the ability to fully understand the scope and the forces shaping these risk domains.

The False Positives of History

The other challenge to historical methods is the preponderance of false-positives derived from a confirmation bias that affects individuals, teams, and organizations. The lessons of history may be consulted not for real clues about the present or future, but for a confirmation of preconceived notions. History can either be a useful guide to managing the present, or it can really set one off on the wrong path. The behavior of nation-states is a good example; either a country will behave exactly as it has and be highly predictable (such as the government of North Korea's constant antics), or it can surprise and amaze (such as Germany's willingness to throw open its doors to Syrian refugees, when many of its neighbors locked the door shut).

By the same token, preconceived notions about how the government of a country may act can defy prediction. For example, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world has come to expect that Vladimir Putin will seek to remind the West that Russia still matters, on the global stage. Russia will therefore be expected to flex its muscles around its borders, and seek to revive an anti-U.S. alliance with China. The West could not have predicted, based on its experience since 2011, that Mr. Putin would choose to take the lead in the fight against ISIS in Syria, essentially superseding America's and the West's prior limited efforts to combat ISIS, and largely making the West irrelevant in Syria's future.

History tends to be an excellent teacher vis-à-vis great successes or great failures when it comes to decision making. It is not such a

great teacher when it comes to predicting the future or taking a leap into the unknown. The behavior of complex systems such as weather, the economy, and social risk are not readily gauged by traditional approaches. Such approaches are most effective for high frequency, reliable events. With low frequency and rare events statistical methods tend to suffer from "model error" – namely, the risk that the object being measured is far too complex for the methods used, or more common still, that the person doing the measuring makes a mistake or the model itself is too confounding. Many losses resulting from the global financial crisis where compounded by this reality. Simply put, complexity plus complexity equals complexity squared.

A (Fr)agile Balancing Act

Risk agility and effective decision making is not about fearing the twenty-first century, although it certainly deserves deference. It is about respecting the speed with which things can fall apart as a result of unforeseen or unexpected events - as quickly as the so called Panama Papers were leaked and within a day had claimed its first head of state in Iceland. As such, the basis for making bold choices should include doing something never done before, or waiting to see what happens before making a move. Agile enterprises are transparent, trustworthy, entrepreneurial and, above all, risk takers. Aversion to risk is dangerous and implies being stuck in another era and held at a standstill by the inertia of fear.

The age that we are living in – the age of globalization, instantaneous information, tremendous technological advances, seemingly constant radical political change, and an unseen strain on critical resources – will show no remorse for the risk averse. Those firms that embrace risk agility will be able to quickly reinvent themselves and establish frameworks and a company culture that recognizes when the enterprise is imperiled by a particular internal course of action, or by external forces. This is the very creative/destructive cycle that drives

the global economy. How people, organizations and society will thrive depends now more than ever on our individual and collective decisions.

Risk agility and decision making is mostly about common sense – remembering what your mother taught you as a child, incorporating the lessons you have learned throughout your life, and transforming it all into sensible action. It boils down to this: Be bold. Lean Forward. Know more about the world. Turn the pyramid upside down. Embrace risk. Have a long-term orientation toward the future. Be thoughtful about what you are doing, and how you are doing it. Consider the viewpoints, needs and desires of others. Do the right thing. It is not just about making money or getting the job done; in the twenty-first century, it is about getting to the finish line in one piece, and with a clear conscience.

Dante Disparte, Daniel Wagner

Dante Disparte is CEO of Risk Cooperative. Daniel Wagner is CEO of Country Risk Solutions.

Both are co-authors of the book "Global Risk Agility and Decision Making".

Opinions expressed in this contribution are those of the authors.

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