

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy  
at the University of Hamburg (IFSH)



in cooperation with the

German Armed Forces (Streitkräfteamt)



**Bundeswehr**

Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)

Seminar Report (722-RI)

**Security Policy Seminar**

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## 1. Foreword

### **Security Policy Seminar:** What are the challenges facing German security policy today?

A complex question to say the least, and not one easily answered, but this is exactly what the students of the Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.) along with their counterparts of the European Masters in Human Rights and Democratisation (E.M.A) programme confronted.

For five days at the end of April the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) and the German Armed Forces (GAF) sponsored a seminar to help students gain a stronger appreciation for the complexity of today's security policy issues which concern not only Germany but the European community as well. Captain Deumeland – seminar coordinator, Dr. Patricia Schneider – M.P.S. coordinator, and Lieutenant Colonel Wagner – military advisor to the IFSH, guided the M.P.S. and E.M.A students through the seminar.

The seminar began on Sunday evening in Oberkirch with an overview and introduction from Captain Deumeland. On Monday morning the students were given a guided tour through the historic city of Strasbourg which include a visit to the city's famous cathedral and the "little France" district. Afterwards however, it was down to business and the core issues of the seminar were addressed.

Over the next five days the seminar would take the students through three cities, two countries and a several national and international organizations such as the European Union, NATO and the German Ministry of Defense to only name a few. In the end the M.P.S. and E.M.A. students left the seminar with a deeper understanding and appreciation for how some of the organizations within the European community work. Moreover, for many of the students this was their first hands-on exposure to military organizations. The friendships made during this seminar as well as the impressions and experiences gained will last well into the future and no doubt play a role in the lives of our class – the leaders of tomorrow.

*Jeff Montrose*



## **Visit to Europe's second capital – an excursion to Strasbourg**

In the framework of the seminar “Security Policy of the German Federal Republic Confronted to New Challenges” students of the Master of Peace and Security Studies Programme of the IFSH and students of the European Masters in Human Right and Democratisation travelled to Strasbourg from 20th to the 25th of April 2008. The excursion was supervised by Dr. Patricia Schneider und Dr. Armin Wagner in cooperation with the office of the armed forces of the German Federal Armed Forces. Beside Strasbourg the German cities Kolbenz, Geilenkirchen, and Bonn were further stations during the field trip.

At the outset the students visited the Eurocorps headquarters in Strasbourg. There the group learned about the European armed forces which was specially established for EU and NATO missions. Eurocorps tries to meet the increasing exigence for military cooperation and the Europeanisation of defence policy. At issue were especially the difficulties that such a cooperation includes. On the next day was the visit to both of the central European institutions the Council of Europe and the EU parliament. Following the participants of the seminar had the opportunity to attend a debate on the Galileo-Programme in the European Parliament. Hereby the students go an impression on how and on which formal regulations inner-european Cooperation are beeing conducted. Further the group met for a discussion round with the vice president of the European Parliament Mechtlind Rothe. She informed the students about the latest developments in the European integration process and the increasing weight of the EU institutions. Energetic discussions were held on the question of the involvement of the European people and possible referenda on the Lisbon contract.

Next station of the excursion was the Center for “Innere Führung” in Koblenz. There the very German concept of a soldier as a citizen in uniform was presented to the participants of the seminar. For those students from abroad this definition of the duty of a soldier was a rather innovative approach. During the debate within the group the difficulties in the concrete realisation of the concept within the international cooperation found a critical reflection. A special station was the visit to the NATO Association in Geilenkirchen. There the group inspected the aircraft-based radarsystem AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System). Inside the aircraft the technical functions were explicated and in the following the application modalities were discussed. At the last station of the seminar in Bonn the students got a guided tour through the museum “House of history”. There the history of post-war Germany is beeing illustrated. Final station was the Federal Ministry of Defence in Bonn. There the German deployments abroad and the necessity for international military cooperations were explained.

Summarizing, one can say that the field trip enabled the students to got a valueable insight and knowledge about the institutions and strategies on the national and European level currently operating on the challenges in the security sector.

*Nisha Arumugarajah*

## 2. EUROCORPS Headquarters

21 April 2008, Straßbourg

It is Commander Hans Haegedorens' third time to serve in the EUROCORPS. The Belgian Commander started his first three-year term in 1994, his second in 2001 and his current one in 2007. He began his briefing on EUROCORPS, the force for the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance, by explaining that upon its founding in 1992, it used to be the strongest armored group in Europe.

EUROCORPS' creation can be considered the result of the Elysée Treaty signed in 1963 by the French President Général de Gaulle and the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. In this treaty both countries committed themselves to cooperate in the field of defense. In 1987, President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl decided to intensify their military cooperation and announced the setup of a common Security and Defense Council that allowed for the creation of the French-German Brigade, operational since 1991. That year, both countries informed the chairman of the Council of Europe of their intention to reinforce this military cooperation and thus laid the foundation of a European army corps, located in Strasbourg. This is one of the greatest symbolic meanings regarding the relations between both countries.



Hans Haegedorens speaks to students about the future of Eurocorps.

The French-German initiative attracted other countries, notably Belgium which joined EUROCORPS in 1993. Spain joined a year later and Luxembourg followed in 1996. Those five countries represent EUROCORPS' framework nations. Greece, Poland, Turkey and Austria became sending nations later; others (e.g. Italy, Romania and the USA) are still following. EUROCORPS Headquarters is an integrated one, so no post is being replicated by any of the framework nations. Moreover, its manning is shared amongst the nations according to agreed posts, which are rotated in a balanced way.

The EUROCORPS Commander is a three-star lieutenant general (Spain). The Deputy Commander is a two-star major general (France). The staff is directed by the Chief of Staff (German), also a major general, who is supported by two Deputy Chiefs of Staff for Operations (Belgium) and Support (Spain), both of whom are one-star brigadier generals. In addition to the military assistant (Luxemburg), there are legal advisors, a public information office, air and navy representation in operations, a political advisor all who directly support the commanding general and work together with the staff form the Headquarters. As part of the high-readiness pool of forces available to EU and NATO led operations, the general missions for which EUROCORPS is organized and trained are the collective defense of the Allies (Article V of the Washington or the Brussels Treaty) and crisis response operations (restoring and keeping peace and humanitarian purposes as laid down in Article VII). Therefore, EUROCORPS can be

committed under a mandate of the UN or the OSCE and may act as a subordinate for EU or NATO led operations, but can also undertake operations tasked directly by the framework nations.

The first EUROCORPS commitment started in 1998 in Bosnia and Herzegovina to reinforce the SFOR Headquarter. In 2000, NATO decided that EUROCORPS should form the core of the KFOR III Headquarter in Kosovo and in 2004 EUROCORPS was tasked to take the lead of the NATO mission ISAF in Afghanistan. Moreover, NATO earmarked EUROCORPS to lead the Land Component Command of the NATO Response Force in 2006. EUROCORPS' insignias (the emblem and the badge) are worn by all members of the Headquarters. Despite the fact that the idea of a common beret for all members of EUROCORPS was launched in 1993, it was not officially introduced until 2000.



Main entrance to the Eurocorps compound.

Haegedorens finished his presentation by stressing that “EUROCORPS does not have a boss”. However, there is a Common Committee, where the Chiefs of Defense Staff and/or the Ministers of Foreign Affairs or Political Directors of the framework nations meet. Due to the fact that all of them are having the same voice, decisions are taken unanimously. For the way ahead he proposed that EUROCORPS maintain a high level of readiness/proficiency, be prepared for any upcoming mission and fully implement the Strasbourg Treaty.

*Sebastian Schilling and Natalie Majcenovič*

### **3. Council of Europe, Straßbourg**

22 April 2008



Max Gilbert gives the participants the opportunity to discuss about work and organisation of the Council of Europe.

Founded on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1949, the Council of Europe seeks to develop common and democratic principles throughout Europe, based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals. The European Council has no institutional connection with the European Union, but there is a Memorandum of Understanding with the EU and the cooperation between the Council of Europe and the European Union will play an important role for the Council's future. The

Council of Europe has a genuine pan-European dimension with 47 member states and Belarus as applicant country. Belarus's status has been suspended due to lack of respect for human rights and democratic principles. Five states are observing the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers: the Holy See, The United States, Canada, Japan and Mexico. Furthermore, Mexico and Israel have a guest status in the Parliamentary Assembly.

The aims of the Council of Europe are:

- to protect human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law
- to promote awareness and encourage the development of Europe's cultural identity and diversity;
- to find common solutions to the challenges facing European society: such as discrimination against minorities, xenophobia, intolerance, bioethics and cloning, terrorism, trafficking in human beings, organized crime and corruption, cybercrime, violence against children;
- to consolidate democratic stability in Europe by backing political, legislative and constitutional reform;
- military aspects are excluded.

The main component parts of the Council of Europe are:

- the Committee of Ministers is the Organisation's decision-making body, composed of the 47 Foreign Ministers or their deputies (ambassadors/permanent representatives);
- the Parliamentary Assembly has 759 members and is the driving force for European co-operation, grouping sent members from the 47 national parliaments;
- the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities is the voice of Europe's regions and municipalities, composed of a Chamber of Local Authorities and a Chamber of Regions;
- the secretariat recruited from member states is headed by a Secretary General, elected by the Parliamentary Assembly.



Compared with the EU-budget the Council of Europe disposes of a low budget: In 2008 the ordinary budget is €200,000,000. English and French are the Council of Europe's two official languages. German, Italian and Russian are working languages.

Competences are linked to the objectives. The conventions are:

- Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms;
- European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The Council of Europe sends monitoring missions consisting of a delegation from the Parliamentary Assembly to its candidate states to observe legal situations of Human Rights and the respect of the Conventions. They provide help to adopt and implement the new legislation in accordance with the Conventions.

*Christine Jung and Andreas Kappler*

#### **4. European Parliament**

22 April 2008, Straßbourg



The European Parliament (EP) is one of the main decision making bodies of the European Union. It is supposed to reflect the different opinions in the EU, and its main task is discussing and co-deciding European policies. The beginning of our visit began with a parliamentary debate on the Galileo project, and was followed by a presentation from vice president of the EP Mechtild Rothe on the role of the EP in the decision making process.

In the beginning, the parliament was mainly a forum for discussion without the possibility of directly shaping policy outcomes. As the only European institution, which is directly legitimized by the Europeans, the parliament was able to expand its competences and is now a co-decision maker together with the Council of Ministers in about 85% of all cases.



This development leads to one of Ms. Rothe's main concerns, that is, European decisions affect more and more the everyday life of the people living in the Union. However a European public has not yet come into existence. European policy is often ignored or misunderstood. The treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was not an exception in this regard. Ms. Rothe underlined the importance of the role of the media in delivering EU news, and more education about the EU should be

brought to the pupils in schools in the Union. The future of the European Union and the EP now lies in the treaty of Lisbon. Ms. Rothe remains optimistic, that the legislative cooperation of the Council of Ministers and the EP can be extended to the Common Foreign and Security Policy, so that the EP as the voice of the Europeans can be heard in every policy domain.

*Aurélie Klein and Martina Grosch*

## 5. Zentrum Innere Führung (Centre of Leadership Development and Civic Education)

April 23, 2008



Seminar participants arrive at the Center for *Innere Führung* in Koblenz.

Our group received a very friendly and professionally organised welcome ceremony when we arrived at the Centre of Leadership Development and Civic Education (in German: Zentrum Innere Führung) in Koblenz. This centre develops policies for leading soldiers and military personal. It was set up in 1956 – nearly simultaneously to the establishment of the new German Armed Forces, the *Bundeswehr* – and moved from Cologne to Koblenz in 1957.

During our stay we gained not only a comprehension for the concept of *Innere Führung* but also learned about the organisation, the mission and the functioning of the centre itself.

It was very interesting to hear about the backdrop of *Innere Führung*. Because of the experiences with the principle of order and obedience during the Second World War, the new German army needed a revolutionary approach on this issue. Blind trust in given orders was tolerated in the *Wehrmacht*, but could not be the institutional basis for the *Bundeswehr*. The main challenge in this case was – and is until today – to reconcile the military demands of the armed forces with the constitutional values of Germany's basic law.

In this context we learned about the term “citizen in uniform”. This means that a soldier has the same basic rights as a citizen which can only be restrained for military reasons. The internal organisation and the role of the armed forces in society must always be compatible with democracy and controllable through parliament. The main tasks that *Innere Führung* shall provide are therefore the integration of the soldier in society, gaining legitimacy within society for the soldiers' actions and guarantee the identification with the served political system.

However this concept has to face some new challenges due to missions abroad. There the soldiers face real threats and have to operate in military means. This fact is often quoted as “an army in training turns into an army in mission”. But despite this new requirement the



Lieutenant Colonel Wilke discusses the origins and concepts of *Innere Führung*.

armed forces stays subject to the primacy of politics. This indicates that the soldiers still have to act and to be treated like citizens. Therefore the idea of *Innere Führung* remains a dynamic concept and must always stay adjustable.

But some parts of this concept shall always remain. This includes a directive by the Ministry of Defense from 1996 which says that all soldiers have to be prepared as realistically as possible for real action. Their willingness to carry out a mission is strengthened by the confidence they acquire during training in the character, ability and performance of superiors as well as by their acceptance of the need for the mission.

Another directive says, that the *Bundeswehr* has to ensure that the public stays informed about the *Bundeswehr* and its actions. Through its information work in which the *Zentrum Innere Führung* plays an important role, therefore the *Bundeswehr* offers a candid presentation of security policy and the *Bundeswehr* tasks.



The *Bundeswehr* has to make every effort to communicate directly with the public.

We experienced that the *Bundeswehr* complies with these regulations and contributes towards a better understanding of the principle of *Innere Führung*. Thanks to this our group could gain interesting and valuable insights into an important German institution with which only a few of us get in contact in everyday live.

*Julian Köhle*

## 6. NATO's Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)

24 April 2008, Geilenkirchen



Dr. Wagner listens intently as students are briefed on the computer systems inside an AWACS aircraft.

The lecture held at the NATO base Geilenkirchen covered among others the history, organizational structure and tasks of NATO's Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS). This was planned and decided during the cold war in the 1970's and finished in 1980. The goal of AWACS was to adjust for possible Warsaw Pact air forces flying underneath ground-based radar systems by combining AWACS aircraft with ground radar. The Geilenkirchen site serves as the Main Operations Base (MOB) there are also



Flying into the future with M.P.S at the controls.

four additional Forward Operation Bases (FOB) in Norway, Turkey, Greece and Italy. 16 nations participate in the NATO AWACS program.

The peace time personnel strength is approximately 2,500 and costs lie at about 270 million Euros which is roughly 23 percent of the NATO budget. The three major task of AWACS are; air defense, support of search & rescue and maritime operations. Militarily AWACS has been used in the Gulf War, during the monitoring of the Libya embargo, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Kosovo War, in the US after 9-11 and in Turkey during the initial phase of the Iraq war. Civilian operations have included the monitoring of the G-8 summit, the awarding of the Nobel Prize, the EU summit and the football world championship in 2006.

*Philipp Münch*

## **7. House of History**

24 April 2008, Bonn

One of the last stops on our excursion was the House of History (Haus der Geschichte) in Bonn. Haus der Geschichte is probably the most important museum on German history from 1945 onward. It was founded after a parliamentary request in the early 90s. The contemporary history of the Federal Republic of Germany from the end of WWII onward is displayed on more than 4000 square meters. The exhibitions deal with political, economical and social history as well as culture, art and daily life issues.

We learned that the museum tries to bring the complicated historical background as easily as possible to the visitors. Therefore the exhibits contain a lot of interactive items and interesting original objects. We received a guided tour focused on political questions. Shortly after WWII the *Bundeswehr* (German Armed Forces) was established, to include, soldiers from the former *Wehrmacht* (German army in WWII). The questions was raised, what should happen with the awards and decorations that soldiers earned during the Nazi time? The decorations were deemed acceptable even in the new *Bundeswehr* because the achievement behind the awards were not based on Nazi ideology, rather on the individual's achievement. So the swastika had to be removed and replaced by an Iron Cross.

We then saw the saw exhibits on the first female German minister Käthe Strobel (who got in trouble during the 60s because of a book on sexuality) and Joschka Fischer's helmet from his street demonstration days many years ago. We were shown the rivalry between East and West Germany.

We heard about some curious discussions on single exhibit items. One of these is Helmut Kohl's Shirt, which he wore during his meeting with Michael Gorbachov during decisions

about German unity, and now you can also see Gorbachov's shirt. The tour ended with a display about the changing missions of the German Bundeswehr from Somalia to ISAF. It was an interesting visit and definitely demands more visits because there is much more to explore.

*Denise Völker*

## **8. German Ministry of Defence**

25 April 2008, Bonn

### **Mr. Jürgen Quensell, Spokesman of the Division of Defence Administration**

During his lecture at the Federal Ministry of Defence (FMoD), Mr. Quensell made use of an introductory film on the history and organisation of the German Armed Forces (Bundeswehr) before he opened the floor for further discussion. In doing so, he gave us a short overview of selected topics: First of all, the film gave us an introduction to the transformation of the German Armed Forces, which includes the adaptation of their structure, capacity and material to the changed security environment and operations abroad. In particular, it referred to the shift in emphasis of their tasks: Whereas in the beginning the emphasis had been put on national defence, today's tasks of the Bundeswehr are the protection of national sovereignty and the contribution to fulfilling the tasks of NATO and the EU, such as crisis prevention and conflict resolution, including countering the threat from international terrorism.

Secondly, we were given an impression of the historical development of the Bundeswehr and the special responsibility of Germany due to its past. In this regard, the resistance of German officers during World War II was mentioned as part of the tradition of the Bundeswehr. Also mentioned was the reservation of the German Parliament (Bundestag), which exercises political control over the German Armed Forces and which is to be understood as a consequence of the horrific past.

Third of all, we were given an overview of the command structure of the Bundeswehr, which encompasses the directory level of the FMoD with its minister and four state secretaries as well as its subdivision. Furthermore, we learned about the structure of the Armed Forces and the task of the different branches (Army, Air Force, Navy, Joint Support Services and Joint Medical Services) and how they are interlinked with the civilian part of the Bundeswehr, the Federal Armed Forces Administration.



The youth officers and the elder IFSH-officers during our visit to the German Ministry of Defence in Bonn.

During the subsequent discussion, Mr. Quensell answered critical questions posed by the audience. Through this we learned that the division of the Bundeswehr into the civilian branch of the Armed Forces Administration and the military branch of the Armed Forces is codified in the German constitutional law under Art. 87 a and b, which makes this division. Nonetheless, Mr. Quensell stated that this division may be and should be revised since Germany has apparently overcome its history, and the danger which had led to the dyadic structure has been banned. As to the question concerning the colossal bureaucratic apparatus which decelerates operational processes, Mr. Quensell agreed that reforms are required in this regard. However, he also enumerated a list of improvements on that matter which have already taken place, such as the reduction of civilian (and military) personnel since the reunification in 1990.

*Constanze Bönig and Daniel Linke*

### **Future tasks and missions of the German armed forces**

Captain (Navy) Liedtke provided us with an outline of future tasks and missions for the German armed forces (GAF). Firstly, he stressed the importance of *Innere Führung* as the conceptual base of the GAF with regard to out-of-area missions. Furthermore, he referred to the transformation of the GAF as an issue of high priority.

In the framework of transformation and in order to meet special requirements for out-of-area missions the GAF is planning to establish a

special department, the so called *Einsatzführungsstab* (mission or deployment staff). This department is going to plan out-of-area missions in a comprehensive manner cooperating with the German Foreign Ministry as well as other relevant actors. However, the *Einsatzführungsstab* is not going to substitute the *Einsatzführungskommando* (missions or deployment command) which is responsible for the operational level of out-of-area missions.

With reference to German missions abroad Captain Liedtke stated a need for enhanced civil-military cooperation and coordination. Furthermore, Captain Liedtke introduced the audience to other crucial challenges that have to be tackled in order to adapt to contemporary tasks of the GAF. The enhancement of transportation facilities is therefore of crucial importance. Thus the delivery of A400, the strategic air lift, is already expected with



Captain (Navy) Liedtke (*at the right*) welcomes seminar participants to the German Ministry of Defence.

impatience. Regarding security policy issues, Liedtke pointed out the importance of international cooperation in the sector.



Civil-Military relations.

Today Germany has already obtained security policy cooperation with more than 100 nations. Meanwhile the US remains the most important partner, but Germany is shedding light on certain regions of interest too, Asia being one of those. Beyond fostering a strategic partnership with India Germany is focussing on China as well. However, partnership with China is still bound to German initiatives and Chinese responses such as participation in seminars.

Captain Liedtke gave some ideas about German positions on European security policy mentioning that the French-German relationship has been and will be the engine of European security policy. This fact is underlined by existing structures such as the German-French brigade within the framework of Eurocorps. Both countries have committed to bringing the 60<sup>th</sup> NATO anniversary in line as well as by increased German French cooperation in satellite applications and information gathering.

*Anne-Kristin Linke und Christina Sell*







