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# The Bundeswehr: a Parliamentary Army

## Introduction

The Bundeswehr, established in 1955, has gone through a number of conceptual changes that have depended both on the political situation and the conditions under which Germany functions within NATO. Transatlantic cooperation and the presence of American soldiers on NATO's territory played an important role during the Cold War. After the reunification of Germany, the conceptualisation of the role of the Bundeswehr resulted from the obligations and interests in the field of security policy, and the policy of multilateralism. Both bilateral and multilateral cooperation – based on the membership of international organisations and building cooperation formats – had an impact on the importance and perception of the Bundeswehr in Germany and abroad.

The goal of the paper is to indicate that legal regulations and strategic culture influence the functioning of the Bundeswehr. The following hypotheses have been formulated. First, the functioning of the Bundeswehr depends on the decisions made by decision-makers and the expectations of the public opinion. Second, the Bundeswehr is an instrument of internal and foreign policy through the tasks performed, e.g. participation in expeditionary missions, cooperation with allies in the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, providing support in crisis situations. The goal of this paper is also to prove that the functioning of the Bundeswehr is influenced by the concept of the functioning of the German army as a parliamentary army. This is done by means of a systemic analysis, i.e. by defining the position and tasks of the Bundeswehr within the German constitutional system. The paper also rests on the historical method, and the biographical method.

The problems regarding the activities and significance of the Bundeswehr have been the subject of several studies so far. The most recent Polish studies on this issue

are dominated by the works of Krzysztof Malinowski, who looks at the impact of Europeanisation on the decisions made to deploy German troops abroad. Agnieszka Polończyk, in turn, has researched into the strategies of the Bundeswehr's activities from the point of view of organisational culture, paying attention to such issues as changes in the security environment of Germany, changes in the concept of using the Bundeswehr in the White Papers. Several working documents and other publications on the role of the Bundeswehr in German society and the Bundeswehr's modernisation concepts have been published.<sup>1</sup> The paper scrutinises a variety of legal sources, reports of the parliamentary commission, and annual reports of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces. The memoirs of politicians, as well as expert studies and surveys, have also been used to place emphasis on the debate in Germany about the roles of the Bundeswehr, which has involved the country's elites.

## Parliamentary army

The establishment of the Bundeswehr in 1955 was based on Article 87a of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany, which reads: "The Federation shall establish Armed Forces for purposes of defence. Their numerical strength and general organisational structure must be shown in the budget."<sup>2</sup> The location of the Bundeswehr resulted from the political and historical burdens of German totalitarianism and the Second World War, and corresponded to the concept of militarism destruction, which from an ideological perspective was perceived as: the concept of militarism destruction, personnel in the structures of power, the use of the army to conduct expansive international politics and shaping social attitudes that consisted in presenting waging war as a positive act.<sup>3</sup> Helmut Schmidt argues that the legal instrument against the return of militarism in 1956 was Article 65a

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<sup>1</sup> A. Polończyk, *Bundeswehra 1955–2030. Kulturowe i strategiczne uwarunkowania użycia sił zbrojnych Republiki Federalnej Niemiec*, Kraków 2019; K. Malinowski, 'Debata o odpowiedzialności Niemiec za sprawy międzynarodowe i warunkach udziału Bundeswehry w operacjach zagranicznych', *Krakowskie Studia Międzynarodowe*, No. 1, 2016, pp. 49–63; T. Cymek, *Reforma Bundeswehry 2000–2001. Kontynuacja zaangażowania Niemiec w międzynarodowe struktury wojskowe*, Toruń 2001; A. Sakson, 'Elita Bundeswehry', [in:] H. Orłowski, M. Tomczak, *Elity w jednoczących się Niemczech*, Poznań 1999; K. Malinowski, *Przemiany niemieckiej polityki bezpieczeństwa 1990–2005*, Poznań 2009, pp. 391–430; J. Gotkowska, *Bundeswehra 3.0. Polityczny, wojskowy i społeczny wymiar reformy sił zbrojnych RFN*, Warszawa 2012 (Punkt Widzenia – A Report of the Centre for Eastern Studies, No. 28).

<sup>2</sup> Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany in the revised version published in the Federal Law Gazette Part III, classification number 100-1, as last amended by Article 1 of the Act of 28 March 2019 (Federal Law Gazette I p. 404), *Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, Bundesamt für Justiz – Gesetze im Internet*, [https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch\\_gg/englisch\\_gg.html#p0455](https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/englisch_gg.html#p0455) [accessed: 20.12.2020].

<sup>3</sup> S. Beardsley, 'Citizens in Uniform: The Bundeswehr's *Innere Führung* and the Cold War divide', p. 3, [https://www.boschalumni.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Steven-Beardsley\\_Citizens-in-Uniform-The-Bundeswehrs-Innere-Fuehrung-and-the-Cold-War-divide.pdf](https://www.boschalumni.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Steven-Beardsley_Citizens-in-Uniform-The-Bundeswehrs-Innere-Fuehrung-and-the-Cold-War-divide.pdf) [accessed: 20.11.2020]; N. Olszanecka, 'Militaryzm – ujęcie teoretyczne', *Historia i Polityka*, No. 25, 2018, pp. 42–43.

of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (Command of the Armed Forces), in which it was decided that the Federal Minister of Defence had the power to command and order the armed forces.<sup>4</sup> According to Helmut Schmidt, who participated in the parliamentary works on the control mechanisms of the Bundeswehr, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer intended to prevent excessive involvement of soldiers in political matters by transferring power over the Bundeswehr to the federal minister of defence. Schmidt adds that without a well-thought-out policy towards the army, states are in danger of coups, noting that the military service needs solid political and internal leadership to operate efficiently. The profession of soldiers requires, according to Schmidt, the conviction of the "strategic necessity of the mission."<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of his parliamentary career, one of the areas of the dispute was the decision to equip the army with nuclear weapons. On 19 September 1956, Konrad Adenauer said: "Germany cannot remain a nuclear protectorate."<sup>6</sup> When in March 1958, the right-wing parties pushed through the Bundestag's support for the implementation of nuclear aspirations, peace protests began in German towns and cities.<sup>7</sup> The debate about their own armaments plans, as well as the US-German cooperation with regard to the stationing of NATO weapons in Germany, also aroused controversy in the later years. In considering Germany's role in the international arena, pacifists postulated the concept of a peace power (*Friedensmacht*), and a moral power (*Moralmacht*). The notion of implementing the culture of abstinence has also been taken into account many times.<sup>8</sup>

With the reunification of Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl agreed to the limitations of the Bundeswehr's military potential, but continued to emphasise the importance of military cooperation within NATO. Although the army was reduced to 370,000 soldiers (i.e. by about 300,000), with the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Allies began to demand more than checkbook diplomacy to involve Germany in pooling and sharing, and to engage in "out-of-area" activities, i.e. those beyond the previous regulations on cooperation within NATO. The concept of the Bundeswehr's functioning was discussed in the Defence Policy Guidelines of 1992, and in the White Paper of 1994. Chancellor Kohl stressed the will for transatlantic cooperation and European integration, as well as the readiness to cooperate in order to strengthen the security architecture based on international law and the priority of respecting human rights.<sup>9</sup> The Chancellor recognized, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher, that the issue of the use of troops outside NATO territory required legislative provisions, which could be invoked in the future when

<sup>4</sup> Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany..., *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> H. Schmidt, *Handeln für Deutschland. Wege aus der Krise*, Berlin 1993, pp. 165–166.

<sup>6</sup> S.F. Kellerhoff, 'Schon Adenauer wollte Atomwaffen für die Bundeswehr', *Welt*, 30.07.2018, <https://www.welt.de/geschichte/article180216424/Schon-Konrad-Adenauer-wollte-Atomwaffen-fuer-die-Bundeswehr.html> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

<sup>7</sup> K. Jagiełło, *Po zmierzchu bogów*, Warszawa 2005, p. 145.

<sup>8</sup> J. Joffe, *Der gute Deutsche. Die Karriere einer moralischen Supermacht*, München 2019, pp. 135–170; B. Koszel, "Kultura wstrzemięźliwości" czy aktywne współdziałanie? Dylematy polityki bezpieczeństwa Niemiec w XXI wieku', *Bezpieczeństwo. Teoria i Praktyka*, No. 1, 2017, pp. 17–35.

<sup>9</sup> M.M. Kosman, 'Niemcy wobec problemów bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego. Refleksje wokół „Białej Księgi” z 2016 roku', <https://repozytorium.ukw.edu.pl> [accessed: 15.03.2021].

deciding on the use of troops outside the state. Genscher's successor, Klaus Kinkel, was also in favour of increasing the Bundeswehr's activity outside NATO's borders within the framework of legal regulations. As a result of the discourse on the role of the Bundeswehr in the implementation of foreign policy, on 13 July 1994, the Federal Constitutional Court passed a ruling that granted the right of the Bundeswehr to participate in "out-of-area" operations. It was the culmination of the discussion that had lasted since the reunification of Germany, intensified by the ongoing conflicts in the Balkans.<sup>10</sup>

The Europeanisation that was taking place in the field of security policy increased the parliament's activity in making decisions by a simple majority of votes on the participation of the Bundeswehr in expeditionary missions. Successive strategies and documents concerning the security policy and the role of the Bundeswehr (Defence Policy Guidelines of 2003, the 2006 White Paper, the 2016 White Paper) indicated the inclusion of threats, such as terrorism, and differentiated security definitions in the securitisation challenges. The debates held at the UN forum and the decisions made with regard to the participation in peacekeeping missions were also reflected in the work of the Bundestag. The discourse was further influenced by the popularised concept of human security, to which the UN resolution on responsibility for protection was devoted.<sup>11</sup> Afghanistan was the region to which the Bundestag decided to send the most soldiers after 1994. Engagement decisions have since then been the subject of several political disputes. The missions in question concern those in Iraq (UNSCOM), Cambodia (UNAMIC), Somalia (UNOSOM II), Rwanda (UNAMIR), Kuwait (OEF), Macedonia (Concordia), Indonesia (AMM), Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), Congo (Artemis, EUFOR RD Congo), Georgia (UNOMIG and OSCE missions), Indian Ocean (OEF), Sudan (AMIS, UNMISS), Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR), Mali (AFISMA support), Mediterranean Sea (MEM OPCW), Afghanistan (ISAF), Central African Republic (EUFOR RCA), Horn of Africa (EUCAP NESTOR), West Africa (Ebola), Liberia (UNMIL), Mediterranean (rescue mission), Turkey (AF Tur), Mediterranean (OAE), Afghanistan (UNAMA), Somalia (EUTM Som), the Mediterranean (EUNAVFOR MED Operation Sophia), Libya (UNSMIL) and Sudan.<sup>12</sup> Currently, the largest number of German soldiers are in Afghanistan, Mali, Syria and Iraq.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kiwerska, 'Niemcy w Sojuszu Atlantyckim', [in:] P. Kalka, J. Kiwerska (eds.), *Zjednoczone Niemcy. Bilans przemian ekonomicznych, społecznych i politycznych (1990–2002)*, Poznań 2004, pp. 215–227; W. Pięciak, *Niemcy. Droga do normalności*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 34–35; G. Janiszewski, 'Użycie Bundeswehry w operacjach zagranicznych w latach 1992–1998 w świetle niemieckich debat parlamentarnych i orzeczeń Trybunału Konstytucyjnego', [in:] L. Meissner, M. Wilk (eds.), *Polska i Niemcy w Europie. Przyczynki z dziedziny kultury, polityki i historii współczesnej*, Łódź 2011, p. 70; B. Koszel, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 16 September 2005, [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A\\_RES\\_60\\_1.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_60_1.pdf) [accessed: 15.03.2021].

<sup>12</sup> *Eine Auswahl der abgeschlossenen Einsätze der Bundeswehr*, <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/einsaetze-bundeswehr/abgeschlossene-einsaetze-der-bundeswehr> [accessed: 15.03.2021].

Table 1. Foreign missions of the Bundeswehr, based on the data as of 8 March 2021

<b>Mission name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of troops dispatched</b>
Resolute Support	Afghanistan	1089
KFOR	Kosovo	67
UNMISS	South Sudan	10
UNIFIL	Lebanon	131
EUTM	Mali	95
MINUSMA	Mali	872
Atalanta	Horn of Africa	49
Sea Guardian	Mediterranean Sea	82
EUNAVFOR MED IRINI	Mediterranean Sea	8
Intervention against ISIL	Syria / Iraq	231

Source: 'Wie lauten die Einsatzzahlen?', <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/151670-151670> [accessed: 15.03.2021].

Rudolf J. Schlaffer notes that the striving for the efficient functioning of the Bundeswehr and building the credibility of the organisation in German society was adapted to the concept of a modern state, i.e. a democratic, law-abiding and welfare state.<sup>13</sup> The functioning of the army was influenced by the reunification of Germany, as it led to the merger of troops operating under different alliances – the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Warsaw Pact. Despite the end of the Cold War, conflicts outside Germany continued, which resulted in the need to determine the possibility of meeting obligations as part of membership of international organisations. The implemented checkbook diplomacy policy was gradually replaced by an approach aimed at engaging in "out-of-area" missions, the constitutionality of which was confirmed on 12 July 1994. Instead of treating the "peace dividend" as a form of international activity, the German army had to switch to the ability and readiness to intervene within its alliances. Engaging in multilateral actions to prevent and combat crises was supposed to prevent the "re-nationalisation of security policy."<sup>14</sup>

German political scientist Christian Hacke argues that with the transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, "the armed forces of Central and Eastern European states should be adapted as quickly as possible to the Western political and defence model. The concept of 'internal leadership', the guiding principle of 'a citizen in uniform' and the primacy of the Bundeswehr in terms of a political and defence alliance have an attractive effect on the armed forces of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. Germany must extend such cooperation."<sup>15</sup>

The Bundeswehr was becoming an instrument for implementing the policy of responsibility declared by Germany. The reform of the Bundeswehr, initiated by the

<sup>13</sup> R.J. Schlaffer, *Der Wehrbeauftragte 1951 bis 1985. Aus Sorge um den Soldaten*, München 2006, p. 347.

<sup>14</sup> M. Staack, *Handelsstaat Deutschland: deutsche Aussenpolitik in einem neuen internationalen System*, Paderborn 2000, p. 501.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. Hacke, *Die Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschlands. Von Konrad Adenauer bis Gerhard Schröder*, Ulm 2003, pp. 553–554.

Christian Democratic Minister of Defence Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg (2009–2011), and implemented by Minister Thomas de Maizière (2011–2013), concerned the rejection of the idea of a conscript army, and the reduction of the number of the Bundeswehrs in numbers. In defining the goals of the army's functioning after the reform, the importance of the ethos of service to Germany was still emphasised, which was reflected in the slogan: "We. Serve. Germany".<sup>16</sup> The resignation from the conscript army had previously been a contentious issue. Gerhard Schröder was one of the opponents of this initiative and emphasised that continuing the tradition of the conscripted army contributed to the integration of the army with society.<sup>17</sup> The reforms that had been launched also affected other sectors, including public aid, as many social centers had lost volunteers who were doing their work as compensation for resigning from military service.

One of the Bundeswehr's transformation challenges resulting from social changes, is the problem of the policy of equality and equal treatment. Merith Niehuss, President of the Bundeswehr University in Munich since 2005, notes that significant changes took place in the Bundeswehr after 2001, when women began joining the army.<sup>18</sup> On 27 December 2004, the Act on the Equality between Women and Men in the Bundeswehr was passed, which, in addition to international law (cf. UN Resolution 1325), regulates the status and role of women in the army.<sup>19</sup> Currently, there are ongoing debates within the German military about the feminisation of the language used, i.e. the adaptation of terminology and jargon to the roles performed by women in the army. Among the problems arising from the threats of the twenty-first century, the Bundeswehr is involved in solving issues related to strengthening health security. In 2020, it participated in the implementation of tasks related to overcoming the coronavirus pandemic, e.g. providing assistance to the elderly and the disabled, providing support to other services that reported material or personnel shortages.<sup>20</sup> Another challenge is the competition for modernisation and the fight for access to innovations and patents that can be used in the military. Computerisation and the combating threats in cyberspace constitute yet another challenge.<sup>21</sup> Although Germany is one of the countries that increase their expenditure on the arms policy, the equipment of the German army is insufficient, outdated and often openly criticised.

<sup>16</sup> "Wir. Dienen. Deutschland.": Neuer Slogan für die Bundeswehr', *Manager Magazin*, 30.06.2011, <https://www.manager-magazin.de/politik/deutschland/a-771528.html> [accessed: 24.11.2020].

<sup>17</sup> G. Schröder, *Entscheidungen. Mein Leben in der Politik*, Hamburg 2006, p. 294.

<sup>18</sup> "Der feministische Einfluss auf die Bundeswehr ist groß" (Interview with Merith Niehuss, President of the Bundeswehr University in Munich, by P. Kaleta), *Welt Online*, 15.11.2018, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article181743946/Diversity-beim-Militaer-Feministischer-Einfluss-auf-Bundeswehr-ist-gross.html> [accessed: 25.11.2020].

<sup>19</sup> Gesetz zur Gleichstellung von Soldatinnen und Soldaten der Bundeswehr (Soldatinnen- und Soldatengleichstellungsgesetz – SGLiG), *Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, Bundesamt für Justiz – Gesetze im Internet*, <http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/sgleig/BJNR382210004.html> [accessed: 24.11.2020].

<sup>20</sup> C. Major, R. Schulz, D. Vogel, 'Die neuartige Rolle der Bundeswehr im Corona-Krisenmanagement', *SWP Aktuell*, No. 51, 2020, [https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2020A51\\_bundeswehr\\_corona.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2020A51_bundeswehr_corona.pdf) [accessed: 24.11.2020].

<sup>21</sup> J. Kuck, 'Transformacja logistyki i administracji w armii niemieckiej', *Bellona*, No. 3, 2009, pp. 171–179.

Table 2. State spending on armaments in billions of US dollars

Country	Amount
USA	732
China	261
India	71,1
Russia	65,1
Saudi Arabia	61,9
France	50,1
Germany	49,3

Source: 'Sipri: Fast zwei Billionen Dollar fließen ins Militär', *Süddeutsche Zeitung online*, 27.04.2020, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/verteidigungsausgaben-sipri-fast-zwei-billionen-dollar-fluessen-ins-militaer-1.4889569> [accessed: 24.11.2020].

During the proceedings of the Defence Committees in October 2020, the views of experts from Professor Andreas Zimmermann, Professor Carlo Masala and Professor Christian Marxsen on the possibility of using drones were considered.<sup>22</sup> The reform of the Bundeswehr Act also keeps coming back on the agenda, its key goal being to increase the level of discipline in the military and to prevent the spread of extremism.<sup>23</sup>

## Internal leadership

Without democratic legitimacy, the German state, which was brought to life 1949, would not have been able to build an army. The memory of the Second World War required the search for new strategies and cultures for implementing a defence policy in order to prevent a "military and moral catastrophe."<sup>24</sup> In the further functioning of the Bundeswehr, in order to build the credibility of the German army, references were made to the traditions of the Prussian army and the German resistance movement during the Second World War. The functioning of the Bundeswehr was based on the concept of internal leadership, the creator of which is believed to be Wolf Graf von Baudissin. In 1950, he formulated the "Memorandum of Himmerod", the purpose of which was to define the function of the future German army in the European security system. In recognition of his contribution to the creation of the army after the war, the Documentation Center was named after Graf von Baudissin.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> 'Experten: Einsatz von Kampfdrohnen völlerrechtlich nicht verboten', Deutscher Bundestag, 5.10.2020, <https://www.bundestag.de/verteidigung?url=L2Rva3VtZW50ZS90ZXh0YXJjaGl2LzlwMjAva3c0MS1wYS12ZXJ0ZWlkaWd1bmctNzkwNzY0&mod=mod539928> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>23</sup> 'Kabinetts beschließt Gesetzentwurf zu Änderung des Soldatengesetzes', *Beck-Aktuell*, <https://rsw.beck.de/aktuell/daily/meldung/detail/bundeskabinetts-beschliesst-gesetzentwurf-zur-aenderung-des-soldatengesetzes> [accessed: 16.11.2020].

<sup>24</sup> R.J. Schläffer, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>25</sup> *Baudissin-Dokumentationszentrum*, <https://www.bundeswehr.de/bw-de/organisation/weitere-bmvg-dienststellen/fuehrungsakademie-der-bundeswehr/netzwerk/ baudissin->

Jens O. Koltermann points out that in order to explain the beginnings of the Bundeswehr's functioning, it is necessary to explicate the concept of internal leadership, which influenced the integration of troops from West and East Germany, and the transition to the involvement in the Bundeswehr's activities globally.<sup>26</sup> The importance of internal leadership is evidenced by the establishment of the Internal Leadership Center in 1956, with headquarters in Koblenz, Berlin, Hamburg, and Straussberg.<sup>27</sup>

From the very beginning, the shape of the internal leadership concept was strongly dependent on the processes of socialisation and the policy of memory in the Federal Republic of Germany. The concept emphasised that the soldiers belonged to German society. Hence the postulates to integrate the Bundeswehr with society, implement the "citizen in uniform" pattern, and define the boundaries of orders and obedience through political education. The political education of soldiers takes into account not only the challenges of internal politics, but also strives to prepare soldiers for participation in external operations through education involving other cultures. Implementation of activities in a multinational environment is related to the challenges of international politics, which are discussed in the parliamentary forum. Taking care of soldiers is treated as a task of the welfare state, covering not only supply matters, but also the importance of rest, and activities outside the working hours. From the beginning of the planning of the Bundeswehr's activities, the awareness of the importance of civic education and competences related to functioning in public life has been brought to the fore to prove its significance. The formulation of the social role of the Bundeswehr took place in a dispute between the supporters of the traditional, stereotypical image of the army in Germany, associated with the primacy of obedience and discipline, and the reformist approach, the shape of which was contained in the concept of internal leadership. It was decided to create relations between soldiers and the image of the army in post-war West Germany on the basis of modernization and motivational theories. Among them, the motivational model of officer Dirk Oettinger stood out, which allowed for the creation of a positive perception of the Bundeswehr by developing activities that legitimised the functioning of the army and defining relations in the army between superiors and subordinates. In the 1970s, the concepts of Thomas Ellwein were broadly used in the education of the Bundeswehr.<sup>28</sup>

The current concept of internal leadership presented by the Ministry of Defence covers the years 2017–2022. The document discusses the culture of leadership, and the code of conduct in the Bundeswehr, taking into account ethical, legal, political and social issues. The internal leadership concept regulates matters related to

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dokumentationszentrum-112342 [accessed: 20.11.2020]; A. Dörfler-Dierken (ed.), *Graf von Baudissin. Als Mensch hinter den Waffen*, Göttingen 2006.

<sup>26</sup> J.O. Koltermann, 'Citizen in Uniform: Democratic Germany and the Changing Bundeswehr', *Parameters*, Summer 2012, [http://www.glsconfig.org/uploads/2/1/3/3/21330938/citizens\\_in\\_uniform\\_bundeswehr.pdf](http://www.glsconfig.org/uploads/2/1/3/3/21330938/citizens_in_uniform_bundeswehr.pdf) [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>27</sup> *Zentrum für innere Führung*, <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/organisation/weitere-bmvg-dienststellen/zentrum-innere-fuehrung> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>28</sup> *Bundeswehr zwischen Auftrag und Gesellschaft* (1971), <https://www.filmothek.bundesarchiv.de/video/590403> [accessed: 13.11.2020].



military service, relations between superiors and subordinates, educational and social challenges, or related to information policy in the military environment and with the external environment. The concept takes into account many dimensions of the functioning of soldiers in the Bundeswehr, i.e. access to spiritual care; ideological diversity, equality, and equal treatment in the army.

The task of systematic implementation of the concept of internal leadership is aimed at eliminating internal problems in the army and improving its image. The news about the different scandals in the army has often been part of the public debate. As the discussion on the consequences of the migration crisis grew, so did the discourse on right-wing extremism in the Bundeswehr.

In 2017, a scandal broke out when the actions of Lieutenant Franco A., who pretended to be a Syrian refugee to penetrate the situation in a German refugee camp, were revealed. Franco A. led the life of a Syrian immigrant and a Bundeswehr soldier, promoting anti-Islamic and extreme-right views. Professor Wolfram Wette notes that many soldiers knew about the far-right views of Franco A. and did not react to his actions and they to his statements. Franco A. intended to carry out attacks on the lives of famous German politicians. When the Minister of Defence, Ursula von der Leyen, called for downloading photographs with Wehrmacht symbols as part of the fight against extremism, it aroused criticism among many soldiers. One of the disputes concerned the placement of Helmut Schmidt's photographs wearing a Wehrmacht uniform. The chancellor himself repeatedly emphasised that belonging to the Wehrmacht was a shameful stage in his life.<sup>29</sup>

Scandals were disclosed notoriously in the Special Forces Command (Kommando Spezialkräfte, KSK) established in 1996. The allegations concerned the apology of the Third Reich and Nazism. In 2003, General Reinhard Günzel, who used his status to spread anti-Semitism and support extremism, was released.<sup>30</sup> In 2020, the charges against the KSK concerned ties with the Turkish terrorist organization Gray Wolves. The disappearance of ammunition from KSK warehouses and further suspicions of promoting Nazism resulted in the actions of Minister Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer and the Bundeswehr's leadership, which were to lead to the reform of the organization. Eva Högl also participated in the work and the matter was discussed by the defence committee.<sup>31</sup>

In their political manifestos, political parties refer to the Bundeswehr's problems and in their core programs they respond to the role of the army. In the 2007 core program, the CDU devoted much attention to the Bundeswehr. The Christian Democrats emphasized that the Bundeswehr was carrying out tasks in the area of internal

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<sup>29</sup> W. Wette, 'Im Geiste der Freikorps: Rechtsradikale in Uniform', *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, No. 6, 2017, pp. 13–16; A.J. Samuels, 'The German Army's Dirty Secret', *Handelsblatt Today*, <https://www.handelsblatt.com/english/politics/bundeswehrmacht-the-german-armys-dirty-secret/23569832.html?ticket=ST-1471914-4bLnzW10tLG1ca7PcUH9-ap4> [accessed: 5.03.2021].

<sup>30</sup> 'Schröder unterstützt Entlassung Günzels', *Spiegel Online*, 6.11.2003, <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fall-hohmann-schroeder-unterstuetzt-entlassung-guenzels-a-272832.html> [accessed: 9.03.2021].

<sup>31</sup> *Bundestag befasste sich abschließend mit dem Wehrbericht*, <https://www.bundestag.de/verteidigung> [accessed: 24.11.2020].

security and foreign policy. The CDU highlighted that one of the Bundeswehr's tasks was to support the police and other services in strengthening internal security, e.g. in the event of a terrorist threat or catastrophe. The CDU indicated that the Bundeswehr carried out tasks related to participation in military missions. In the 2007 program, the CDU also advocated keeping the army from conscription and the possibility of performing substitute service in civilian structures.<sup>32</sup> In the 2007 Hamburg Programme, the SPD postulated to strengthen the positive image of the Bundeswehr in the society. The SPD was a supporter of compulsory conscription to the army.<sup>33</sup> In the Karlsruhe Theses, the FDP spoke in favour of voluntary recruitment to the army and recommended that the Bundeswehr should be treated as "an indispensable instrument of German foreign policy."<sup>34</sup> The Left was opposed to the Bundeswehr's participation in expeditionary missions and is in favour of its gradual disarmament.<sup>35</sup> And the AfD postulated to strengthen the role of the Bundeswehr by returning to the compulsory recruitment. The party was against the creation of a European army.<sup>36</sup> In 2020, the Greens called for the conditionality of the Bundeswehr's involvement in expeditionary missions (collective action and compliance with the constitution) with the new basic program. They pointed out that the Bundeswehr is a parliamentary army. They advocated adherence to the principles of "internal leadership" and the enhancement of the image of a Bundeswehr soldier as a "citizen in uniform". They also pointed out that the social structure of the Bundeswehr reflected the diversity of the German population.<sup>37</sup>

## Defence Committee of the Bundestag

In Germany's strategic culture, the Bundeswehr has been presented as a "parliamentary army", operating on the basis of the "primacy of politics," and in accordance with democratic principles. There are a Committee on Foreign Affairs and a Defence Committee in the Bundestag. The Defence Committee is a "closed

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<sup>32</sup> *Freiheit und Sicherheit. Grundsätze für Deutschland*, CDU-Grundsatzprogramm, Hannover, 3.–4.12.2007, [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=5f72a0b2-5c95-01ad-092f-0039ff40c168&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=5f72a0b2-5c95-01ad-092f-0039ff40c168&groupId=252038) [accessed: 23.11.2020].

<sup>33</sup> *Hamburger Programm. Das Grundsatzprogramm der SPD*, <https://www.spd.de/partei/organisation/das-grundsatzprogramm> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

<sup>34</sup> *Verantwortung für die Freiheit. Karlsruher Freiheitsthesen der FDP für eine offene Bürgergesellschaft. Beschluss des 63. Ordentlichen Bundesparteitages der FDP*, Karlsruhe, 22.04.2012, <https://www.fdp.de/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/01/28/karlsruherfreiheitsthesen.pdf> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

<sup>35</sup> *Programm der Partei Die Linke. Beschluss des Parteitags der Partei Die Linke vom 21.–23.10.2011 in Erfurt*, <https://www.die-linke.de/partei/grundsatzdokumente/programm> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

<sup>36</sup> *Programm für Deutschland. Das Grundsatzprogramm der Alternative für Deutschland. Bundesparteitag in Stuttgart, 30. April bis 1. Mai 2016*, <https://www.afd.de/grundsatzprogramm> [accessed: 24.11.2020].

<sup>37</sup> *„...zu achten und zu schützen. Veränderung schafft halt“*, Grundsatzprogramm der Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, [https://cms.gruene.de/uploads/documents/20201124\\_vBeschluss\\_GSP.pdf](https://cms.gruene.de/uploads/documents/20201124_vBeschluss_GSP.pdf) [accessed: 26.11.2020].

committee”, as many of the topics discussed by parliamentarians allow only the president of the Bundestag, the chairmen of the factions, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces, the representatives of ministries or federal states, or persons approved by the secretariat of the Committee to be additionally present at the meetings regarding defence issues.<sup>38</sup> The Defence Committee stressed that it was not only the “Bundeswehr Committee” but that it also carried out many tasks related to the international security policy. The areas of activity of the committees from 2005 to 2009 included making decisions on the functioning within NATO and the EU, expeditionary missions, work on the 2006 White Paper, transformation and equipping the army. The Committee dealt with the relationship between the military and the world of economy and business. Traditionally, the duties of the Defence Committee included work on the budget for the military, approving reports presented by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces, conceptualizing internal leadership, and the role of the army in society.<sup>39</sup>

In the years 2009–2013, the Defence Committee, apart from its typical functions, carried out a variety of activities geared towards launching projects to reform the army, consisting in changing the organisational structure and resigning from the conscript-based army. As a result of the reform, the service time was reduced to six months. The change of the Bundeswehr’s course was based on the ideas of rejuvenating and reducing the staff. The reform intensified discussions about the personnel policy in the army, also with regard to soldiers with a migrant background (26%).<sup>40</sup> The 2016 White Paper indicated that the Bundeswehr’s goals were to support the integration of diversity and to build a personnel policy based on the principles of equal opportunities, diversity, and inclusiveness. The document states that the structure of the Bundeswehr reflects the diversity of German society. The model of openness and employing representatives of various religions and nationalities in the Bundeswehr was implemented as well.<sup>41</sup> The concept of the Bundeswehr’s development contained in the White Paper goes down to providing instruments for exercising a leadership role in NATO and the EU. According to the document, leadership requires the flow of information and the principle to respect the need to share it. Education comes down to developing analytical competences, improving assessment and leadership skills. The activity emphasised the importance of the concept of strengthening partners, which was used during expeditionary missions in Africa.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Verteidigungsausschuss. Bilanz der 15. Periode*, p. 2, <http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/cgi/show.php?fileToLoad=1254&id=1134> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>39</sup> *Bilanz der Arbeit des Verteidigungsausschusses in der 16. Wahlperiode*, [https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/190816/12ddc6acf87b3e0f5d6860e2fb68541c/bilanz\\_verteidigungsausschuss\\_16wp-data.pdf](https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/190816/12ddc6acf87b3e0f5d6860e2fb68541c/bilanz_verteidigungsausschuss_16wp-data.pdf) [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>40</sup> M. Müller, ‘Bundeswehr will Anteil der Migranten erhöhen’, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.07.2016.

<sup>41</sup> *Bilanz der Arbeit des Verteidigungsausschusses in der 17 Wahlperiode*, p. 4, <https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/542636/9d1ae2569ee9838b9e23e7327577f9a5/Bilanz-17-Wp-data.pdf> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>42</sup> *Ertüchtigung – mit Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe zum Erfolg*, 20.11.2019, <https://www.bmvg.de/de/themen/friedenssicherung/ertuechtigung> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

Table 3. Bundeswehr operating model

Leadership	Education
Operation	Support

Source: *Das Weissbuch 2016*, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975292/736102/64781348c12e4a80948ab1bdf25cf057/weissbuch-zur-sicherheitspolitik-2016-download-data.pdf> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

From 2013 to 2017, the work of the Defence Committees focused on decisions regarding involvement in missions abroad, e.g. in Afghanistan, and in the Middle East. Decisions were taken on the role of the Bundeswehr in providing humanitarian aid, e.g. in relation to overcoming the Ebola pandemic. The Defence Committee initiated discussions on the role of the army in the context of the migratory crisis in the Mediterranean, such as participation in the Operation Sophia.

The White Paper highlighted the fact that the Bundeswehr should perform the tasks of a “trusted partner” under Article 35 and Article 87a (3) of the Basic Law. The activity of the Bundeswehr, therefore, concerns the following situations:

1. Legal and official assistance in cases of natural disasters or particularly serious unfortunate events;
2. The occurrence of a state of defence and a state of tension. Then, “the Armed Forces shall have the power to protect civilian property and to perform traffic control functions to the extent necessary to accomplish their defence mission.” Moreover, in the event of a state of defence or a state of tension, the armed forces may be entrusted with the protection of civilian facilities also as part of supporting the activities of the police; the armed forces cooperate with the competent authorities.<sup>43</sup>

An important aspect of the 2016 White Paper was also its mention of the importance of continuing armaments based on the principles of flexibility, efficiency, transparency, and modernity. Modern management of the arms policy and the implementation of the Agenda for Arms were to be carried out through international cooperation, innovation and support for national key technologies. The Germans supported the implementation of multinational armaments projects and indicated that they were ready to assume the role of a leader in such initiatives. They pointed to the need to develop projects related to the use of cyberspace and networking.<sup>44</sup>

The Defence Committee worked on Act to increase the attractiveness of service in the Bundeswehr (“Gesetz zur Steigerung der Attraktivität des Dienstes in der Bundeswehr”), which was passed on 13 May 2015. The activities aimed at improving the image of the Bundeswehr also concerned the establishment of the Bundeswehr Day, and honoring soldiers who died in missions. The debates concerned financial outlays for the military and modernisation of the army’s equipment, including the use of drones. The travel plans of representatives of the Defence

<sup>43</sup> Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany..., *op. cit.*

<sup>44</sup> *Das Weissbuch 2016*, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975292/736102/64781348c12e4a80948ab1bdf25cf057/weissbuch-zur-sicherheitspolitik-2016-download-data.pdf> [accessed: 23.11.2020].

Committee were disrupted due to tense relations with Turkey. In May 2017, the Committee planned, as part of the usual visits to soldiers serving on missions, to go to the military base in Incirlik, but due to the negative reactions and the disagreement with the Turkish state, the visit did not take place.<sup>45</sup> In 2017, the work of the parliamentary committee was also dominated by issues related to military involvement outside Germany. In addition, in November 2017, the Left initiated discussions against the “militarisation of the EU” and the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) project.<sup>46</sup> The Left also opted against respecting the provisions of the NATO Summit in Newport on the obligation to participate in pooling and sharing.<sup>47</sup> Based on the review of the topics of the Bundestag sessions in November 2020, the following areas of the committee’s work can be identified:

1. On 18 November 2020, attention was drawn to the need to commemorate 114 soldiers who had died during their mission since 1993;
2. On 19 November 2020, the Parliamentary Commissioners for the Armed Forces reported on the implementation of the 2019 report, and representatives of political parties (Beranger Eisner von Gronow (AfD), Eberchard Brecht (SPD), Marie Agnes Strack Zimmermann (FDP), Christine Buchholz (The Left), Tobias Lindner (the Greens), Kerstin Vieregge (CDU/CSU), Reinhard Brandl (CDU/CSU)) referred to the problems and the role of the military during the pandemic highlighted in the report;
3. On 20 November 2020, the first reading of the AfD’s application was held to restore military service obligations and shape the image of Bundeswehr soldiers as “citizens in uniform” (“Bürger in Uniform”). Rüdiger Lucassen of the AfD called the resignation from the conscription army a “fundamental mistake”, but the proposal was critically received by representatives of other groups. Tobias Pflüger (the Left) warned against the “militarization of society,” and Agnieszka Brugger (the Greens) argued that the introduction of compulsory military service would not solve the problem of right-wing extremism in the army in any major way.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Bilanz der Arbeit des Verteidigungsausschusses 18. Wahlperiode*, <https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/542642/9d5cde8f612a7953f4decf02b101453f/Bilanz-18-Wp-data.pdf> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>46</sup> Antrag der Abgeordneten Andrej Hunko, Heike Hänsel, Michel Brandt, weiterer Abgeordneter und der Fraktion Die Linke zu der Unterrichtung zur Ständigen Strukturierten Zusammenarbeit (PESCO) – EUDok 407/2017 – hier: Stellungnahme des Bundestages nach Artikel 23 Absatz 3 des Grundgesetzes – Militarisierung der EU benden – Einrichtung der Ständigen Strukturierten Zusammenarbeit stoppen, Drucksache 19/82, 19. Wahlperiode, 20.11.2017, <https://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btp/19/19002.pdf> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>47</sup> Antrag der Abgeordneten Heike Hänsel, Michel Brandt, Christine Buchholz, Sevim Dağdelen, Dr. Gregor Gysi, Matthias Höhn, Andrej Hunko, Stefan Liebich, Zaklin Nastic, Dr. Alexander S. Neu, Thomas Nord, Tobias Pflüger, Eva-Maria Elisabeth Schreiber, Helin Evrim Sommer, Alexander Ulrich, Kathrin Vogler und der Fraktion DIE LINKE. Zwei-Prozent-Rüstungsziel der NATO ablehnen, Drucksache 19/445, 19. Wahlperiode, 16.01.2018, <https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/004/1900445.pdf> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>48</sup> *AfD will die Wehrpflicht wieder einführen*, 20.11.2020, <https://www.bundestag.de/verteidigung#url=L2Rva3VtZW50ZS90ZXh0YXJjaGl2LzlwMjAva3c0Ny1kZS13ZWZwhycGZsaWNodC04MDQyNTQ=&mod=mod539928> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

## Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces has been the intermediary between the Bundeswehr and the nation. The Swedish model has been used in the conceptualisation of his role as an attorney, and his function concerns the fulfilment of the role of “soldiers’ official.” So far, the Parliamentary Commissioners for the Armed Forces in the Bundestag have been: Helmut Otto von Grolman (1959–1961), Hellmut Guido Heye (1961–1964), Matthias Hoogen (1964–1970), Fritz-Rudolf Schultz (1970–1975), Karl Wilhelm Berkhan (1975–1985), Willi Weiskirch (1985–1990), Alfred Biehle (1990–1995), Claire Marienfeld-Czesla (1995–2000), Willfried Penner (2000–2005), Reinhold Robbe (2005–2010), Hellmut Königshaus (2010–2015), Hans-Peter Bartels (2015–2020), Eva Högl (2020–).<sup>49</sup>

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces acts under the Act of 1957, which supplements the information on the role of an official contained in Article 45b of the Basic Law.<sup>50</sup> According to the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces “shall be appointed to safeguard basic rights and to assist the Bundestag in exercising parliamentary oversight. Details shall be regulated by a federal law”.<sup>51</sup> The task of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces was to contribute to creating a positive image of the Bundeswehr in the society. To this end, he/she prepares reports annually (*Jahresbericht*), which are then submitted to the Bundestag. The announcement of a report also becomes a media event that is largely commented upon. Both the production of annual reports and other reports that the representative of the armed forces prepares for the needs of the Bundestag or the Federal Minister of Defence are treated as reporting obligations (cf. Article 2 of of the Act on the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces). The Bundestag and the Defence Committee have the right to require the presence of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces, and the seat of the Commissioner is the Bundestag. The official duties of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces also include acting as an intermediary between the Bundeswehr and the society by visiting the army in the country, and on missions abroad. The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces is to present the interests of soldiers in many aspects relating to social and economic matters. The subject of the reports presented by the Commissioner at the Bundestag forum and the public are the matters of the material situation of soldiers, their working conditions, the possibility of contacting their families, or access to spiritual care during their service. One of the prerogatives of the representative for the armed forces is also the authorisation to issue orders, which, however, do not have the force of an order. The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces

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<sup>49</sup> R.J. Schlaffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 346–351; ‘Die Wehrbeauftragten seit 1959’, <https://www.bundestag.de/parlament/wehrbeauftragter/amtstraeger> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>50</sup> Gesetz über den Wehrbeauftragten des Deutschen Bundestages (Gesetz zu Artikel 45b des Grundgesetzes – WBeauftrG), <https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/wehrbbtg/BJNR006520957.html> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>51</sup> Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany..., Section 45b.

is referred to as a “petition authority” and is brought in by soldiers and/or their family members for problem-solving interventions.<sup>52</sup>

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces, analysing the functioning of the Bundeswehr, checks the implementation of the concept of internal leadership in the Bundeswehr. Despite emphasising the role of a positive image of the military, the media have reported several scandals. Some of the most famous scandals occurred during the tenure of H.G. Heye, who gained popularity as a navy officer and CDU security expert. The politician warned that the Bundeswehr was aiming to become a “state within the state” and was seen as a representative of the reformist wing that stood against the conservative line of the German generals. In 1963, there was a scandal at Company 6/9 in Nagold, Baden-Württemberg, where recruits were harassed by their superiors. Such misdemeanours and crimes indicated failures of the concept of internal leadership, and major problems within the military as a whole.<sup>53</sup> In the summer of 1964, the politician published three articles in Munich magazine *Quick* (entitled: ‘Concerned about the Bundeswehr’),<sup>54</sup> where he spoke about the crisis of the concept of internal leadership in the army. His articles aroused controversy as he moved the debating arena from the Bundestag to the press. Heye resigned in 1964, the official reasons given being those related to his poor health.<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusions

Since 1955, the Bundeswehr has been adjusting its potential and tasks to the internal and international situation, and its functioning has been subjected to parliamentary control. In the manifestos of political parties and strategic defence documents, the role of the Bundeswehr as an army prepared to respond to crisis and conflict situations has been presented on numerous occasions, based on the concept of an internal leader, which promoted the image of soldiers as the “citizens in uniform,” and those who work in the army as a service. The functioning of the Bundeswehr has been the subject of the work of the Defence Committee and the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces, known as the “officer of the soldiers.” A breakthrough in the functioning of the Bundeswehr was the reunification of Germany and the collapse of the Iron Curtain. The transformation of the Bundeswehr began, and transatlantic cooperation continued. The activity of the Bundeswehr resulted from the commitments made as part of bilateral alliances and cooperation in international organizations (NATO, UN, European Union). Concept documents of the Ministry of Defence and parliamentary activity indicated the need to modernize

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<sup>52</sup> K. Gleumes, *Der Wehrbeauftragte. Hilfsorgan des Bundestages bei der Ausübung der parlamentarischen Kontrolle*, Berlin 2005, p. 16 and 17, <http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/cgi/show.php?fileToLoad=104&id=1040>, [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>53</sup> ‘Tiefste Gangart’, *Der Spiegel*, No. 46, 12.11.1963, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46172730.html> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>54</sup> ‘Salven in der Luft’, *Der Spiegel*, No. 27, 1.07.1964, <https://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/46174062> [accessed: 20.11.2020].

<sup>55</sup> R.J. Schlaffer, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

the army, adapt it to new challenges in terms of guaranteeing security and respond to social changes (e.g. the process of increasing the participation of women in the army). The military potential of the Bundeswehr is changing: the number of soldiers in the army is decreasing, various measures are being taken to modernise the army, but there are also ongoing debates about several reports pointing to the shortcomings regarding the level of weapons. The reforms undertaken are linked to political and economic initiatives undertaken on the international arena. The functioning of the Bundeswehr requires a number of coordinated actions in which the legislature, including the Bundestag's Defence Committee, plays a major role.

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## *Bundeswehra jako armia parlamentarna* *Streszczenie*

Artykuł omawia rolę Bundeswehry jako armii parlamentarnej i koncepcję wewnętrznego przywództwa w armii. Zwrócono uwagę na funkcje komisji ds. obrony w kontroli funkcjonowania Bundeswehry oraz szczególną rolę pełnomocnika ds. sił zbrojnych, która została określona w ustawie zasadniczej i uchwalonej w 1957 r. ustawie o pełnomocniku sił zbrojnych niemieckiego Bundestagu. Specyficzna rola Bundeswehry wynikała z kultury strategicznej Republiki Federalnej Niemiec, która po II wojnie światowej miała na celu poprawę wizerunku niemieckiej armii. Wraz z końcem zimnej wojny i zjednoczeniem Niemiec rola Bundeswehry została zmodyfikowana i polegała na przejmowaniu odpowiedzialności w ramach współpracy kolektywnej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Bundeswehra, koncepcja wewnętrznego przywództwa, armia parlamentarna

## *The Bundeswehr: a Parliamentary Army* *Abstract*

The paper discusses the role of the Bundeswehr as a parliamentary army, and the concept of internal leadership within the army. Emphasis has been put on the various functions of the defence committee in controlling the functioning of the Bundeswehr, and the special role of the plenipotentiary for the armed forces, as laid down in the Constitution, and the 1957 Act on the Plenipotentiary of the Armed Forces of the German Bundestag. The specific role of the Bundeswehr stems from the strategic culture of the Federal Republic of Germany, which, after World War II, was aimed at improving the image of the German army. With the end of the Cold War and the reunification of Germany, the role of the Bundeswehr was modified and rested more heavily on the notion of taking more responsibility in the framework of collective cooperation.

**Key words:** Bundeswehr, internal leadership, parliamentary army

## *Die Bundeswehr – eine Parlamentsarmee* *Zusammenfassung*

Der Artikel diskutiert die Rolle der Bundeswehr als Parlamentsarmee und das Konzept der Inneren Führung. Es wurde auf die Rolle des Verteidigungsausschusses bei der Kontrolle der Funktionsweise der Bundeswehr und die besondere Rolle des Wehrbeauftragten des Deutschen Bundestages hingewiesen, die im Grundgesetz und im Gesetz über den Wehrbeauftragten des Deutschen Bundestages, das im 1957 verabschiedet wurde, festgelegt ist. Die besondere Rolle der Bundeswehr ergab sich aus der strategischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg darauf abzielte, das Image der deutschen Armee zu verbessern. Mit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges und der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands wurde die Rolle der Bundeswehr geändert und bestand darin, Verantwortung im Rahmen der kollektiven Zusammenarbeit zu übernehmen.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Bundeswehr, Konzept der Inneren Führung, Parlamentsarmee

## *Бундесвер как парламентская армия*

### *Резюме*

В статье рассмотрена роль Бундесвера как парламентской армии и концепция внутреннего руководства в армии. Было уделено внимание функциям Комитета по делам обороны, контроля функционирования Бундесвера и особой роли уполномоченного по вооруженным силам. Эта роль отмечена в Основном законе государства и в принятом в 1957 году законе «Об уполномоченном по вооруженным силам». Специфическая роль Бундесвера была обусловлена стратегической культурой Федеративной Республики Германии, которая после Второй мировой войны сосредоточилась на улучшение имиджа немецкой армии. С окончанием холодной войны и воссоединением Германии роль Бундесвера изменилась и ныне заключается в том, чтобы нести ответственность в рамках коллективного сотрудничества.

**Ключевые слова:** Бундесвер, концепция внутреннего лидерства, парламентская армия