Defense Diplomacy as a Research Problem. Current State of Research in Poland

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ABSTRACT:
The article analyzes research issues raised in publications on diplomacy, published after 2014 on the Polish publishing market. Particular attention was paid to the issue of defense diplomacy. In the first part of the article, seven monographs on diplomacy were analyzed in terms of their content, in search of issues related to defense diplomacy. However, the second part of the article analyzes the content of the only publication available on the Polish publishing market, entirely devoted to defense diplomacy, showing its strengths, weaknesses and its practical usefulness.

KEYWORDS:
defense diplomacy, security, Poland, state security, research, R&D
Introduction

The purpose of this article is to analyze the problems of publications on diplomacy and defense diplomacy available on the Polish publishing market. Due to the small number of works on this subject, I analyzed what diplomacy research issues draw the interest of researchers and to what extent they do so. A modest set of scientific publications on diplomacy prompts a review of the literature on the subject.

Literature Review and Methodology

The paper analyzes publications on diplomacy available on the Polish publishing market, in particular works published in the second decade of the 21st century, as well as archival documents addressing the issues of defense diplomacy and Poland’s security. The search reveals that the Polish market lacks a comprehensive study of the analyzed issue. There are a few monographs on diplomacy, but they address the problem mainly by references to institutions. These works include Henry Kissinger’s *Diplomacy* published in 2016¹, *Dyplomacja od podstaw w opowieściach ekspertów* by Maria Pierzchała, published in 2016², *Dyplomacja publiczna Unii Europejskiej* by Marta Ryniewska-Kiełdanowicz, published in 2019³, *Dyplomacja europejska wobec wyzwań XX i XXI wieku* edited by Elżbieta Alabruzińska⁴, Dyplomacja prewencyjna Unii Europejskiej w poźmnowojennej Europie by Magdalena Macioszek, published twice – in 2003 and 2016⁵, as well as *Historia, polityka, dyplomacja. Blogosfera MSZ*⁶, published in 2014, and *Dyplomacja i stosunki międzynarodowe. Zarys wykładów* by Przemysław Łukasik, published in 2016⁷. Notably, in publications addressing Poland’s defense, military and security, issues of diplomacy were either omitted or discussed laconically.

In the present considerations, the author applied first of all the method of analyzing the content of publications, and comparative analysis of the issues covered by papers on diplomacy was carried out.

Results and Discussion

Content Analysis of Selected Publications (Results)

*Diplomacy*, the monumental monograph by American politician and diplomat Henry Kissinger, Professor of Political Science at Harvard University, was published in English in 1994. In Poland, it was first published in 1996 and then in 2016. The work has been reprinted several times and translated into many languages. Kissinger’s experience as sec-

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² Pierzchała, M. *Dyplomacja od podstaw w opowieściach ekspertów*. Toruń, 2016.
The author discussed various forms of politics and diplomacy, including universalism, balance politics, realpolitik, and pre-WWI and pre-WWII politics. He also highlighted the specifics of American politics during the Vietnam conflict and the Cold War. He expended subjects related to the diplomatic actions taken by the cabinets of historical leaders such as Napoleon III, Otto von Bismarck, Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, Konrad Adenauer, Nikita Khrushchev, Charles de Gaulle, and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as by U.S. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Dwight Eisenhower, Harry Truman, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan. He gave an exhaustive account of the evolution of the politics of the important individuals who molded international relations, and outlined his vision of the world for years to come. Against the background of the clash of ideas and interests, he attempted to explain why the two world wars and many regional conflicts had broken out. Although the monograph is subjective in nature, as it clearly presents the author’s views (aversion to idealism, as well as advocating self-interest, i.e. calculating the profits and losses of individual political actions and inactions), it may be considered a compendium of knowledge about the history of diplomatic relations and their evolution. The issues of defense diplomacy have been skillfully embedded into the historical context.

In the publication Dyplomacja od podstaw w opowieściach ekspertów, Maria Pierzchała presents contemporary diplomacy. She locates it in the area of political science, defines its essence, and characterizes it as a professional path in Poland, distinguishing between the roles of diplomat and consul. The author discusses the problems of working in an embassy as well as the role of public and social diplomacy, supporting the theory with interviews with practitioners and examples from their public service, then emphasizes the practical aspect of diplomacy, and analyzes the fundamentals of diplomatic protocol and etiquette, and international diplomatic protocol by the example of the European Parliament, and embeds diplomacy in various manifestations of everyday life and savoir-vivre. Maria Pierchała also supplements this content with interviews with experts, but omits issues of defense diplomacy.

Marta Ryniewska-Kiełdanowicz’s monograph Dyplomacja publiczna Unii Europejskiej characterizes contemporary diplomacy from the EU decision-making perspective. She presents the issues of public diplomacy in the context of international relations (public relations), foreign policy, and research paradigms in international relations, shows the European Union as a specific subject of public diplomacy, in the light of the dual nature of public diplomacy, integration theory, European identity and reflections on the power of the Union and the roles it plays in the world.

The author draws an external picture of the Union, providing examples of public diplomacy both in the form of treaties and policies and instruments used in everyday work and in crisis situations, as well as in scientific diplomacy. She discusses information policy, mainly its modern forms, as well as cultural diplomacy, which is considered a pillar of EU public diplomacy. In addition to the concept of cultural diplomacy, she broadly presents
the EU documents and activities in this field, as well as culture-supporting programmes. The subject of defense diplomacy is not discussed in this monograph as well.

*Dyplomacja prewencyjna Unii Europejskiej w pożarno-wojennej Europie* by Magdalena Macioszek also addresses the issue of the European Union. This paper, however, presents EU diplomacy in a different context than the monograph by Marta Ryniewska-Kiełdanowicz. Macioszek analyzes preventive diplomacy in legal and organizational aspects as well as in international and internal EU contexts. She discusses the basic elements of defense diplomacy from the angle of using non-military and military instruments and cooperation with European security institutions. The author includes elements of defense diplomacy in relation to diplomatic activities of the Union towards countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States, South-Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean basin. This is one of the few publications that address the issue of contemporary defense diplomacy.

The monograph *Dyplomacja europejska wobec wyzwań XX i XXI wieku* edited by Elżbieta Alabrudzińska presents European diplomacy through the prism of political, social and economic challenges it faces, and covers both historical and contemporary perspectives. Issues such as the post-WWI rights of the Jewish minority, interwar human trafficking, dispute resolution, respect for human rights, national branding, sovereignty, diplomacy of European Union states in the face of the 2014 Ukrainian-Russian crisis, and selected aspects of the diplomacy of Denmark, France, and Poland are discussed in detail. In this publication, the issue of defense diplomacy is addressed in the sections relating to historical topics.

The paper *Historia, polityka, dyplomacja. Blogosfera MSZ* consists of blogs written by diplomats, and as such, it is unique by form. The diplomats’ opinions, thoughts and comments mostly concern contemporary political issues. However, the issue of defense diplomacy is presented only marginally in this publication.

The last of the analyzed monographs, *Dyplomacja i stosunki międzynarodowe. Zarys wykładów* by Przemysław Łukasik, may be considered a textbook due to the logic of argumentation and a list of sample repetition issues. The author presents the development of diplomatic forms and international relations in antiquity – in Asia, the Middle East, Greece, and Rome, then in the Middle Ages, and in modern times, including Poland’s diplomacy, as well as in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. The author focuses on such issues as international relations, international order, international law, ranks, privileges and duties of diplomats, state bodies in foreign relations on the example of the Republic of Poland and Poland’s foreign policy in the years 1989-2014. He presents the issue of diplomacy in a broad context; in association with the actions of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the processes of globalization, integration in the European Union and terrorism. As in the publications already discussed, the issue of defense diplomacy was addressed marginally.

Discussion and analysis results of a monograph entirely focused on defense diplomacy

In his paper *Dyplomacja obronna w procesie kształtowania bezpieczeństwa RP*, Lech Drab considers the role of defense diplomacy in determining and conducting Poland’s security policy. This topic is of great scientific and practical importance. Since the concept of de-
Defense diplomacy is relatively poorly recognized by academics and modestly reflected in the available literature, including the achievements of the Polish segment of security sciences, the author’s effort exhibits a great extent of pioneering qualities.

Research on the role of defense diplomacy in shaping and executing Poland’s security policy, so important for the security sciences, has not yet been prepared as a monograph. Therefore, the author made extensive use of foreign literature, mainly of English, French and German origin. As he noted, the research ought to facilitate the understanding of the importance of defense diplomacy in shaping and executing the security policy of the Republic of Poland. In turn, the results of the analyses may be used for the needs of the defense ministry organization responsible for international cooperation, as well as for adapting the legal basis to enable the performance of tasks in changing security conditions.

The author characterized defense diplomacy as a specialized instrument of state foreign policy (concerning international military relations), permanently embedded in the system of national security and international cooperation. He indicated that the scope of defense diplomacy is not limited to niche areas of diplomacy or a narrow, “branch” specialization of people performing related tasks.

Semantically, the term “defense diplomacy” is broader than the commonly used term “military diplomacy.” The former incorporates the objectives and tasks of the latter and extends their scope to include issues related to crisis prevention, defense dialogue, development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation (within international organizations), and use of armed forces in international missions and operations. It is oriented towards strengthening transparency of mutual actions of states and inspiring trust, so it emphasizes preventive tasks. According to the author, the intensification and diversification of security threats observed following the end of the Cold War, as well as the related needs for crisis prevention and crisis management, enable attaching great importance to defense diplomacy in contemporary international relations.

Poland’s defense diplomacy, as Lech Drab points out, covers many areas wherein it performs tasks related to ensuring the security of Poland. By co-creating security, it does not, however, independently create an external state defense policy, but constitutes a kind of a set of tools for the minister of national defense, thus allowing them to perform their statutory tasks and for constitutional cooperation with the minister of foreign affairs. The author argues that Poland’s defense diplomacy serves to build trust and perform the state tasks in order to prevent conflicts, including the peaceful use of armed forces in international missions and operations, as well as undertakings falling under international military cooperation. Such use of military personnel is to enable the building of stable and predictable relations in international defense cooperation.

The monograph presents the importance of military diplomacy for the overall security policy of the Republic of Poland in two aspects: the evolution of military diplomacy understood as a tool, and its role in the process of shaping and conducting national security policy. The author considered both historical references of issues related to defense diplomacy, as well as its contemporary dimensions and dilemmas. Undoubtedly, the conclusions containing useful indications for state actions, which should serve a better understanding of the role and importance of defense diplomacy in shaping and implementing
Poland’s security policy, constitute an asset of the monograph. In the author’s opinion, they may be used in improving the structure responsible for international cooperation in the ministry of national defense and in the preparation of legal bases that allow the performance of tasks under Poland’s military diplomacy.

The monograph includes a foreword by Robert Kupiecki (Ambassador of Poland to Washington in the years 2008-2012 and Deputy Minister of Defense in the years 2012-2015), the introduction part, five substantive chapters, the conclusion part, a list of abbreviations, and references (law sources, compact publications, articles, studies, websites), as well as appendices containing the organizational structures of the ministries of defense of selected countries responsible for coordinating and performing tasks related to defense diplomacy.

In the first chapter, the author analyzed the development of defense diplomacy in chronological order, and then discussed its role and importance in Poland’s foreign and security policies. He reviewed the instrumentarium of defense diplomacy in a historical perspective. He emphasized the special role of the armed forces as an instrument of defense diplomacy in establishing a state security policy. Valuably, he made a successful attempt to define Poland’s military diplomacy. He indicated that it is a multifaceted international peaceful activity based on dialogue and cooperation, in bilateral and multilateral cooperation and under international security organizations by the Ministry of Defense and its subordinate institutions, as well as the Polish Armed Forces with allies, partners and other friendly states in order to support the implementation and achievement of Poland’s foreign and security policy objectives. Moreover, he drew attention to the executive and creative role of defense diplomacy and the armed forces as a unique instrument of defense diplomacy.

The second chapter addresses the post-1918 evolution of Poland’s defense diplomacy, including the determinants of change and its outcomes. The author presented the tasks of diplomacy in the period of the Polish People’s Republic, and analyzed the concept of Poland’s post-1989 defense diplomacy and its activity in international organizations such as NATO, the European Union, the OSCE, and the United Nations. He emphasized the element of continuity and change in the studied phenomenon.

In the third chapter, the author endeavored to identify a universal model of defense diplomacy. To this end, he presented the tasks, organization and role of defense diplomacy of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, and, against their background, synthesized and analyzed Polish solutions. Assumedly, the choice of national case studies as the basis for research was justified by the tradition and wide scope of activity of the defense diplomacy of the said states. The solutions adopted by them influenced the organizational decisions of other states. The author’s exploration shows, however, that the specificity of a given state, its financial capabilities, scientific and defense potential, size and quality of the armed forces, security environment (including location and relations with neighbors), territory, alliances, ambitions and soft power thwart attempts to define a universal model of defense diplomacy.

8 Drab, L. Dyplomacja obronna w procesie kształtowania bezpieczeństwa RP. Warsaw, 2018, p. 31.
The author pointed out the similarities and differences in the approach of individual states to defense diplomacy, as well as the tools it uses. He drew attention to such issues as the role and networks of allies and partners, preventive measures as early response in the diplomatic, military, economic, financial, legal and cultural spheres, and activity in the form of military presence in regions, the creation of regional centers for security studies, cooperation in civil and military education, developing a network of attachés, organizing joint conferences, partnership agreements, joint exercises, and peacekeeping operations, top-level visits, cooperation in supplying equipment and weaponry, and defense industry cooperation. Such an approach to the subject has not yet been presented in the Polish literature.

The fourth chapter of the monograph addresses Poland’s military diplomacy, thus its objectives and priority directions of engagement, the legal basis for the activities of military diplomacy and decision-making centers, the main instruments of performing tasks, as well as the implementation and conceptual role of military diplomacy. The author indicated the factors conditioning the performance of tasks by military diplomats, on the basis of existing normative documents of the Ministry of Defense concerning broad-sense international cooperation. He also presented the legal basis for action, decision-making process, and forms of current operation of Poland’s defense diplomacy.

According to Lech Drab, the changing security situation in the world requires searching for new forms of military cooperation and taking joint actions in security organizations to ensure peace and prevent the emergence of an array of crisis situations. Both civilian and military diplomats, as well as the Polish Armed Forces, must be prepared for this kind of activity.

In the fifth chapter, applying an analysis and diagnosis of the state of Poland’s military diplomacy, the author presented its limitations and actual influence on shaping and conducting the state security policy, as well as possible directions of changes. He indicated seven reforms and changes that would allow for the creation of an optimal organizational model of Poland’s defense diplomacy. He drew attention to streamlining the process of planning and executing tasks in international cooperation, adapting legal and administrative regulations, ordering the organizational structure and streamlining information exchange, preparing officers and civilian employees of the Ministry of Defense well for performing diplomatic tasks, and improving mechanisms for indicating tasks to be performed, providing information and reporting. In addition, it postulates the inclusion of military education in the tasks performed as part of Poland’s defense diplomacy and the promotion and support of the Polish defense industry. At the end of the 5th chapter, similarly to the closings of the previous ones, generalizations and conclusions are presented, which favors content perception.

In the conclusions, the author tries to answer the question whether the activity of Poland’s defense diplomacy and its tasks coincide with the tasks of other countries’ defense diplomacies. He formulates conclusions and determines the possibilities, scope and manners of their practical application.

The paper is concluded with a bibliography of over 300 items, including published documents; white papers on national security, decisions of the minister of national defense,
instructions for military attachés, as well as international and domestic legal acts. Domestic publications largely concern one of the significant instruments of defense diplomacy – attachés, as well as the beginnings of Poland’s military diplomacy. The author selected foreign literature publications on the role and significance of defense diplomacy in shaping international security; they were published by scholars from Western Europe, North America, Asia, and the Republic of South Africa. In the author’s opinion, the “British school” dominates in Western Europe, as most publications concern the priority areas and instruments of defense diplomacy applied by the British.

Conclusions

The analysis of publications on defense diplomacy available on the Polish publishing market reveals that there is no monograph on this type of diplomacy. Most works address broad-sense diplomacy and discuss the topic either from a historical perspective (from antiquity onwards), or from a contemporary perspective, with an emphasis on organizational and institutional issues. There are also studies of politicians who have influenced international relations, and records of diplomats.

Defense diplomacy is an issue poorly penetrated in terms of science, so it may become a scientific challenge. The key publication is the monograph *Dyplomacja obronna w procesie kształtowania bezpieczeństwa RP* by Lech Drab. The author refers to general papers on diplomacy, defines the concept of defense diplomacy, describes the mission and structure of defense diplomacy in Poland against the background of national security policy changes, as well as analyzes the characteristic features of defense diplomacy of the United States and selected European countries, in particular of Poland.

The publication ought to be deemed significant for the security sciences, as it is not only of scientific value, but is also useful in terms of state politics and vital interests. Suggestions for the application of a wide range of available instruments in defense diplomacy may aid improvement of the Ministry of Defense organization responsible for international cooperation, as well as adaptation of the legal bases for performance of tasks in changing security conditions and in a dynamic international security environment.

The issue of defense diplomacy has not yet received a monographic study in Poland. The author’s analysis shows that the foreign literature lacks comprehensive studies addressing defense diplomacy.
SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

dyplomacja obronna, bezpieczeństwo, Polska, bezpieczeństwo państwa, badania naukowe

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Author’s bio: PhD in economics. She was an intern at the World Bank (2004) and scholarship holder of the universities in Manchester, London and Rome. Interested in economic and social security issues as well as international aspects of political economy and security. The author of the books: ‘Polityka edukacyjna Banku Światowego’ (2007) and ‘Bank Światowy – działalność pożyczkowa’ (2010), as well as many articles and chapters of the books and handbooks.