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Defence Diplomacy of Selected States: Searching for a Universal Model of Defence Diplomacy

Abstract: Defence diplomacy is increasingly important in modern states' foreign and security policies. The ever-expanding circle of issues of interest fosters the strengthening of the role and importance of defence diplomacy. Alongside the traditional areas of military cooperation based on dialogue and support, other areas of interaction serving international security are becoming more visible. Each state has a different set of instruments at its disposal, and they try to shape defence diplomacy in their own way, taking into account the specificities of their own national interests and the environments in which they operate. Despite their natural differences, there is a common understanding that defence diplomacy can enhance trust and transparency in international relations. Nevertheless, with all the similarities in states or international security organisations, it is not easy to talk about a universal model of defence diplomacy. The wide range of diplomatic instruments allows each state to select and adapt them to the specific situation and the conditions dictated by geopolitics or geo-economics in the relevant international policy areas.

Keywords: *defence diplomacy, bilateral cooperation, multilateral military cooperation*

Introduction

The importance of the instruments of defence diplomacy varies from state to state (Taylor et al., 2014). It is related to the size of the armed forces, defence and scientific potential, location, security situation, relations with neighbours and many other considerations. However, their similarities are apparent, such as regular diplomatic relations, the work of defence attachés, high-level visits, personal diplomacy or so-called strategic dialogues, which represent the highest level of trust in the course of its tasks. Another type of military cooperation, such as international staff or military exercises, test the ability to perform joint tasks and demonstrate the strength of the exercising parties, alliances, or interstate organisations.

The effective implementation of tasks within defence diplomacy and its activity, diverse and strongly determined by national factors, requires the possession of an appropriate organisational structure, a clear division of tasks between individual institutions within the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces, cooperation between different institutions in inter-ministerial relations, clear legal procedures enabling the implementation of the assumed goals, and financial security (Drab, 2018, pp. 40–72).

States with large defence capabilities and effective armed forces find it far easier to pursue their objectives in defence diplomacy. Having own large resources increases the spectrum of instruments available for defence diplomacy, whether in times of peace, crisis or conflict. Implementing defence diplomacy tasks by powers and states high on the ‘power curve’ could provide a model for others to follow. However, one is tempted to conclude that defence diplomacy carried out by medium and small states is relatively more important for their own foreign and security policy. It is precisely under conditions of power deficits and natural limitations in the instruments of international influence that their diplomatic activity, including defence diplomacy, becomes a key instrument in developing their situational awareness and appropriate behaviour in the external environment. Undoubtedly, the quality of diplomacy of small and medium states cannot make them superpowers, but it can significantly improve their position in the world (Kupiecki, 2016, pp. 31–48).

The case studies conducted on selected national defence diplomacy solutions are intended to indicate the similarities and dissimilarities of national practices in this field. As such, they should clarify the field of research, especially given the search for optimal solutions for this sector of diplomacy. By analysing the most important documents concerning the security of selected states, the author attempts to define the place and role of defence diplomacy in them. The areas of defence diplomacy and the instruments used in military bilateral and multilateral cooperation and within the framework of security organisations by the selected states also are analysed. Finally, in order to search for the most effective instruments possible for defence diplomacy and optimally realise state foreign and security policy objectives, the author tries to answer the question of whether there is a universal model of defence diplomacy and why countries indicate the specific activities in this cooperation.

United States of America Defence Diplomacy

According to Winger (2014, p. 10), “US defence diplomacy is the peaceful use of the armed forces, through activities such as officer exchanges or ship visits, and the promotion of international order in a country”. In Winger’s opinion, defence diplomacy is the most important military tool for managing external relations and state security. He considers the tasks carried out within its framework as belonging to the sphere of soft power, and the armed forces play the most important role in this respect in their peaceful functions. It is difficult not to agree with Winger’s assessment that the armed forces are the most important instrument of US defence diplomacy. As a superpower, the US not only plays a central role in

shaping security in all regions of the world but is also a leading member of various regional structures of broadly defined security such as NATO, OSCE, ANZUS, or OAS (Organization of American States in America).

The United States maintains formal security and defence alliance relationships and ties in Europe, through NATO, in the Asia-Pacific region in cooperation with Japan and South Korea, or Taiwan, in the Oceania region in alliance with Australia, and by maintaining military bases in various regions of the world. The regional commands of the US Armed Forces cover Europe and Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific, and North and South America, maintaining bilateral and multilateral military relations with countries located in these regions (Willard, 2006, pp. 44–55).

The US, through its global military presence, has developed international military cooperation and established a chain of regional security research centres in the regions (George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, African Center for Strategic Studies, Near East Center for Strategic Studies), which not only conduct regional security analysis but are also significant training centres for military and civilian personnel of friendly countries (Bailes & Cottey, 2006). They also provide a regular forum for defence dialogue. In addition, the regional US Strategic Commands sponsor international military exercises and participate in missions abroad. Through their presence in the region in crises, they can also provide humanitarian support very quickly in natural disasters.

The current tasks for US defence diplomacy are set out in the 2020 United States Strategy to Prevent Conflict and Promote Stability. It indicates that one of the main priorities is to “maintain US leadership in global security and the current international order” (United States Strategy to Prevent Conflict and Promote Stability of 2020). Strengthening the global network of allies and partners is to be done through promoting and protecting common interests, expanding partnerships, conducting training and exercises, and cooperating in security and military relations. The vast majority of these tasks are to be carried out within the framework of defence diplomacy, using a variety of instruments applicable to the regions of US engagement (National Defense Strategy of the United States of America, 2018, pp. 4–10).

They see a large role in security assurance in preventive action (conflict prevention), closely linked to so-called preventive diplomacy, including security cooperation, deterrence, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping operations, anti-proliferation initiatives to deal with the illicit proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or assistance in defence of power or its post-conflict reconstruction. Washington assumes that prevention may require the use of force, but only in situations threatening the security of the United States, its allies or their interests.

In addition to the special role of the armed forces as an instrument of US defence diplomacy, the Strategy also emphasises the great importance of intelligence, which is treated as the ‘first line of defence’. The Strategy assumes that it must be skilfully integrated into the

defence system and legal order and coordinated with allies, particularly cooperation and information exchange within NATO (Minkina, 2008, pp. 126–135).

US policy emphasises that international partnerships pursued through defence diplomacy are essential to US strength. Defence attachés play a very important role in implementing the US National Military Strategy in the area of defence diplomacy. The service of defence attachés (Cragg et al., 1983) is coordinated and supervised by the Defense Attaché Office (DAO) located in the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). It recruits, qualifies and trains candidates in cooperation with selected Department of Defense (DoD) units and with the Army's generalship commands. More than 500 US military representatives are performing their duties in 140 countries. There are 7 general positions in the DAO structure: Moscow, Ankara, New Delhi, Tel Aviv, Beijing, Cairo, and London.

Another form of US defence diplomacy is the Offices of Defence Cooperation (ODC) operating in selected partner countries. These are located at US Embassies. For example, the Office of Defence Cooperation in Poland reports to the US Ambassador in Warsaw and the Commander-in-Chief of US Forces in Europe. The Office's main tasks are to support the implementation of security tasks, international arms cooperation, and the management of selected cooperation programmes between the US and Polish armed forces. Support in the security sector includes funding through the sale of US equipment and armaments, their servicing and training abroad and the management of programmes and grants under the International Military Training Programme.

The main instruments used by the United States (Drab, 2018, p. 144) in its defence diplomacy to enhance cooperation between states are:

1. Military education and training.
2. The provision of combat management training.
3. Military assistance provided in various forms (budget, advice, programmes).
4. Civil-military cooperation and military cooperation on military law.
5. Military interaction and visits by high-ranking officers/generals.
6. International financial support in the form of grants and loans.
7. Conducting combined special forces exercises and training.
8. Sale of military equipment and armaments.
9. Joint sales (by agreement between governments) of equipment and armaments to other countries.
10. Sale and transfer of equipment and armaments and the training of other countries in crises.
11. Strengthening the capabilities of other states and preparing them to participate in international peacekeeping missions.

In such a complex structure, the tasks carried out within the framework of US defence diplomacy are dispersed among various divisions responsible for specific areas of action but with a clear division of competencies. The instruments used within the framework of defence diplomacy by the United States are adapted to the specifics of the regions. It considers many

factors influencing the achievement of its objectives, in addition to the standard instruments of defence diplomacy, i.e., strategic dialogues, education, and military exercises, which are implemented by most states.

United Kingdom Defence Diplomacy

The British introduced the functions and tasks of defence diplomacy in the 'Strategic Defence Review', promulgated by the Ministry of Defence at the end of the 20th century. They linked it to a changing international security situation, implying a broader perception of the roles of the armed forces in state policy. It was also linked to the prospect of strengthening the role of defence diplomacy as a mechanism for conflict prevention, peacebuilding, or international security policy-making. The projects planned as part of defence diplomacy were typically military and related to arms control, non-proliferation and confidence, and security-building measures. In their view, the envisaged objective could be achieved through support for bilateral cooperation focused on certain regions and countries using specific defence diplomacy instruments, mainly concerning military support implemented by the armed forces.

The UK Ministry of Defence has begun to see defence diplomacy as an effective tool in the country's foreign and security policy. In its view, effectively conducted defence diplomacy makes it possible, well in advance, to identify threats in inflamed regions of the world and to prepare appropriate instruments to prevent the emergence of possible crises. Therefore, in addition to arms control or non-proliferation, new areas of cooperation were sought (Cotter & Forster, 2004, p. 7) such as:

1. Military education and training.
2. The provision of loans for the training of personnel and the organisation of short courses for civilian and military advisers.
3. Visits of ships and aircraft and other types of troops.
4. Visits by defence ministers and military and civilian personnel.
5. Staff talks.
6. Organisation of conferences and seminars.
7. Exchange of civilian and military personnel.
8. Military exercises.

The 2010 Strategic Defence Review¹ indicated that implementing tasks in the international environment requires an integrated approach. It identified new priorities in creating international contacts and their benefits to UK security. It also identified that integrated activity should be delivered in four areas. One of them is defence diplomacy which plays a very important role in UK integrated approach – Table 1:

¹ https://www.gov.uk/defence_engagement_strategy.pdf

Table 1. The 2010 Strategic Defence

Action area	Method of implementation
Ensuring security and conducting peacekeeping operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conventional deterrence - application of embargoes and bans - peacekeeping operations (e.g., counter-terrorism) - special forces operations - conducting information operations - cyber defence - planning evacuation operations
Defence diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - organisation of high-level visits - activities of civilian military advisers, liaison officers and soldiers serving in international structures - secondment of British military instructors to train soldiers of other countries - involvement in security sector reform - support for the sale or transfer (donation) of British arms and military equipment - visits by aircraft, ships and ground troops - participation in international military exercises - cooperation between defence industries - an efficient defence attaché structure
Export of British armaments and military equipment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promotion of British industry by both civilian and military diplomats - provision of training in the use of equipment and armaments – by both state institutions and private British companies
Ensuring regional security, conflict prevention, post-conflict state reconstruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conducting arms control - peacekeeping operations - support for security sector reform - other conflict prevention activities

Source: https://www.gov.uk/defence_engagement_strategy.pdf

Implementing these tasks required the coordinated involvement of all ministries, particularly the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It also assigns a special role to high-level visits, the work of defence attachés and civilian advisers, military education, and industrial cooperation.

In the British view, defence diplomacy activities should be used effectively to guarantee better and faster information from regions of British interest. More effective detection, prevention and monitoring of negative developments are the main tasks of defence diplomacy and should be achieved by strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations. In particular, attention is paid to military assets that could be used globally and strategically. Therefore, according to the UK Defence Doctrine of November 2014, the military instruments used in defence diplomacy should build and maintain trust between states and support efforts to build cooperative democratic armed forces. The UK's Defence Doctrine mentions more tasks for defence diplomacy (UK Defence Doctrine, 2014, p 12). According to this document, defence diplomacy aims to build and maintain trust, provide military advice and assistance, assist in developing responsibilities and competent and democratically accountable forces, educate and train the UK facilities, and cooperate with allies and partners.

The development of these tasks in a much broader context has been introduced in the new UK strategic document (*Global Britain in a competitive age. The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*, March 2021). As in the US, the basis for maintaining and building new international relations for the British is current and future alliances and agreements within partners and international organisations. They see a central role in realising these tasks in the armed forces, military intelligence, the network of defence attachés, special forces, defence capacity building and international military education.

Within the armed forces, the main tasks related to defence diplomacy are performed by the Defence Staff. The Chief of Defence Staff is responsible to the Minister of Defence for the functioning and combat readiness of the entire armed forces and coordinates the implementation of tasks by specific types of armed forces. The Chief of Defence Staff and the Permanent Under Secretary – the highest civilian official in the MoD – are the principal advisers to the Minister of Defence, including on matters relating to defence diplomacy. As in the US, defence attaché plays an important role in implementing tasks within defence diplomacy. Currently, 129 defence attaché, 57 NCOs and 17 civilian employees serve outside the UK. They play an important role in gathering information data or arms sales.

The British see defence diplomacy as a tool to strategically achieve their objectives in international relations. Therefore, they constantly look for new areas and instruments to realise their stated objectives. At the same time, they emphasise that implementing tasks within the framework of defence diplomacy requires the coordinated involvement of almost all ministries, especially the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs.

French Defence Diplomacy

The role and tasks of French defence diplomacy are set out in the *2013 White Paper on French Defence and Security*, which defines it as the “participation of the armed forces in French diplomacy endeavours aimed at preventing crises and working together to achieve France’s objectives abroad through the use of diverse diplomatic and military means” (Defense et Securite Nationale, 2013). Such defined defence diplomacy does not explicitly propose the instruments to be used but merely indicates the vital importance of diplomatic means while not excluding the use of military assets (Pawelek-Mendez, 2013). Instead, it emphasises the importance of:

1. Conducting strategic dialogues.
2. Implementation of security-related tasks, by military and civilian diplomats, in international organisations.
3. Conduct of arms control.
4. Performance of tasks within a broadly defined civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) framework.
5. Continuous capacity building of the armed forces of allied countries.

A special role in this respect falls to the armed forces. However, they do not precise the specific activities of the armed forces but stress that most of the tasks carried out by French soldiers abroad should be categorised as defence diplomacy – excluding operational activities involving the use of force. They also point out the various forms and methods of international cooperation and the specificities of the countries in which they may be used due to historical or cultural backgrounds. The French prevention strategy centres around three main periods of engagement (French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, 2018):

1. Pre-crisis – improving the international security system to reduce the danger of conflict or crisis. In this phase, defence diplomacy plays the most important role.
2. During the crisis – limiting its consequences also with military means – one of the most important roles falls to the armed forces.
3. After the crisis – assisting the stabilisation or reconciliation process by economic, diplomatic and cooperative means.

The French priority is to develop intelligence capabilities in regions of interest and strengthen local capabilities to prevent crises. An equally important task within the framework of defence diplomacy is to continue efforts to reform the security sector. These efforts also include restructuring the countries' armed forces, police, intelligence, justice, prison, and customs services.

The French Ministry of Defence develops and assigns tasks to be carried out as part of defence diplomacy, and the Minister of Defence is responsible for preparing and implementing defence policy. The working body of the Minister of Defence is the Civil and Military Cabinet, while the advisory, consultative, and executive bodies are the Committee of the Chiefs of Staff, the Directorate-General for Armaments and the General Secretariat for Administration. The National Assembly's Defence Committee exercises civilian control of the armed forces.

Tasks related to defence diplomacy and international cooperation in the broadest sense at the French Ministry of Defence are the responsibility of the Directorate-General for International Relations and Strategy (DGRIS). DGRIS is also the overarching institution for bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the armed forces. DGRIS carries out tasks within the framework of defence diplomacy in close cooperation and consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Director of DGRIS has the possibility of appointing and delegating so-called *chargés de mission* for special tasks. Officers for special tasks can be directed to any region of the world. They have diplomatic powers, which makes it much easier for them to carry out their tasks.

French defence diplomacy is not limited to bilateral military cooperation or the tasks carried out by the defence attachés. However, it is conceived relatively broadly as all kinds of activities of the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces in the area of international relations in order to implement the state's political priorities. The scope of defence diplomacy thus understood includes tasks related to developing reconnaissance capabilities; strengthening local capabilities to prevent crises; training support; security sector reform;

conducting strategic dialogues; defence industry – especially the sale of military equipment², civil-military cooperation or arms control. The French prioritise cooperation within organisations, particularly within the EU, UN, and NATO.

Spanish Defence Diplomacy

The National Security Strategy of Spain indicates the need to strengthen relations with security and defence organisations, particularly with NATO and the EU. In Spain's view, a single state cannot counter threats, so the priority is to support multilateral efforts to ensure security.

The National Defence Directive 2020³ points out the role and importance of defence diplomacy in shaping national security. It indicates that in developing foreign and security policy assumptions, the role of defence diplomacy must be considered. Defence diplomacy and the bilateral agreements and treaties in force play a prominent role in establishing this climate of trust, solidarity and collaboration.

Within the Spanish Defence Policy framework, the Spanish Ministry of Defence has developed a Defence Diplomacy Programme, which sets out the principles, objectives, and priorities to be pursued in defence diplomacy. In the "Programme" the Ministry of Defence of Spain defines defence diplomacy as a "diverse international activity based mainly on dialogue and cooperation, carried out bilaterally by the Ministry of Defence with allies, partners and other friendly countries in order to help achieve the objectives of defence policy and Spanish foreign policy" (Ministerio de Defensa, 2012).

The tasks to be carried out within the framework of defence diplomacy include:

- conducting permanent dialogues with countries that play an important role in Spain's foreign and security policy,
- supporting with material and institutional to countries of Spanish interest in order to maintain or ensure security in the region,
- promoting and supporting the efforts made by other countries (particularly those with historical or cultural ties to Spain) in the field of defence,
- providing an appropriate legal framework that promotes and regulates the development of defence cooperation,
- supporting and promoting the Spanish defence industry.

The pursuit of national interests in different regions of the world has forced the Spanish Ministry of Defence to allocate the instruments of defence diplomacy at its disposal that are indicated for geographical, historical, cultural, economic and other reasons. According to the Spanish Ministry of Defence (Ministerio de Defensa, 2012, pp. 28–31), the most important instruments of defence diplomacy are:

² <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/fr-industry.htm>

³ <https://www.defensa.gob.es/Galerias/defensadocs/ddn-ingles-2020.pdf>

1. Cooperation agreements – a key instrument of defence diplomacy.
2. Presence of Ministry of Defence representatives in friendly countries.
3. Visits:
 - 3.1. Top-level visits.
 - 3.2. Visits by military vessels and aircraft.
 - 3.3. Visits by land-based military units.
4. Security sector reform.
5. Defence capacity building.
6. Education and training.
7. Participation in military exercises.
8. Bilateral meetings.
9. Technical cooperation and defence industries (Molas-Gallart, 1992).

Spain considers that the defence capability comprises the foreign service (diplomacy) working for security, the armed forces and the defence industry. As a component of defence diplomacy working for the state's security, the foreign military service carries out tasks under the Defence Diplomacy Programme. One of its important elements is the activity of the 39th defence attachés at the diplomatic representations of the Kingdom of Spain around the world and the permanent representations to international organisations. According to the Spanish Ministry of Defence, defence attachés and officers in permanent representations play a leading role in developing and coordinating international military cooperation.

The General Secretariat for Defence Policy – with the rank of Undersecretary of State (Secretaría General de Política de Defensa) – is responsible for the planning, development and implementation of defence policy within the Spanish Ministry of Defence. He is also responsible for relations with other government institutions, bilateral and multilateral relations with other states, and international security and defence organisations. The Secretary-General is subordinate to the military, diplomatic missions abroad, and defence advisers in the permanent representations to international organisations.

The Spanish Ministry of Defence defines the tasks, objectives, and priorities to be pursued in defence diplomacy in the Defence Diplomacy Programme. This document also provides guidelines for the activity in this area for the Spanish armed forces. It also proposes, as in no other country analysed, a breakdown of the instruments to be implemented within the framework of defence diplomacy, which can be applied in cooperation with countries that are part of organisations (NATO, EU) and with countries historically or culturally linked to Spain.

Defence Diplomacy – Synthesis Attempt. Comparative Study

The United States, the United Kingdom, France and Spain see the implementation of defence diplomacy tasks as one of the most important instruments for crisis prevention and international security policy-making. These states define defence diplomacy as the peaceful engage-

ment of the civilian and military structures of defence ministries, and the armed forces are seen as one of the most important instruments of tasking in the provision of international security. Each of these states uses different instruments to achieve their objectives.

All the analysed states believe that the implementation of defence diplomacy tasks must be closely linked to foreign and security policy and closely cooperate with the ministry responsible for foreign policy. In addition, the British and Spanish also perceive the need for cooperation and involvement of other ministries.

The US (National Defense Strategy of the United States of America, 2018, p. 8) and the UK see the need to strengthen the global network of allies and partners as the most important security objective (Muniruzzaman, 2020, p. 64). It is being pursued by expanding partnerships, conducting training and exercises, and cooperating on security issues and military relations. On the other hand, the Spaniards see their actions in this regard as fulfilling their tasks and obligations arising from their participation in international organisations.

According to the French, Americans and British, one of the best ways of guaranteeing security in the face of the risk of conflict or crisis is to react in advance, i.e., to take preventive action, which includes diplomatic, economic, financial, military, legal and cultural measures. Very often, armed forces and their peaceful engagement play a key role in this regard, particularly pre-emptive deterrence, humanitarian aid, peacekeeping operations, and anti-proliferation initiatives, including international cooperation.

For the British and French, information provided by defence attachés is one of the most important ways of gaining knowledge of the security situation in the region. The French also can send special teams (with diplomatic status) to carry out special short-term tasks. In their view, a preventive strategy should be the UN's and the EU's main task.

The United States, through its military presence in the regions, the established chain of regional security research centres and the large-scale cooperation developed in education, both civilian and military personnel of friendly countries, can react very quickly in crises, provide humanitarian support during natural disasters or apply other instruments within the framework of defence diplomacy. In their view, the intelligence and tasks carried out in this regard by civilian and military diplomatic personnel are the first lines of defence. No other country in the world has such a capacity to apply the various instruments of defence diplomacy to build trust and enlarge the global network of allies and partners. The French, British, and Spanish carried out similar tasks in historically or culturally linked states.

The US and UK consider a well-developed network of defence attaché to be the basis for establishing and conducting bilateral military relations between countries. The British also point to the increased role of military instructors training other countries' soldiers and the need for various security conferences and seminars.

In the view of the UK, Spain and France, partnership agreements, strategic dialogues, bilateral meetings, training cooperation, exercises and peacekeeping operations are standard instruments widely used with partner states in joint participation and tasks in NATO or the EU. Other areas of cooperation are aimed at countries with historical or cultural ties

to France, the UK or Spain and concern support for security sector reform, assistance with the supply of equipment and armaments or participation in peacekeeping missions and operations.

According to all analysed countries, high-level visits by both civilian and military representatives of defence ministries and cooperation agreements/contracts are the most important instruments of defence diplomacy outside the armed forces. Top-level visits are the foundation of strategic and political dialogue.

In the view of all states, the participation of friendly states in military exercises is an increase in transparency and the promotion of confidence-building measures. Moreover, the joint execution of tasks by the armed forces strengthens bilateral relations between friendly states and enhances their interoperability.

Military education and training are areas of defence diplomacy cooperation prioritised by all states. Engagement in this area is believed to guarantee establishing and maintaining longer-term partnerships between states (*Foreign Military Training Report...*, n.d., pp. 2–4). Good cooperation in this area almost always provides the basis for developing cooperation in other areas in the future and is an important element in strengthening closer relations between the armed forces of friendly states.

Defence-industrial cooperation is a new area of tasks carried out as part of international arms cooperation. The cooperation of defence industries and the implementation of armament projects, in the view of the US, constitutes a strengthening of the defence capabilities of these countries and prepares them for participation in international missions. It is certainly a future area of cooperation in defence diplomacy that will play an increasingly important role in international cooperation (Roddis & Tan, p. 333) – now widely used by democratic states supporting Ukraine in the war against Russia.

In this perspective, an author's working definition of defence diplomacy could be proposed as: "diverse international peaceful activity based on dialogue and cooperation, implemented in bilateral, multilateral and international security organisations by the national defence ministry and institutions and forces subordinate to it. Armed forces with allies, partners and other friendly countries to support the achievement of the objectives of foreign and security policy" (Drab, 2018, p. 63).

Summary

The United States, the United Kingdom, France and Spain see defence diplomacy as one of the most important instruments of their countries' foreign and security policies. The defence ministries of these countries have an appropriately structured organisational structure for planning and implementing tasks in this area. There is also a clear division of responsibilities in defence diplomacy, and the defence capabilities of these states allow the use of a wide range of instruments adequate to the security situation in a specific region or bilateral and multilateral cooperation with other states. It should be emphasised, however, that these

states do not limit themselves to executing tasks using only current or traditional forms of military cooperation; they are constantly seeking new areas of cooperation that go far beyond the military sphere.

The study shows that it is difficult to search for a universal model of defence diplomacy, just as it is difficult to speak of a universal model of the foreign policy of states. Implementing tasks within the framework of defence diplomacy depends on many factors and conditions applicable to a given security situation or relations between states. The analysis of the instruments used by states within the framework of defence diplomacy shows that high-level visits by both civilian and military representatives are the most important instrument and create the foundation for strategic, political, and military dialogue.

The specifics of each state, its location, financial capabilities, defence and scientific potential, size and quality of the armed forces, security situation, territory, ambitions, alliances, relations with neighbours, soft power and many other conditions make it difficult to speak of a universal model of defence diplomacy. The analysis shows that each state uses selected areas that are feasible in a given situation and a certain region and can bring the best results in achieving the assumed objectives adequate to the costs incurred.

States indicate the specific activities in defence diplomacy to reach national goals and objectives. The most important of them are: the improvement of international image, increased trust among target nations, enhanced strategic leverage, strengthened relations, reshaping the regional security norms and institutions, and weakening others powers' regional influence (Roddis & Tan, p. 332). The wide range of instruments used in defence diplomacy allows them to be tailored to a particular situation, region or state.

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