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The Role of Think Tanks in Actions for Defence Diplomacy. An Example of Poland

Abstract: With the end of the 20th century, there was a change in the nature and methods of using military force in international politics. It led to the need to develop new cooperation methods between states and reorient military diplomacy into defence diplomacy. In the new reality, the group of entities influencing diplomatic activities has been expanded to include non-governmental entities, including think tanks. It raised questions about the role of expert centres in activities for defence diplomacy under Polish conditions, including shaping the international situation and shaping the state's defence policy. The following considerations are an attempt to answer this question. The analysis was based on the data obtained from a survey and information from the websites of fifteen Polish centres of expertise operating in international relations, political science, and security and defence.

Keywords: *defence diplomacy, think tanks, pro-peace activities, peaceful use of armed forces, Poland*

Introduction

The analysis aims to show the role of Polish think tanks¹ in actions for defence diplomacy. Assuming that Polish centres of expertise carry out tasks in this regard due to their activity

¹ The term “think tank” literally means “thought reservoir” – a place where analyses and ideas are created that are used by decision-makers and are the subject of public debates. In practice, it is a term for an independent research center that conducts analytical and design activities, which, by supporting politicians, administration and the public with knowledge, ideas and scenarios for solutions, and shaping the debate between the society and decision-makers, aims to exert influence on the decision-making process in the public sphere by using the knowledge of experts. Therefore, it is an independent research institution whose aim is to shape political processes by providing analyzes and reports, including critical ones, which are to help make an objective and best decision from the point of view of the interests of the state. Think tanks sort out the information chaos that arises through the excess of facts and the multitude

profile, the thematic areas in which they undertake activity and its level in particular areas should be identified. In order to achieve the aim of the research, an answer to several specific questions should be found:

1. in which thematic areas do the centres of expertise carry out tasks in the field of defence diplomacy?
2. to whom do the centres of expertise address their activities?
3. what methods and tools do they use to reach recipients?
4. to what extent is the expert base used by the political, military, and social environment and do such entities have a real influence on the decision-making process in the state and the shaping of security and defence policy?
5. what is the scope of cooperation between Polish think tanks and other entities in the field of defence diplomacy?
6. which think tanks take up activities for defence diplomacy at the highest / lowest level?

For these analyses, the following hypotheses were adopted:

1. Polish think tanks carry out defence diplomacy tasks mainly in the field of training and education, popularisation and information, as well as advisory and consulting activities,
2. the centres address their activities to all political, military and social circles, but the expert potential of think tanks is used to the greatest extent by the public and the scientific community,
3. the most popular ways of establishing contacts with the political, military, business and scientific communities are: publishing activities, implementation of projects, expert opinions and analyses, as well as the organisation of conferences and thematic meetings on a national and international scale,
4. relatively little interest in political and military circles in cooperation with think tanks is caused by the hermetic nature of these circles in Poland and the lack of habit of the political class to use the knowledge of experts; as a result, Polish centres of expertise have insignificant influence on political decisions and the development of security policy, they rather perform functions supporting these activities by popularising knowledge in the field of defence diplomacy and initiating discussions in society,
5. domestic and foreign cooperation of expert centres presents a reasonably high level and varies depending on the type of entities,
6. Polish centres of expertise carry out tasks in defence diplomacy to a different degree and extent; centres with an activity profile focused on security and defence issues are most active.

of sources of information on politics, security, economy, law, international relations, etc. based on reliable knowledge, research, and analyses. They often initiate a discussion around the ideas they have submitted, as well as develop political research, analysis and opinions related to internal or international affairs in order to enable politicians and the public to make a political decision. Their aim is to inform political and social structures and, consequently, indirectly influence the government.

There are currently about seventy think tanks² in Poland taking up activities in economic policy, law, public policies, social policy, health policy, environment, energy policy, human rights, international relations, foreign, defence, and security policy. The study covered a group of fifteen most dynamically operating Polish centres³, referred to as independent centres for expert debate. The main selection criterion was the activity profile of think tanks covering the issues of broadly understood security, defence and international relations⁴. In the author's opinion, these entities have the greatest competence to carry out tasks in the field of defence diplomacy. Think tanks qualified for research (Table 1.) have a diversified character in terms of legal and institutional nature. However, the ranking is dominated by centres operating based on foundations or associations, then state units and academic centres. The legal form itself is irrelevant here and does not determine the nature of the actions of individual units. However, what is important is an internship on the expert market, the subject matter, and the scope of activities they undertake in their public activity.

Table 1. Think tanks qualified for research

Think tank	Creation year	Thematic profile
Center for Security Research (CBB)	2016	national and international security state defence strategic culture of the state
Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)	1990	international relations Polish foreign policy political, social and economic processes in the international environment of Poland

² It is an indicative number and variable over time, identified on the basis of the author's own analyzes and confirmed by the data contained in the international report "Global Go To Think Tank Index Reports" (McGann 2021), according to which there were seventy-two think tanks in Poland in 2020.

³ Centre for Security Research (CBB), Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Centre for International Relations (CSM), European Institute for Democracy (EID), Institute of Public Affairs (ISP), Institute of Central Europe (IEŚ), Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), Mises Institute (IM), Sobieski Institute (IS), Stefan Batory Foundation (FSB), Krzysztof Liedel Terrorism Research Centre – Collegium Civitas (CBnT), The Casimir Pulaski Foundation (IP), The Euro-Atlantic Association (SEA), The Kosciuszko Institute (IK), The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM).

⁴ The survey attempted to cover the largest possible group of think tanks whose operating profile was focused on security and defence issues as well as international relations. In the first part, the questionnaire was sent to twenty-two centres. Unfortunately, some of them refused to participate in the study, some returned empty or only slightly completed questionnaires, and a few, at the time of the research, were just starting their activities or were operating for too short a time. Ultimately, fifteen centres were qualified for the study.

Think tank	Creation year	Thematic profile
Centre for International Relations (CSM)	1996	international politics Polish foreign and European policy popularising knowledge about Poland among opinion-making circles abroad
European Institute for Democracy (EID)	1998	democratic transformations in Europe and the world development of democratic institutions, NGOs and political parties
Institute of Public Affairs (ISP)	1995	basic issues of public life, including foreign policy, security, social, energy, and climate policy
Institute of Central Europe (IEŚ)	018 (1991)	Polish foreign policy social, political, economic and cultural processes in Central Europe and its neighbourhood
Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS)	1993	development of democracy international cooperation political and cultural integration of Europe minorities development of communities and local communities state defence protection of human freedoms and rights non-governmental organisations
Mises Institute (IM)	2003	foreign policy economics and economy classical liberalism libertarian political thought
Sobieski Institute (IS)	2003	infrastructure and foreign policy power engineering transport economy public finances regional development new technologies
Stefan Batory Foundation (FSB)	1988	democracy and civil society development of democratic institutions and NGOs developing international cooperation and solidarity
Krzysztof Liedel Terrorism Research Centre – Collegium Civitas (CBnT)	2005	defining terrorist threats evolution of contemporary terrorism psychology of terrorism sociological aspects of terrorism counteracting terrorism tools to combat terrorism risk assessment and analysis legal basis for combating terrorism human rights in the context of combating terrorism mass media issues international cooperation in combating terrorism

Think tank	Creation year	Thematic profile
The Casimir Pulaski Foundation (IP)	2005	international relations in the transatlantic area as well as Russia and the post-Soviet space military and non-military security political changes, economic and social processes in Poland and the European Union
The Euro-Atlantic Association (SEA)	1994	Polish foreign policy Euro-Atlantic relations Poland's external and internal security NATO's defence capabilities terrorist threats in Poland crisis management Polish defence industry
The Kosciuszko Institute (IK)	2000	energy and economic security cybersecurity public policies international relations
The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)	1947	Polish foreign policy European integration transatlantic relations international and energy security world economy shaping and conducting foreign policy methodology of studies on foreign policy and international affairs

Source: Own study based on websites.

In the study of the scope of involvement of Polish think tanks in implementing tasks for defence diplomacy, data in 2001–2020, obtained as a result of a survey and supplemented with online materials and information, coming particularly from the centres' websites, were used. The adopted time range covers the so-called second wave of establishing think tanks in Poland⁵. Then, after ten years of functioning and consolidation of the democratic system, the existing and newly created centres began to present a diverse ideological and thematic character. The most popular areas of activity have become: economy, international relations and regional security.

The following research methods were used to analyse the issue: comparative studies (comparative method), content analysis and a survey. The research techniques used are: quantitative, qualitative and critical analysis and an individual questionnaire, completed by the respondents independently without the physical presence of the interviewer. The tool

⁵ The literature indicates two waves of development of Polish think tanks. The first wave covers the period from 1988 to 1997 and is directly related to the system transformation and the dissemination of knowledge about democracy and the free market economy. The second wave took place after 2001, with the change of attitudes of Poles and the emergence of think tanks of various ideological character.

used to conduct the study was an electronic questionnaire developed in Survio (survio.com). The questionnaire contained nineteen questions of various nature – closed questions with a prepared set of answer options and open ones, in which respondents provided voluntary answers.

A survey of fifteen Polish think tanks conducting scientific and expert activity in the field of international relations, security and defence allowed to identify areas of interest in the field of defence diplomacy and determine the methods of operation used by these entities to reach recipients. Moreover, the recipients of the centres' activities were identified. It was indicated how the think tanks themselves perceive the impact of their own activities on security and defence matters on a national and international scale and what features of their own institution affect the effectiveness of activities in this area. Valuable information obtained from the study was the scope of cooperation between Polish expert centres and other national and international institutions. It made it possible to indicate the main subject areas undertaken by Polish centres of expertise as part of defence diplomacy, to determine whether and to what extent Polish expert groups have a real impact on shaping the state's defence policy, next to the political class and military elites. It is worth mentioning, however, that in some respects, the results obtained may show a more wishful than the real influence of think tanks on defence policy and diplomacy because they are based on a subjective perception of their own position and role in the political and social environment.

1. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The concept of defence diplomacy was born at the beginning of the 1990s as a specific tool for creating contemporary international relations and an effective instrument for preventing crises between states. At that time, significant transformations took place in the world arena in politics, economy, civilisation, and military.

The sources of defence diplomacy should be seen in military diplomacy (Cottey & Forster, 2004, p. 6) aimed at strengthening the defence of one's own country. The terms "military diplomacy" and "defence diplomacy" often coexist as synonyms in the literature, but they are not conceptual substitutes. The term "defence diplomacy" is a broader concept, as it more precisely reflects the widening set of tasks and mutual conditions, being, in a sense, a continuation of military diplomacy in peaceful conditions. Defence diplomacy is a combination of instruments appropriate to both diplomatic and military activities (Vagts & Fox, 1958), creating a new quality in conducting foreign policy. Its most important determinants are:

- it engages the armed forces only in preventive, stabilisation and defence activities, political dialogue, responsibility for multilateral cooperation and personal diplomacy of representatives of the state and the armed forces;
- it does not carry out military operations but conducts peaceful defence activities, so it is more focused on building trust between entities and strongly oriented towards

dialogue, conflict prevention and the peaceful realisation of the interests of its own state;

- it puts in practice only these goals and tasks of military diplomacy, which are related to conflict resolution, development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, as well as the use of armed forces in international missions and operations related to the peaceful use of the army and military personnel;
- it allows to join the group of entities carrying out its tasks, apart from political and military institutions, also civilian entities, i.e., international organisations, military academies, educational centres, research and development centres and think tanks related to the department of defence, etc.;
- it completely excludes the direct military intervention of an aggressive nature.

The first attempts to integrate the armed forces with diplomacy took place in the United States in the 1990s (Cheyre, 2013, p. 370). The document “A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement” (Clinton, 1996), submitted to Congress by Bill Clinton in February 1996, announced the need to abandon the principle of isolating communism as a priority of US foreign policy and replace it with a strategy of strengthening security, supporting national prosperity and promoting democracy in the world. The British became then continuators of this pro-peace idea of shaping international relations and the authors of the conceptualisation of defence diplomacy. They perfected it, expanded it and led to its dissemination (Dodd & Oakes, 1998; Ministry of Defence, 2011). Irish researchers – A. Cottey and A. Forster – made an important contribution to the development of the idea of defence diplomacy by integrating the peaceful (non-confrontational) use of the armed forces with related infrastructure (e.g., defence ministries) as a tool of foreign and security policy (Cottey & Forster, 2004, p. 6). Activities for the development of defence diplomacy and its implementation into national security systems were also undertaken in South Africa (Edmonds & Mills, 1998; du Plessis, 2008), Spain (Defence Diplomacy Plan 2012), and Singapore (Seng, 2005, pp. 49–66; Singh & Seng, 2011; 2012, pp. 221–231).

In Poland, the concept of defence diplomacy has so far appeared mainly in journalism, but its presence can be observed more and more often in scientific reflections (Drab, 2017, pp. 136–147; 2018; Kupiecki, 2016, pp. 17–32; Drab & Sochan, 2016). The first attempt to create a definition of defence diplomacy in Poland was made by Lech Drab, who assumed that defence diplomacy is a “diverse international peaceful activity based on dialogue and cooperation, implemented in bilateral and multilateral cooperation and within international security organisations by the Ministry of National Defence and its subordinate institutions and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland with allies, partners and other friendly states to support Polish foreign and security policy (Drab, 2017, p. 141; 2018, p. 31; Marszałek-Kawa & Plecka, 2015; Marszałek-Kawa, 2016). This understanding of defence diplomacy has been adopted in these considerations. It is because the definition combines and complements the designations of defence diplomacy that have arisen in the world so far. Moreover, it considers the possibility of involvement in diplomatic activities of other institutions subordinate to

the Ministry of National Defence, including military education, think tanks, research and development centres related to the Ministry of Defence, and international organisations. It also does not exclude the cooperation of defence industries and the transfer of knowledge, skills, equipment and weapons between states.

An important stimulus to take up the topic of Polish think tanks' involvement in defence diplomacy activities was reading publications by Singapore researchers – See Seng Tan and Bhuhindar Singh, who analysed its functioning in the Asian region. They indicated three levels at which defence diplomacy should be conducted (Singh & Seng, 2011, p. 2). The first concerned the involvement and actions of political leaders, ministers, chiefs of defence, chiefs of general staffs, and commands and headquarters at the strategic level. The second level covers the activities of military academies, educational centres, research and development centres and think tanks related to the Ministry of Defence. The third level covered representatives of civil non-governmental organisations (Seng, 2005, pp. 49–66). The determination of these three levels confirmed the belief that not only political and military institutions but also, to a large extent, non-state civilian entities influence the shape of international relations and directions of activities in security. The indication of levels of defence diplomacy has become the starting point for asking questions about the real extent of the influence of non-state entities on political decisions shaping military relations between states. While, in the authors' opinion, the tasks of the first level participants are carried out as standard and quite thoroughly analysed in the literature, the activities of the entities from the second and third levels are identified quite selectively and superficially, requiring a thorough research analysis. Therefore, the idea was born to at least partially fill this gap and look from the Polish perspective at implementing defence diplomacy tasks by civilian entities in the form of think tanks. In the author's opinion, there is a need for a scientific overview of these issues, especially that after the system changed, also in the countries of Central Europe, a global trend for the development of expert centres has emerged. Polish centres, which also began to emerge in the 1990s at the time of the democratisation of the state, took up the subject of defence diplomacy, naturally adopting the trends and ideas prevailing in the world. The issue of the general activity of think tanks in the field of security and international relations has been discussed so far in several Polish articles (Nitszke & Ślufińska, 2015, pp. 59–73; Pawłuszko, 2014, pp. 198–214), mainly on the occasion of the annual publication of the international report “Global Go to Think Tank Ranking Index Report” (McGann, 2021)⁶.

⁶ Polish think tanks do not occupy any spectacular positions, nevertheless they are present. In 2020 report in the groups of best centres operating in the field of foreign policy and international affairs The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) was ranked as no. 41 and Centre for Eastern Studies OSW (no. 49). However, in the group of the best centres operating in the field of defence and national security, The Casimir Pulaski Foundation (IP) was ranked 49th and PISM 92nd. The best think tanks operating in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were PISM (ranked 14th.), IP (no. 22), OSW (no. 33),

The issue of defence diplomacy in the activities of expert centres has generally not been the subject of a more profound reflection, either in Polish or foreign literature. This article may be an introduction to further analyses in this direction. It is possible to study the activity of expert centres in the context of defence diplomacy from the perspective of other countries or regions, as well as other non-political entities which, next to expert centres, play an important role in the implementation of tasks in this area, i.e., international organisations or military education, etc.

2. Think Tanks in Actions for Defence Diplomacy – Analysis of Research Results

Contemporary defence diplomacy, shaped by tradition and current needs of foreign and security policy, is constantly evolving and expanding its field of meaning due to the constantly changing conditions in which it operates. It is a specific practice of conducting negotiations, requiring the use of such means, methods and instruments which, without increasing hostility, allow the achievement of the fundamental goal of peaceful regulation of relations between states. Polish think tanks also declare support for such activities.

2.1. Subject Areas Taken Up by Polish Think Tanks

The research results allowed to state that the activity of expert centres in Poland in the field of defence diplomacy is embedded in several main subject areas. Among them, there are:

1. protection of peace and promotion of democratic values in relations between states, including:
 - promulgating and protecting the idea of the rule of law,
 - respect for human rights,
 - peaceful settlement of disputes,
 - protection of political and economic security,
 - promoting confidence-building measures between countries,
 - promoting democratic civilian control of the armed forces,
 - counteracting hybrid threats,
 - combating terrorism;
2. military and diplomatic bilateral and multilateral cooperation, that is:
 - organising visits of aircraft, ships or other military equipment to friendly countries,
 - cooperation within international security organisations and alliances,

- cooperation for the development of national and collective capabilities to participate in international peacekeeping operations:
 - participation in humanitarian and rescue operations,
 - participation in military missions and operations of a peaceful, stabilisation and observation character,
 - military training cooperation, military exercises,
 - intelligence cooperation and exchange of political and military information,
 - cooperation in the handling of agreements in the field of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction,
 - patriotic education and military historical cooperation;
3. defence industry development, security and defence research and reforms:
- substantive civil and military consulting in the field of security and defence provided to state authorities, diplomatic representatives, international organisations and governments of other countries,
 - supporting partners in reforming the security sector (e.g., provision of military equipment and materials, exchange of science and technology),
 - logistic and business activities related to the purchase of weapons and military equipment,
 - supporting the preparation, negotiation and signing of contracts and agreements in the field of defence.

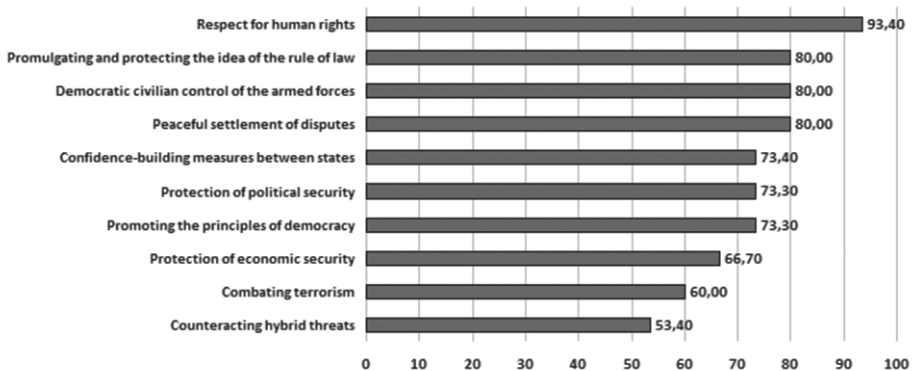


Figure 1. Issues undertaken by Polish think tanks regarding the protection of peace and democratic values (%)

Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

2.2. Protection of Peace and Promotion of Democratic Values in Relations Between States

Pro-peace activities and the promotion of democratic values in international relations have become an area of considerable interest in Polish think tanks (Figure 1). In a way, they assumed the role of guardians of constitutional values, which, after all, are also the foundations of defence diplomacy.

In terms of protecting peace and promoting democratic principles, Polish centres of expertise most often raised topics related to respect for human rights – over 93% of respondents, and the issues of promulgating the idea of the rule of law. Promoting democratic control over the armed forces and peaceful settlement of disputes has become an important area for 80% of centres. The issues of promoting the principles of democracy, protection of political and economic security, and confidence-building measures between states were the subject of expert analysis for approximately 70% of respondents. Protecting peace by combating terrorism was important for 60% of entities, while counteracting hybrid threats – for over 53% of respondents. It proves that topics related to promoting peace and democratic values between states are an important area of activity of expert centres. Such a broad interest in pro-peace issues may be justified by the fact that Poland, as a relatively young democracy and a country suffering from many years of slavery, bloody wars and the years of communism, pays special attention to the protection of these values for fear of their violation or even loss. For many Western countries, these values have been a constant determinant of their political identity for years, and compliance with these principles seems obvious. It is necessary to protect and support the process of consolidating these principles in young democracies, make them permanent points of conduct in interpersonal relations, and permanently embed them in the consciousness of society and political elites.

2.3. Military and Diplomatic Cooperation, Bilateral and Multilateral

A key element of defence diplomacy is broadly understood bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Expert centres also performed tasks in this area, and the level of their activity is shown in Figure 2.

In bilateral and multilateral military cooperation, Polish expertise centres most often collaborated on the education and training platform. Nearly 70% of them declared to be active in this area. In the era of globalisation, diplomatic and military cooperation between many centres in implementing projects on a transnational scale has already become a standard. Polish centres conducted such cooperation with many institutions in the world, both governmental and non-governmental, including embassies of individual countries and foreign organisations, i.e., Council of Councils, European Global Strategy (EGS), Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) or the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium. Activities within international security organisations



Figure 2. Issues undertaken by Polish think tanks regarding bilateral and multilateral military and diplomatic cooperation (%)

Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

and alliances turned out to be an extremely important area of cooperation for over 65% of respondents. This form of activity is directly related to cooperation for the development of national and collective capabilities to participate in international peacekeeping operations (nearly 50% of respondents) and includes participation in humanitarian and rescue operations and military operations of a peaceful, stabilisation and observation nature. Missions related to the supervision of armistice agreements and the observation of elections in various countries were a frequent subject of analyses for Polish think tanks in this subject area. Such activities were usually undertaken within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) framework. In broadly understood allied cooperation, close European cooperation holds a special place for Poland. Poland's membership in the EU structures forced the development of this cooperation and set new directions for development on the Polish side, leading in result to close cooperation with the European Commission and other Community institutions.

Another area of cooperation within defence diplomacy is patriotic education and military historical cooperation (60% of think tanks). Patriotic education is carried out primarily through the cooperation of Polish think tanks, most often with the diplomatic and educational environment. It consists of the permanent shaping of patriotic attitudes serving national and cultural identification and strengthening ties with the home country. It is based on exporting the traditions and culture of a country beyond its borders. It often turns into historical cooperation between states, which results in undertaking joint scientific projects. In the longer term, it facilitates overcoming difficult historical events and reaching

compromises in case of different interpretations of historical events and conflicts between states originating precisely in history.

Regarding multilateral cooperation, 40% of centres declared that they were active in handling agreements related to arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They were the least active in intelligence cooperation and exchange of political and military information (26%). Logistic assistance provided during the crisis, humanitarian and technical and natural disasters operations is an area of cooperation for over 13% of respondents. None of the centres took part in the organisation of visits by aircraft, ships or other military equipment to friendly countries. It is probably because activities in this field are the domain of the political and military authorities that represent the country in the international arena.

2.4. Development of the Defence Industry, Research, and Reforms in Security and Defence

The analysis of the questionnaires showed that for more than half of the respondents, an important area of implementation of defence diplomacy tasks is issues related to the development of the defence industry and related research and reforms aimed at its modernisation. About 80% of the surveyed think tanks confirmed that they undertook advisory and consulting activities. The activities of centres of expertise in this area are shown in Figure 3.

Research has shown that the role of expert centres in developing and reforming the security and defence sector is focused on substantive political and military advice. Exactly 60% of centres confirmed their activity in this area. It should be noted that substantive military consulting is done in several ways and includes professional and substantive training

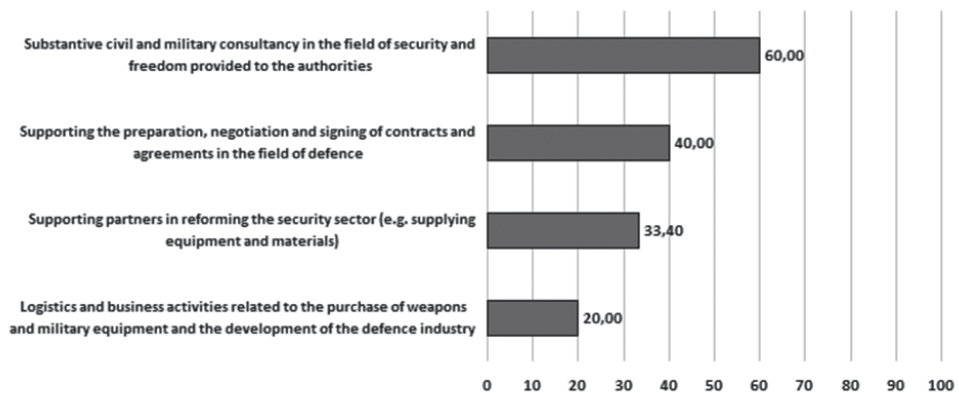


Figure 3. Actions taken by Polish think tanks for the development of the defence industry (%)
 Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

of staff related to the security sector, consulting activities regarding signing contracts and agreements in defence, and logistic and business assistance. It is most often provided to state authorities, diplomats, business entities, international organisations and governments of other countries. Among Polish think tanks, only PISM has a permanent training team located in one of the national institutions and permanent representative offices in other countries. Other think tanks undertook rather short-term, indirect cooperation. Expert entities conducting military consultancy and advisory activities for the security sector cooperate with approximately one hundred and fifty domestic entities and over one hundred foreign institutions located on most continents. Over the years, each think tank has collaborated with several or a dozen domestic and foreign entities. The most dynamic expert centres, such as PISM, CBB, CSM, FSB or IP, cooperate with several dozen entities worldwide within the framework of bilateral and multilateral activities. Domestic cooperation most often includes state institutions, i.e., the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Development, the Ministry of Digitization and the Ministry of Climate, as well as the National Security Bureau, foreign affairs committees of the Sejm and Senate, the entire diplomatic corps along with embassies, consulates and defence attaches.

An important area stimulating the development of defence industries is supporting the preparation, negotiation and signing of contracts and agreements in the field of defence. Actions in this regard were undertaken by 40% of the surveyed think tanks. Over 33% of respondents declared their support for partner countries in reforming the security sector, for example, by providing military equipment and materials. Logistics and business activities related to purchasing weapons and military equipment and developing the defence industry, e.g., through the exchange of science and technology, were carried out by 20% of the surveyed entities.

The activity of expert centres in the field of defence industry development consisted of supporting the entire infrastructure related to the signing of contracts and agreements in the field of defence, logistic and business assistance, etc. Such support activities were declared by 40% of the respondents. The political and business circles, especially the political ones, have been of certain hermetic nature, focusing on a selected group of advisers already operating in the political and military areas. However, global trends have shown that openness to research and expertise from various sources allowed for the acquisition of diverse knowledge and decision-making based on a larger number of premises in a dynamic political and security environment. Therefore, all kinds of expert meetings with politicians, representatives of the military sector, and the diplomatic, civil and administrative services have become more common, which often resulted in implementing strategic programmes and scientific and research projects. More than half of the respondents conducted such activity. The centres that carried out such activities provided it mainly to state authorities, diplomatic representatives and international organisations. However, not all centres had the power to cooperate with top-level institutions. Only slightly more than half of them (the eight most successful centres) provided such services at the request of political and

military decision-makers. These include: PISM, CBB, CBnT, ISP, IS, FSB, EIRD, and IP. The ministries that most often used the advice of think tanks include: the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Digital Affairs, the Ministry of Maritime Economy and Inland Navigation, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, the Ministry of Investment and Economic Development, and bodies such as: the National Security Bureau, the Government Centre for Security and the Supreme Audit Office.

Within the diplomatic corps, advisory and consultative cooperation was provided primarily to embassies and, particularly, to the defence attaches operating within them. Advisory activity for international organisations focused mainly on cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Advising the governments of other countries was never direct but took place through intermediaries with whom individual countries cooperated.

Substantive advice provided by think tanks to representatives of the military business was declared by 20% of the surveyed expert centres conducting consultations related to the purchase of weapons and military equipment and the development of the defence industry. Such cooperation is probably extremely valuable and educates both parties, but it was independently provided only by two expert centres: IB and PISM. Several dozen companies for which such consultations were conducted include: Polish company TELDAT, dealing with military ICT, including extensive automated battlefield management systems and crisis operations; the American defence concern *Lockheed Martin Corporation*, one of the “big five” of the US defence industry; Norwegian *Kongsberg* developing advanced technologies and innovations also for the defence sector; Finnish *Patria Oyj* – a company operating in the defence, aviation and space industries; *BAE Systems* – a multinational concern of the defence and aviation industry; *ThyssenKrupp Marine Systems GmbH* – a German holding company of the shipbuilding industry; one of the largest American defence companies in the world – *Raytheon* and *Bell Helicopter* – one of the leading manufacturers of commercial and military helicopters; *Boeing Company* – an American aviation, defence and space company; *MBDA* – a European armaments concern specialising in producing missile weapons and the Polish company *WB Electronics* operating in the field of modern defence technologies, offering advanced solutions for armed forces from around the world.

3. Addressees of the Activities of Polish Think Tanks

Considering the effectiveness of expert centres in disseminating the ideas and practical activities for defence diplomacy, the recipients of the given activities should be identified (Figure 4). They determine the degree of implementation of the principles of defence diplomacy in foreign and security policy.

From the point of view of the effective implementation of the principles of defence diplomacy into foreign and security policy, the recipients of the expertise and analyses

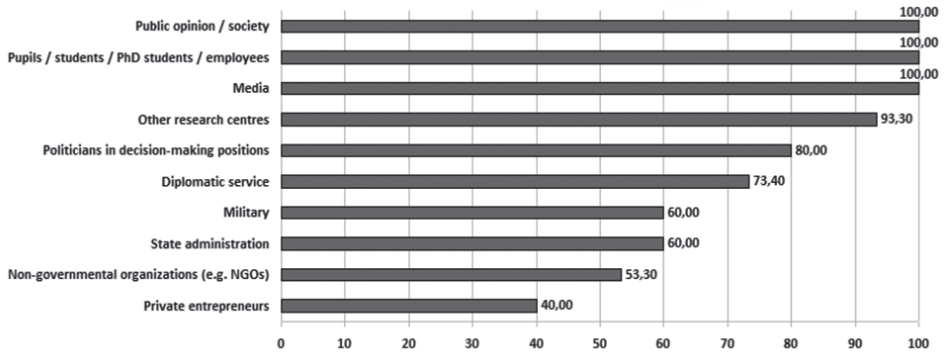


Figure 4. Recipients of think tank activities (%)

Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

of think tanks in this area must be political and military entities with decision-making power and the power to create defence policy. Analysing the above data, the addressees of the activities of expert centres are practically in 100% – the public, students and academic staff of universities, where lectures were presented and seminars were organised, as well as the media and other research centres (over 90%). The recipients of content in the field of defence diplomacy are, therefore, first and foremost, the civil and social environment. Politicians in decision-making positions and the opposition occupy the second-high place in this specific ranking of addressees. For these entities, the answers “definitely yes” and “rather yes” amounted to approx. 80%. It is followed by the diplomatic service (73.40%), state administration institutions (60%) and the military environment (approx. 60%), followed by non-governmental organisations (over 50%) and private entities (nearly 40%). It is worth noting that the given values for groups of recipients illustrate the subjective intentions of expert centres. The only question is whether as many as 80% of politicians use the expertise of individual centres? Therefore, it would be necessary to ask specific addressees to what extent they use expert knowledge.

Undoubtedly, Polish think tanks have ambitions to become the flywheel of domestic foreign and security policy. Virtually each of them wants to influence not only public opinion and the scientific community but, above all, shape the directions of diplomatic and military activities. Politicians in decision-making positions and the opposition rank high in a specific list of addressees that think tanks want to reach to support them with specialist knowledge. To a large extent, such support is directed to institutions of state administration, the diplomatic service, the military environment, and non-governmental organisations. Unfortunately, these institutions still have little confidence in Polish think tanks. However, in their opinion, expert centres have the appropriate competencies and tools to support decision-making centres at various levels. All analysed centres practically concluded that they were characterised by a reliable scientific basis and a solid expert base.

Their undoubted advantage, in their opinion, is also the often precise subject profile, focus on practice and setting their analyses in practical reality (nearly 90%) and a good opinion in the scientific community (100%). An important determinant is the knowledge of the political decision-making process, the interdisciplinary nature of research, presence in public debates in the media (86%) and recognition in the political environment (80%). However, it is a fact that this impact on the political and military environment remains relatively small. Think tanks have a significant impact on promoting the idea of defence diplomacy rather than shaping social views, initiating discussions in academic circles (nearly 90%), and generally understood political advice (over 70%).

4. Methods of Reaching the Audience

Polish think tanks intend to influence the directions and current activities of institutions and various entities in the field of defence diplomacy. They fulfil this aspiration to a large extent by conducting wide-range cooperation in education, training and popularisation, among others, through professional internships, publishing activities (publication of monographs, magazines, analyses, expert opinions and reports) and the organisation of international conferences, summits, subject meetings and seminars at national, regional and global levels.

Activities in this area are shown in Figure 5.

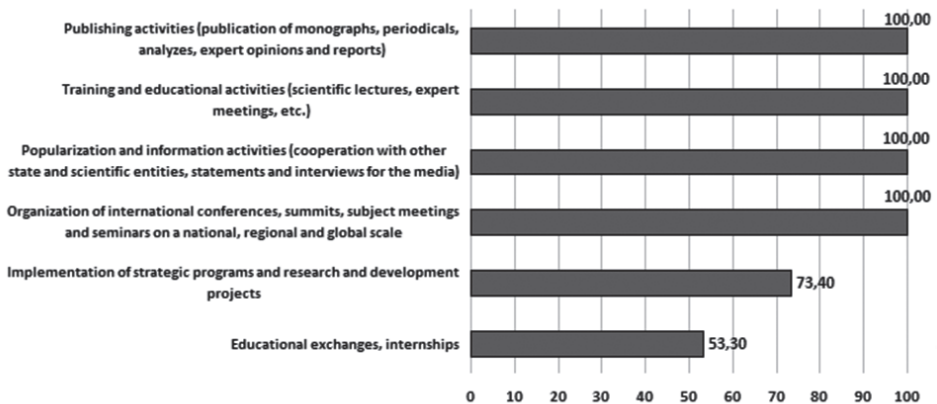


Figure 5. Ways of reaching recipients used by Polish think tanks (%)

Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

As part of educational and information activities, all surveyed expert centres confirmed that they conduct publishing, training, popularisation and information activities (e.g., lectures, etc.) and organise international conferences and symposia and national meetings and seminars.

The most popular method of reaching recipients is publishing, carried out through the publication of monographs, analyses, reports and expert opinions. For practically all respondents, it was a frequent or regular channel of knowledge distribution. Conducting publishing activities, both in Polish and English, took place in printed or electronic form, mainly on the Internet. Annually, each centre publishes from several to several hundred publications in Polish and from several to several dozen in English. An important area of publishing and expert activity is the creation of specialist expert opinions, reports and analyses. All centres carried out such activities, declaring that they would compile from several to several hundred such expert opinions and reports annually. About 70% of them declared that they exported knowledge to entities of power in the form of regular analyses and studies in the field of defence diplomacy. Most often, they were prepared for various national and international institutions, including: NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), the National Security Bureau, the Ministry of National Defence, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but also the needs of the domestic defence industry and their own needs. An extremely valuable form of activity of the centres is the implementation of research projects in defence diplomacy, carried out independently or in cooperation with other states, military, scientific, and civil entities. Each of the centres carried out such activity. Approximately, 70% of them also declared participation in implementing strategic programmes and research projects covering defence diplomacy, admitting that they have implemented several to several dozen such projects.

Educational and training activities are most often carried out in the social environment, e.g., in schools and universities, where experiences are exchanged with domestic and foreign partners during numerous meetings and through joint research and development projects and professional internships. This cooperation was the worst at the level of primary and secondary education. At this point, it is worth mentioning one of the most interesting forms of cooperation, coordinated by the Euro-Atlantic Association in 2015, the "Aliante" programme, i.e., an international competition aimed at motivating high school students to broaden their horizons in the field of international affairs, security policy and knowledge of NATO. Think tanks were much more successful in educational and popularising activities among university students (over thirty educational and training projects) and the academic staff of these institutions (over forty such initiatives). In this environment, scientific cooperation was carried out on a large scale through joint projects, conferences, training, bilateral exchanges and internships between civil and military education. All surveyed entities conducted regular or frequent (regularly – 80%, often – 20%) scientific lectures on the subject of defence diplomacy. The cooperation was undertaken with such scientific institutions as: Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Daniel Morgan Graduate School of National Security in Washington and Antall József Knowledge Centre in Budapest. Cooperation with the academic community of university-level schools or colleges, alongside universities (including the Jagiellonian University and the University of Warsaw), to a large extent involved higher military education, including: the Military University of Technology, the War Studies University, the Police

Academy in Szczytno and the Australian National Security College. Polish think tanks also confirmed multilateral activities with other expert centres. The most frequently mentioned ones were, among others: the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation, Friends of Europe, the Centre for European Policy Analysis, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Robert Bosch Foundation.

The activity of Polish think tanks in the field of national and international educational projects addressed to all interested parties is also worth mentioning. An example is SAE – the Euro-Atlantic Academy – a programme which includes a series of lectures, seminars and conferences with the participation of outstanding experts and specialists in international relations. The “The New Security Leaders” programme, addressed to leaders in foreign policy, defence and security, is noteworthy.

An important aspect of educational and training cooperation between states and institutions within the framework of defence diplomacy is sharing knowledge and exchange of experiences. It is one of the most frequently undertaken activities of Polish expert institutes. Over 53% of the surveyed centres declared that they conduct such activity. It can be done by placing permanent or temporary training teams in various state institutions in the country and abroad and accepting experts from abroad as part of professional practice. The internships of members of Polish centres at foreign institutions, both governmental and non-state, were very popular. They made it possible to exchange experiences, acquire new skills and learn about the directions of implementation of the idea of defence diplomacy conducted in other countries. Think tanks declared that they send from several to a dozen experts for this type of internship each year. The most popular directions for internships were the United States, followed by Australia and China, then Iraq and Egypt. In Europe, they were: Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Scandinavian and Baltic countries. Invitations from Polish think tanks were equally highly interesting for foreigners. So far, they have hosted several hundred members of state and non-governmental institutions from Poland and abroad. Most often, they were citizens of NATO and EU countries and employees of the diplomatic corps of various countries stationed in Poland, such as the German Embassy in Poland, or employees of the Romanian security sector. Employing foreign experts in national think tanks is an increasingly popular trend related to opening up to the world and searching for new sources of expert knowledge. The largest and most dynamic Polish centres usually employ several of them. They are most often experts in security and defence, cybersecurity and foreign affairs from the United States, European Union countries and Ukraine.

The most common form of popularising defence diplomacy topics and presenting individual or team scientific achievements in this matter, according to Polish research centres (100% of respondents), is organising and participating in scientific conferences and symposia devoted to defence diplomacy. Polish think tanks declared that they would organise such national scientific meetings on average from a few to a dozen a year and several international events during the year. It should be estimated that, in total, Polish think tanks

organised around two hundred such conferences and symposia in the analysed period. The centres also declared broad participation of their experts in such scientific events.

Information activity in the field of defence diplomacy carried out by Polish centres of expertise was done in several ways. It included activities related to the possession and ongoing updating of a website or editing a newsletter and regular personal contacts with partners. On the other hand, it also focused on cooperation with national and foreign think tanks, non-governmental organisations, academic centres, and Polish and foreign government institutions. This cooperation is the most advanced in the national and European dimension, which seems evident from the point of view of the interests of individual countries and Poland's membership in the European Union. As part of popularisation and information activities, an extremely important aspect is initiating discussions on issues important for security (60% of centres) and defining new concepts (70% of respondents). However, think tanks are most active in commenting on and assessing current foreign policy, security, and defence events (80% of entities). For over 70% of respondents, it is extremely important to evaluate and comment on the current activities of politicians, military, and diplomats and create a specific discussion platform for the exchange of views (over 73%). The most frequently used channel for reaching the public and disseminating knowledge in the political and social space is regular or frequent contact with the media in the form of statements, interviews and comments provided to both state and commercial media (about 80%), as well as publications in the daily press and specialist magazines (over 60%). Cooperation with the media allows individual centres to be present in the awareness of the general public and to present their research and expertise competently and interestingly, which in the future may open the way for further cooperation.

5. The Influence of Think Tanks on Shaping Security and Defence Policy

The influence of Polish centres of expertise in the field of defence diplomacy on the environment of European and Polish public life is as follows (Figure 6⁷).

The survey showed that Polish think tanks are aware of their important role in Polish and European public life. Over 90% of them believe that they have a real influence on the directions of discussion in academic circles, and almost 90% – in terms of shaping society's views. A large group of centres (over 73%) see their role in shaping the views of the political class, and over 66% believe that they have a real influence on the decision-making process. 40% of the respondents believe that they affect the private sector of considerable importance to the national economy.

⁷ Figure 6 presents data on how the centers of expertise themselves perceive their own influence on public life in Poland and Europe.

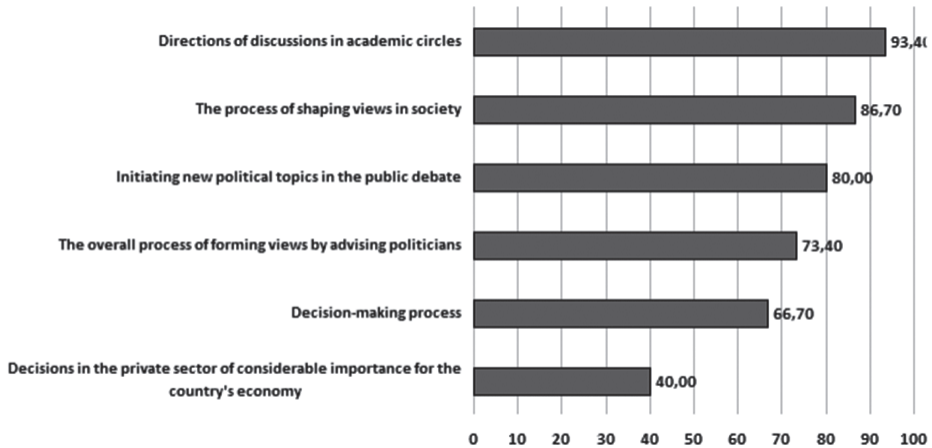


Figure 6. The impact of think tanks' activities in defence diplomacy on public life in Poland and Europe (%)
 Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

The influence of think tanks on the shaping of security and defence policy is more wishful than realistic. To a large extent, their role is reduced to initiating discussions in social and scientific circles rather than creating a decision-making process. Of course, thriving cooperation initiatives between expert and political-military communities⁸ occur, but in practice, the greatest area of influence of Polish think tanks is still society, the academic environment, and the media.

6. Centres Active in Defence Diplomacy

In addition to issues characteristic of defence diplomacy implemented by Polish expertise centres, it is worth indicating which of the surveyed think tanks dealt with these issues to the highest / lowest degree (Figure 7).

The centres of expertise that most often undertake tasks in defence diplomacy are those whose main area of activity is security and defence (CBB-86.60%, CBnT-66.70%) and international relations (PISM-80%, CSM, IS, IP-66.70%, ISP-53.30%, OSW-53.30%). The least active in this respect were: IM (6.70%), IEŚ (20%) and the FSB (40%), for which the main area of action is not a defence and foreign policy but, to a greater extent, issues related to public policies, the development of democracy and civil society, and energy and economic security. The operating profile of these centres probably determined their lower

⁸ For example, cooperation initiated in 2012 by the National Security Bureau (BBN) and directed to twelve Polish think tanks intended to provide substantive support for the Office.

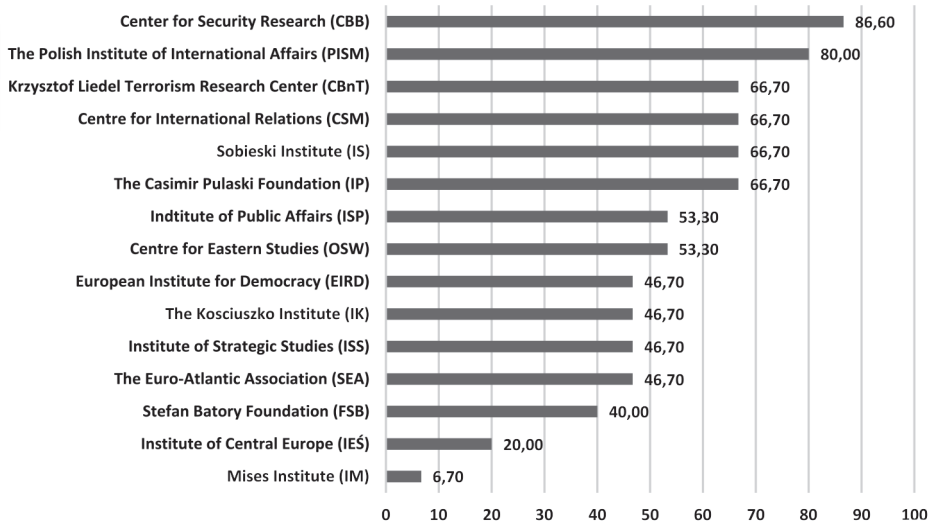


Figure 7. The level of involvement of think tanks in the implementation of tasks for defence diplomacy (%)
Source: Own study based on a questionnaire.

involvement in defence diplomacy. It seems obvious and natural that the problem of defence diplomacy is the domain of resilient and large centres operating on the expert market for years, focused on foreign policy, such as PISM, OSW, CSM, IP or IK. Centres – CBB and CBnT, although relatively new entities, focus their activities mostly on security issues and counteracting threats, thus their high position in the ranking.

Conclusions

The dynamics of changes in the international situation and the emergence of newer and newer threats force states to react quickly to them to ensure the security of societies and states. One of the ways to prevent military threats is to spread the idea of peaceful international and allied cooperation and political order in countries and all political structures. It predisposes the state's military and civilian staff to undertake all activities to shape peaceful military relations between states and thus to constantly supplement and update society's and their own knowledge in security and defence. Therefore, effective defence diplomacy requires independent analytical and expert institutions whose task would be to deepen and disseminate reliable knowledge and the impact of crises on state security. The fact that all the surveyed centres of expertise declared that they most often deal with the protection of international peace and security and non-confrontational dispute proves that they want to play an important role in shaping the state security policy. By cooperating and performing

tasks for state institutions, these entities have the ambition to support activities related to presenting the Polish attitude towards international partners, fostering closer cooperation with the academic, scientific and political community in Poland and abroad on an even larger scale than before. Participation in scientific conferences and seminars, meetings with scientists, internships and international exchanges would become a more open platform for communication, and mutual preparation of publications and studies would constitute an important voice in the discussion on peace and security. Moreover, the expert centres saw their chance in training activities for the officers and civilian employees of the Ministry of National Defence in the scope of tasks carried out within the framework of defence diplomacy. They could even function as a permanent institution at the Ministry as advisory and expert think tanks in conducting analyses, publications, studies, etc. They could also act as liaisons and organisers of meetings with institutions, universities, military and national defence institutions. Do Polish think tanks play such a role now? The answer to this question is not clear.

Polish centres of expertise emphasise research and analysis of political and economic issues and only then on defence matters. It means that political and business issues are a priority for them. The main subject areas in the field of defence diplomacy in which Polish think tanks were particularly active were, to a large extent, issues concerning the protection of peace and the promotion of democratic values and related promotion of confidence-building measures between states and respect for human rights, etc. Another area was bilateral and multilateral cooperation, both in military and diplomatic terms, emphasising cooperation within international security organisations and alliances. An important sphere of expert activity was also issues related to the development of the defence industry and reforming the security sector, substantive civil and military consultancy, and logistic and business activities related to the purchase of military equipment. Although these are very important issues, perfectly fitting into the problems of defence diplomacy, it seems that they, to too small extent, are a source base for political and military decision-makers. Ultimately, the addressees of expert centres' activities are primarily political and military circles with the decision-making power and the power to create defence policy, and then the social environment and the media. In practice, however, this belief is more wishful. The data obtained as a result of the survey show that the effects of the activities of expert centres in the field of defence diplomacy are mostly used by: public opinion, the academic community, the media, and other research centres. Therefore, their main recipient is broadly understood society. Substantive discussion with the social environment, less often with politicians in decision-making positions, is most often undertaken in media. For one thing, the media have become a platform for expert centres to communicate with the public. On the other hand, think tanks have created a competitive market with the media by presenting more reliable information.

The most common ways of establishing contacts with recipients are publishing, expert, and analytical activities, including implementing projects, expert opinions, and reports for

own needs or external orders. An important method of reaching a wider audience is also training and educational activity carried out in the form of lectures and popularisation and information activities. It manifests itself in commenting on current events and giving interviews for state and commercial media. An important way to promote own achievements is to present them at seminars, summits, and national and international conferences.

Considering the relatively low level of use of expert resources by the political and military circles, it should be stated that it has a negligible impact on shaping decisions in the highest circles of power. Polish centres of expertise do not act as lobbying groups, as is often the case in the world because they have little power to influence political and military decision-making centres. Therefore, they do not directly provide the directions for defence diplomacy and have a rather small impact on influencing the direct actions of politicians and the military in this area; they rather have a supporting function. Unlike in many Western countries, in Polish think tanks, former politicians, military or high-level officials are hardly employed due to financial constraints. In the United States and Great Britain, the knowledge and experience of politicians leaving their positions due to the change of the ruling team are utilised by the third sector⁹. Projects are implemented with the use of their knowledge, experience and contacts, in which the horizon of reflection on problems runs many years ahead. By examining various areas of policy and security, they indicate the most urgent challenges, presenting ways in which the state can respond to them. Books and reports are compiled based on prepared projects and analyses and then submitted to offices and the expert community for discussion. Some of them carry out research for the government and political parties, the results of which are often secret. Moreover, experts write ad hoc recommendations for the government, comment on media events and participate in meetings with decision-makers. The voice of experts is therefore constantly present and used by state structures.

Polish think tanks are more focused on training, educational and popularising cooperation, publishing activity, and exchanging views during conferences, meetings, and seminars, most often gathering social and scientific circles, less often political or military. It results in a negligible influence on political decisions related to activities in favour of defence diplomacy. Like other post-communist countries, Poland suffers from the weakness of administration and political institutes. The state apparatus does not provide the rulers with sufficient knowledge and analysis at the level required by today's politics, and think tanks are not able to fill this gap and break through administrative and financial barriers, and above all, marginalisation and lack of openness on the part of the political class. It results in the intellectual deficit of Polish politics and the low quality of the proposed solutions. It

⁹ A term derived from the theory of the division of a modern state into three main sectors: state, market and non-profit organisations operating *pro publico bono*, but at the same time not institutionally related to public administration.

also seems that the public administration underestimates the role of expert centres and is not a frequent commissioner for them, which means that it supports them financially to a small extent. Therefore, the low supply of think tanks results from the low demand for their products. It is caused by the fact that there is no habit of ordering research or listening to external experts in the government administration. The centres themselves do not have the power to reach such institutions on their own and, importantly, to conduct research and analyses for them regularly. It is confirmed by one of the Stefan Batory Foundation reports in which it was investigated that ministries behave passively towards expert centres, expecting that the interested parties will submit their comments on their own, and most decision-makers do not go beyond their permanent lists of partners (Stefan Batory Foundations, 2008, p. 35).

However, it is worth mentioning that national and international cooperation, in which Polish think tanks participated, is quite high. The centres were eager to initiate mutual scientific, educational and training initiatives, conducting advisory and consulting activities in cooperation with many governmental and non-governmental institutions. Considering the subject profile of individual think tanks, their experience, size and position on the Polish market, it should be stated that they perform tasks in defence diplomacy to a different extent and varying degrees. The think tanks that have been operating on the market for years and have an established position are most active and focused in their activities on international relations and security and defence issues. Centres operating in the field of internal affairs and public policies deal with the issues of defence diplomacy to a lesser extent.

It is worth supporting the development of think tanks also in the field of defence diplomacy not only in Poland but also around the world, especially in young democracies, because the more independent and objective, substantively strong expert centres, the higher the quality and the greater choice of recommendations that could go to people making key decisions in politics and business. In Western countries, cooperation between governments and think tanks is often very intense. It is more difficult in Poland, as government institutions rarely outsource various analyses, but some progress can be observed. According to the surveyed centres, the situation is changing, but it is still happening very slowly. Although there are many think tanks, they most often affect society rather than the political elite. The lack of a permanent funding source affects their dependence on donors, limits the scale of operations, the possibility of recruiting the best experts for cooperation, access to specialist knowledge, or conducting reliable research. The role of centres of expertise in the field of cooperation with political and military decision-makers focuses mainly on popularising knowledge in the field of defence diplomacy in society and supporting the authorities' activities. It seems that the potential of think tanks is not fully used and that they should be more involved not only in public consultations but also in formulating political strategies and providing directions for security and defence policy. Think tanks, having no direct influence on the decision-making process, have found a way to influence political decisions indirectly. By shaping public opinion through the media, they introduce their ideas into social circulation, hoping that over time

they will penetrate the political and military environment. Therefore, it should be hoped that in the future, they will gain more and more influence on political decisions and take their rightful place in political structures, contributing to the expertise of public life.

Acknowledgements

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