

# Developing Diplomats

Comparing Form and Culture  
Across Diplomatic Services



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**Developing Diplomats:  
Comparing Form and Culture Across Diplomatic Services**

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# Developing Diplomats

## Comparing Form and Culture Across Diplomatic Services

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Diplomatic services around the world face similar challenges: instilling in their ranks a global perspective and sensibility; managing the growing centralization of foreign policy making in the offices of presidents, prime ministers and chancellors; engaging a growing array of non-state actors with whom they must do business; and widening their scope of diplomatic activity to include commerce, climate change, terrorism, and cyber-security, among other issues. Many diplomatic services also encounter skepticism about the value of diplomacy on the part of legislatures and the broader public. This path-breaking project investigates the ways various high-performing diplomatic services are addressing these challenges. It identifies best practices in the field of diplomacy and aims to inform discussions on how best to build a U.S. Foreign Service equipped to lead America's foreign policy in the twenty-first century.

Our partner and client in this venture is Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, President of the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA). In its role as the principal advocate for the U.S. Foreign Service, AFSA works closely with the Director General of the U.S. Foreign Service to help advance the goals of recruiting, retaining, and sustaining a diverse and capable diplomatic corps poised to succeed in a world of growing complexity and challenges. The student authors of this study and we, as the faculty directors of the project, are enormously grateful to Ambassador Stephenson and key members of her staff, particularly Ms. Maria Livingston, for their support, encouragement, and enthusiasm throughout this year-long project. We particularly appreciate their hosting our entire team for three days of meetings and interviews in Washington, D.C. in December 2016, and wish also to thank Tom O'Donnell and Robin Boone, the Executive Director and Deputy Director of the LBJ School Washington Center, for their support during that visit. All of us engaged in this project share a deep and abiding commitment to the critical importance of diplomacy in managing an increasingly complex world.

Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri  
Austin, May 2017

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## Introduction

Jeremi Suri

On October 26, 1776, four months after signing the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin set sail from Philadelphia to France, where he became the first American diplomat. Franklin was a cosmopolitan inventor, businessman, politician, and writer. He was also a skilled representative of his new nation, negotiating the first American alliance with France. This was the only formal American alliance concluded for the next century-and-a-half – until the Second World War.

Franklin and his contemporaries understood that international diplomacy – the cultivation and management of relations with other states – was crucial for national survival and prosperity. He was part of a broader transatlantic community of learned, wealthy gentlemen who used their personal skills to manage relations between rival governments in an era of aggressive empires. Diplomacy was not an alternative to war or peace, but instead an essential part of eliciting support from potential allies, and, when necessary, balancing against potential foes in a complex international system.

Diplomacy meant delicate negotiations in-between the extremes of war and peace, what Franklin and others recognized as the crucial daily maintenance of contacts and communications between states and other international actors. British, French, Prussian, and Russian diplomats had mastered this game in Franklin's day. He followed suit, and brought the wisdom of his experience back to his newly emerging nation.<sup>1</sup>

For Franklin and his many successors foreign relations meant a mix of cooperation, competition, and negotiations to maximize the emerging power of the United States and minimize its weaknesses. In a complex world with diverse actors, no country could go it alone. Diplomacy was survival through interdependence, and the pursuit of the national interest through direct communication, intelligence gathering, and manipulation, when necessary. The founders and successive generations concentrated their foreign policy activities on the work of diplomats, not

<sup>1</sup> For more on Benjamin Franklin and the origins of American diplomacy, see Jonathan R. Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). For a fuller discussion of modern diplomacy, its importance, and some of its successes in the twentieth century, see Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

the military, and the most talented American statesmen served their country in this capacity, following Franklin's footsteps. They expected that their successors would do the same.<sup>2</sup>

The twentieth century was, in some ways, an era when this vision came to fruition. The United States and its counterparts on other continents expanded their diplomatic services, placing greater emphasis than ever before on sending some of their most talented and best-trained citizens abroad to negotiate treaties, manage daily relations, and report on potential dangers. Embassies proliferated around the world, diplomatic conferences became more numerous and specialized, and organizations (especially the League of Nations and the United Nations) turned intensive diplomatic deliberations into a form of global governance. On the eve of the Second World War, the United States possessed a small divided military (the Army and Navy were entirely separate), and a growing, highly educated, and increasingly active foreign service. The diplomats largely determined American foreign policy in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>3</sup>

The same was true for counterpart agencies in Great Britain and France, except their foreign ministries were also imperial offices, managing empire. American diplomats, in George Kennan's first-hand account of the period, were trying to reform the world through law, negotiation, and cooperation; the diplomats from old and new empires were seeking to protect their holdings. Washington's diplomats were the front-line of American idealism and influence in an increasingly competitive international system that descended into a Second World War, when the work of the diplomats would become married to a larger and, for the first time, permanent American global military presence. Nonetheless, at least through the postwar decade of European and Japanese reconstruction, American diplomats led policy-making as strategists, negotiators, and managers on the ground.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On the American diplomatic tradition, and its early origins, see, among many others, Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Robert Dallek, *The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); David Milne, *Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> On this point, the literature on American foreign policy during the interwar years is most revealing. Despite public isolationism, diplomats crafted and managed a coherent American internationalist vision that included increased trade, cultural influence, and political cooperation abroad. See, among others, Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> See, among many others, George Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); William Hitchcock, *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership*



This unprecedented expansion in America's global presence, and its underlying internationalist goals (including democratization and free trade), required a more skilled, highly organized, professionalized diplomatic corps. Professionalization occurred across all areas of society in the twentieth century (medicine, law, education, etc.), but it was especially pronounced in the field of diplomacy. The technically trained and carefully vetted representative of the state supplanted the aristocrat-turned-diplomat of old. Governments, including the United States, built large bureaucracies to train and organize the work of men (and eventually women) hired full-time to manage different elements of each nation's foreign activities in trade, travel, military affairs, education, and other matters. The new professional foreign service officers were selected on merit (usually through competitive examinations), they were highly trained (usually with advanced degrees), and they were specialized (by field or region.)<sup>5</sup>

The venerable British diplomat, Harold Nicolson, described this as the "new diplomacy." Leisurely confidential aristocratic dialogues in royal courts were the ornaments of the past; highly disciplined negotiations, supported and surveilled by tightly organized government bureaucracies, were the wave of the future. Diplomacy changed from palace intrigue to a game of information gathering and sensitive policy application in changing circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

The professionalized diplomacy of the twentieth century dominated the Cold War, and it continues to shape the post-Cold War world. American diplomats (George Kennan, Averell Harriman, Dean Acheson, Henry Kissinger, and many others) were the at the center of U.S. policy-making, as were their Western European, Soviet, Chinese, Japanese, and postcolonial counterparts. Since at least 1945, every major country has strived to hire, train, and employ the most skilled foreign service professionals for a variety of tasks, including: economic cooperation, counter-terrorism, cultural exchange, and, of course, conflict management. Diplomats work with diverse counterparts from their own governments, foreign governments, the business community, social movements, non-governmental organizations, and the media. And the list of potential partners continues to grow as the range of international actors expands in the early twenty-first century.<sup>7</sup>

*in Europe, 1944-1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jeremi Suri, *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama* (New York: Free Press, 2011), chapters 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> See Harry W. Kopp and Charles A. Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2011), 63-160.

<sup>6</sup> See Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933).

<sup>7</sup> See Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman, eds., *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Diplomats often receive less public attention than soldiers, but they are ever-present and essential for the management of complex relationships across widely varying contexts. To travel, trade, and adjudicate unavoidable cross-boundary conflicts requires diplomats more than ever before. As jet travel and the Internet have transformed the job, diplomacy has grown in importance for translation and coordination in the face of disorienting changes. Diplomats keep the forces of global entropy under control; they help to build order out of chaos. In the terms used by political scientist Hedley Bull, diplomats socialize the relations among international actors, nurturing a system of rules, norms, and common expectations – even among adversaries.<sup>8</sup>

This comparative study is an effort to understand the similarities and differences in how countries recruit, train, and promote their diplomats. Our point of departure is the crucial importance of diplomacy in the modern world, and the need for more shared thinking about diplomacy across societies, and more common work to coordinate the development of first-class diplomats. The United States is not a central case study in this report because we chose to look beyond the familiar, and because we believed that the United States (like all other countries) can improve the preparation of its diplomats by drawing on some best practices from abroad.

Different nations train their doctors, lawyers, and even professors in similar ways – with shared bodies of knowledge and common standards of performance. The same is not true for diplomats whose backgrounds and educational experiences vary as much as ever. Although their work is self-consciously global, diplomats are nationally selected, trained, and evaluated. Diplomatic training remains particularistic and nationalistic; it resists serious and deep efforts to make it more global, despite the global problems all diplomats must confront.

The best evidence for the resistance to globalization in diplomatic training is the paucity of comparative studies. We know of only two detailed studies of foreign service recruitment and

<sup>8</sup> See Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

training across societies.<sup>9</sup> Other comparative discussions exist, but they lack detail.<sup>10</sup> Even the best foreign services are remarkably insular in the ways they prepare for their core missions.

This study is a detailed and focused effort to broaden how we understand and conceptualize the recruitment, training, and development of professional diplomats in the twenty-first century. The goal is not to criticize processes in different countries, but to create a common foundation for comparing, learning, and even integrating training and career development models across nations. This is particularly valuable for American readers, who are frequently ill-informed about the workings of other countries.

We have focused on eight major non-American foreign services: Brazil, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Russia, and Turkey. We chose these services based on their size, influence, and historical role in their regions. We also chose them for their geographical and cultural differences from the United States, and their accessibility for research. (We included Russia as one of our eight case studies, although it was the least accessible of the group. We excluded Japan largely because we did not have the requisite language and area expertise in our research group.)

Our team of fifteen graduate student researchers read everything they could find on the diplomatic services of these societies. They also interviewed select diplomats from these foreign services, who were available in the United States, as well as in Brussels. The research focused on understanding organization, recruitment, training, and promotion of diplomats. The forthcoming case studies describe the findings from this focused comparative research. Each case study also includes a collection of short biographies for representative high-level diplomats, illustrating the kinds of leaders each foreign service has trained and promoted.

<sup>9</sup> See Henry Kittredge Norton, *Foreign Office Organization: A Comparison of the Organization of the British, French, German and Italian Foreign Offices with that of The Department of State of The United States of America* (The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1929); Gianluigi Benedetti, Daniela Di Prima, Antonietta di Salvatore, Darragh Henegan, and Pietro Prosperi, eds., (comparing the foreign offices of France, Italy, UK, Germany, Spain), Directorate General for Administrative Affairs, Budget and Assets, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (no date). The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) recently completed its own benchmarking exercise, examining selection and entry level training in eight other foreign services: Brazil, China, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, and India. This AFSA report was based on interviews. We have seen a 12-page summary of this report, and we have incorporated it in our research.

<sup>10</sup> See Paul Webster Hare, *Making Diplomacy Work: Intelligent Innovation for the Modern World* (Thousand Oak, CA: CQ Press/Sage, 2016), chapter 9; Lowy Institute (London): <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/global-diplomacy-index/>.

A number of themes emerged from the case studies, and they run through the chapters that follow. The culture and effectiveness of each of the eight diplomatic services that we studied was determined, in large part, by their attention to these issues. The diversity of policies and practices across services is wide, as detailed in each of the chapters, but the challenges are quite similar.

## 1. Recruitment and Retention

All diplomatic services strive to recruit, promote, and retain the best talent. As discussed in the chapters of this report, foreign services employ numerous methods to attract the highest qualified individuals, while weeding out less qualified applicants. Almost all of the services rely on an examination system and various other requirements, including foreign language proficiency, specialized education, psychiatric evaluation, and extensive knowledge of economics, law, and related disciplines. France especially focuses on elite education, selecting many of its officers from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, the nation's premier public administration school.

After the new recruits are hired, the next challenge becomes retention. How do you engage these top candidates in early work that will encourage them to stay within the organization, rather than seek more lucrative career opportunities elsewhere? Some countries, like Russia, have begun to increase salaries in an attempt to stem falling retention rates. Others, like France, continue to rely on the domestic prestige of their diplomatic corps to attract and retain talent. The nature of promotion through the organization, "up and out" service contracts, and the responsiveness of the bureaucracy to family needs are all key factors affecting long-term development of high-quality personnel.

## 2. Training

Beyond initial training at recruitment, all of the foreign services in this study offer further opportunities for professional development; however, the length and execution of mid-career education varies greatly. Some services mandate periodic moments of intensive study throughout the careers of their foreign service officers, some offer optional coursework and training programs as a prerequisite for promotion, and others utilize training programs only after promotion decisions have already been made.

The training of early employees varies significantly between services from a matter

of weeks to a high of three years. Depending on the type of recruitment and education required, the services build their internal training upon that foundation. Services with a high barrier of entry tend to offer less early training; services that have a low barrier of entry, provide considerably more on the job training. The distinction blurs somewhat in the case of nations, like France, where the foreign ministry recruits some officers directly from its public administration school. Early training creates norms for a nation's diplomats, and how they will define the work they do for their country.

Several services mandate professional development and an examination as a part of their promotion process. Countries like Brazil and China have strict promotion processes that incentivize employees to attend training courses if they wish to advance their careers. China, for example, uses a "points" system to promote officers. To gain points or course credits, employees must take and pass a certain number of classes concurrent with their daily work requirements. Once enough points are accrued, officers become eligible for more-advanced positions. Other services, especially Turkey, give rigorous meritocratic examinations to officers before they can advance to senior or expert-level positions.

Some services mandate refresher courses or professional development sessions after officers have worked for a certain period of time. In India, for example, foreign service officers are required to complete in-service training after their first five years of service – the goals of which are to prepare the officers for geographical specializations. France mandates mid-career training after fifteen years of service, aiming to strengthen managerial and leadership skills for officers taking on upper management roles. Other services like those of Germany and Russia hold short trainings for officers between assignments, often after a term abroad.

Challenges to professional development in these services include budget limitations and current crises that take priority. These limitations often restrict the ability of services to offer extensive professional development programs.

In all services, on-the-job training and mentoring are crucial, often more important than formal classroom experiences. Nonetheless, there is a direct relationship between the different modes of learning. Services that value on-the-job training and mentoring also build-in the necessary time for reflection and analysis that temporary out-of-post activities uniquely afford. Sequencing assignments for maximum learning, nurturing internal

relationships that encourage growth, and allowing space for reflection away from daily pressures are interdependent elements of any serious training program.

### 3. Domestic Politics

Discussion of budget limitations inevitably raises the issue of domestic politics. Each of the foreign services under examination struggles to maintain domestic support for its work. Diplomats confront perceptions of elitism and growing skepticism toward their cosmopolitanism among nationalist voters. Many foreign services are giving ever-greater attention to direct engagement with their own citizens, but that is a potential diversion for the work of international diplomacy. There is also a deep tension between the natural professionalizing tendency of diplomatic services (emphasizing special knowledge and experience) and populist tendencies that value ordinariness, localism, and authenticity.

In this study of eight leading diplomatic services, domestic tensions ranging from funding debates to diversity challenges play a central role in the effectiveness of each service within the international community. Effective diplomats must operate with the respect and support of their citizens, and this is often lacking. In Great Britain, for example, the impact of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office appears constrained by alternative international departments, a political climate shifting away from previously held globalist attitudes, and a budgetary crisis. The Turkish foreign ministry has extended its global reach in the last decade, but it faces increasing politicization and curtailed autonomy under the current president.

The Indian Foreign Service is an extreme outlier in personnel size – over-stretched in its efforts to connect with over a billion citizens and an expansive diaspora community. In Europe, the French and German foreign ministries face an uncertain domestic landscape that questions consensus assumptions about European integration and free trade. Amidst these disparate and cacophonous national voices, diplomacy faces a growing challenge to affirm its relevance at home and abroad.

### 4. Diversity

One of the biggest domestic challenges is diversity – making the foreign service of a diverse nation represent that diversity. Every foreign service examined in this report

comes up short, but each comes up short in its own unique way.

Most of the diplomatic services value diversity for the additional skills and perspectives it brings to diplomacy, as well as the legitimacy it provides in domestic debates. Most of the services have extensive plans to expand their diversity, defined in different ways, with different tactics.

The Constitution of India, for example, calls for proportional weighting of potential recruits by regional, caste, and tribal background; these efforts have led to disadvantaged groups comprising 46% of all new recruits in the past 5 years. Current efforts in India are also focused on religious and linguistic representation.<sup>11</sup>

In Brazil, a country of vast racial and cultural diversity, the foreign service has undertaken many efforts to increase diversity, with attention to gender, race, and socioeconomic background. Following widespread criticism of their largely insular, parochial, and European-style diplomats, Brazil has implemented several reforms; chief among these efforts, a restructuring of the recruitment process in order to make the Itamaraty's Foreign Service Examination more accessible, the institution of quotas for recruits of Afro-Brazilian ethnicity, and the administration of the entrance exam outside of Brasilia for distant regional applicants.

In Germany, the "Charter of Diversity" seeks to guarantee that German diplomats come from diverse backgrounds. The data on Germany's diplomatic workforce indicates impressive successes in increasing diversity, especially around gender. The same is true for France, where 53% of the diplomatic workforce is comprised of women. On racial, ethnic, and religious diversity, all of these services still have a long way to go.

## 5. Technology

If diversity is a common challenge, the rapid pace of technological change is probably the most serious source of uncertainty for each service. The pace and significance of technological change has undermined traditional assumptions about communication, influence, and power as a whole.

Most foreign services have taken advantage of the increased popularity of social

<sup>11</sup> See the text of the Constitution of India: <https://india.gov.in/my-government/constitution-india/constitution-india-full-text>.

media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube to conduct public diplomacy. Today, diplomatic services can sustain an open dialogue with the public – foreign and domestic – through social media posts that answer questions, discuss changes, and address specific issues. For example, the director of the press service for the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs often uses her personal Twitter account to inform the Russian public and release talking points. In this sense, services are using technology to expand their contact with the public.

As social media have extended the reach of public diplomacy efforts, they have the potential to undermine diplomatic professionalism. For instance, several reports claimed that diplomatic officers from Britain’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office may have used a social media messaging application to discuss sensitive and inappropriate topics while posted abroad.

The information technology revolution has opened up the possibility of real-time diplomatic communications that were before unthinkable. While these capabilities enhance the ability of diplomats to provide timely information to their counterparts and report back to their home governments, some diplomats lament how communications allow government figures at home to micro-manage relations far-away. Modern communications systems have contributed to a sense among many diplomats that their current role is to repeat the talking points emanating from the executive, adding few expert insights.

The information technology revolution also poses a threat to the relevance of diplomatic reporting. Historically, diplomats have contributed critical information to the decision-making bodies within their home governments. In recent years government decision-makers have marginalized diplomatic reporting because they wish to act fast, and they have numerous alternative sources of direct information from abroad. The proliferation of information sources has, in some cases, contributed to the perception that decision-makers are relying on inaccurate, or at least incomplete, information. The challenge for modern diplomatic services is to harness the capabilities of the information technology revolution to reassert the power of on-the-ground reporting.

The themes running through this study are contemporary, and also historical. They represent age-old challenges and opportunities, re-defined by the contours of our current era.



Studying these themes in a comparative context provides a foundation for renewing our diplomatic institutions, at a time when they are most in need of renewal.

Although diplomacy has evolved considerably from Benjamin Franklin's era, it remains as essential as ever to the security and prosperity of nations, as well as other international actors. The United States has a long and venerable diplomatic tradition that can and will adjust to the new challenges and opportunities of our current moment. Adjustment, however, will require closer study of other foreign services, and a general commitment to help our nation's diplomats develop the knowledge and resources to serve our country best. The United States Foreign Service has the opportunity to improve as it globalizes its vision of educating the next generation of high caliber diplomats. We hope this study helps in that worthy and essential mission.

## **Brazil**

Maria Pereyra-Vera & Daniel Jimenez

### **Executive Summary**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Portuguese *Ministerio das Relações Exteriores*, is the governmental organ responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs in Brazil. Colloquially referred to as the Itamaraty, after the palace that has housed the institution since its inception in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a particularly rich history. The Itamaraty began as an institution that primarily served the elite in Brazil. The Itamaraty has since reconciled their elitist past, becoming an internationally renowned ministry in a matter of decades, with respected diplomats who maintain significant influence across the globe. Incoming diplomatic recruits tend to hail from families of higher socioeconomic status and a more privileged education. Interestingly, the institutional influence of the French Foreign Ministry on the Itamaraty is still reflected in both the pre-requisites, and core curriculum for the training and development of Brazilian diplomats by the Instituto Rio Branco. This is evidenced by the Branco Institute's strong emphasis on the humanities, knowledge of foreign languages, and critical thinking. The path to the diplomacy in Brazil is singular - graduation from the Rio Branco Institute in Brasilia. Graduates of the program become third tier secretaries in the Ministry, with the potential for upward advancement pending supplemental coursework at the Rio Branco Institute. Brazilian diplomats enjoy a degree of finesse and leverage in multilateral negotiations and engagements, granting diplomats some autonomy abroad; this is especially relevant to those diplomats who are on missions in smaller states where there are less diplomats posted.

## **History**

The Itamaraty, Brazil's Foreign Ministry, prides itself on producing a certain caliber of diplomat. Brazilian diplomats are oft described as charming, charismatic, and well-versed in the humanities and arts. Brazil's diplomatic community is sometimes described as elitist and superior. As both a career and practice, diplomacy is associated with prestige in Brazil. Much of this perception can be explained by a quick look at the history of the Itamaraty as an institution. From its inception, Brazil has been significantly influenced by the European continent; their foreign ministry borrows heavily from the French diplomatic tradition, and their culture is the product of years of Portuguese colonial influence. Perhaps more than Portugal, France has been particularly formative. The French ideals of equality and liberty, and appreciation for high culture and art, have also been internalized by Brazil's diplomatic corp.

The year 1822 was a pivotal one in Brazilian history. For one, Brazil declared its independence from Portugal in 1822. Led by King Pedro I, son of the then king of Portugal, Brazil gained its independence in September of that year. King Pedro I was crowned emperor of the new nation, taking the name Dom Pedro I.<sup>1</sup> The year 1822 also witnessed the creation of the Itamaraty. Dom Pedro himself established the institution.<sup>2</sup> That the entering of the Itamaraty into the institutional lexicon of Brazil occurred in tandem with a relatively peaceful transfer of power is not insignificant. The relative calm and bloodlessness that underlies the transition of Portuguese colonial governance to Dom Pedro I has afforded Europe a great deal of influence and cultural credibility in Brazil.

In 1834, the Viscount of Sepetiba, a highly influential individual and confidante of Dom Pedro I, introduced several significant structural changes within the Ministry. Recognizing that Brazil's diplomatic corps needed to develop a standardized way of training new recruits, the

<sup>1</sup> James, Preston E. and E. Bradford Burns. "Brazil, Independence." Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 10 February 2017. <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Brazil/Independence>>.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting here, the United States has also played a substantial role in Brazilian diplomacy and statecraft. The United States was the first country to recognize Brazil's independence in 1822. Today, the U.S. and Brazil, the two largest democracies and economies in the Western Hemisphere, continue to share a commitment to democratic values and the promotion of peace, security, and human rights. See also, "U.S. Relations with Brazil." Fact Sheet. Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs. 27 January 2017. U.S. Department of State. <<https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35640.htm>>.

Viscount institutionalized nationwide exams.<sup>3</sup> The exam was designed to assess a candidates' knowledge in grammar, spelling, arithmetic, international law, geography, Latin, French, English, in addition to penmanship.<sup>4</sup>

Arguably the most consequential figure in Brazilian diplomacy, Jose Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior, Baron of Rio Branco, played a significant role in the history of the Itamaraty.<sup>5</sup> Colloquially referred to as the “father of Brazilian Diplomacy,” Branco left behind several legacies in Brazil. For one, Rio Branco was instrumental to the establishment of Brazil’s borders.<sup>6</sup> Rio Branco also played a fundamental role in the development of the Brazilian diplomatic corp as he sought to “equalize members of the service in terms of social origins and ideological bias, [favoring] the creation of a relatively cohesive and homogenous group.”<sup>7</sup> This groundwork of “institutional unity and ideological homogeneity,” eventually led to the institutional changes, which helped shape Brazil’s Ministry of Exterior Relations today. In 1918, Brazil saw the adoption of public examinations for the State Department, and not long after, in the 1930s, the Mello Franco reform was introduced, “which put the foreign services together, merging the State Department, Consular Service and Diplomatic Service.” This occurred in tandem with the Oswaldo Aranha reform, which unified and institutionalized these services.<sup>8</sup>

The evolution of the Brazilian foreign service reached its apex with the creation of the Instituto Rio Branco in 1945. On April 18, 1945, as part of the centennial celebration of the birth of the Baron of Rio Branco, then President Getulio Vargas created the institute. From 1946 forward, the institute has been focusing its efforts in the training and education of Brazil’s diplomats.<sup>9</sup> Since then, the Instituto Rio Branco has pushed to further innovate and improve its training through constant education and a focus on efficiency.

<sup>3</sup> “O Instituto – Pagina Inicial.” Accessed October 22, 16. [http://www.institutorio Branco.mre.gov.br/pt-br/o\\_instituto.xml](http://www.institutorio Branco.mre.gov.br/pt-br/o_instituto.xml).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “Saiba Mais Sobre a Carreira Diplomática No Brasil | Guia Da Carreira.” Guia Da Carreira. Accessed October 22, 2016. <http://www.guiadacarreira.com.br/carreira/carreira-diplomatica/>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

<sup>8</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

## Profile

### I. Budget

Brazil, facing limits on its military and defense technological capabilities, chooses to garner greater clout on the international stage by prioritizing diplomacy and soft power over traditional hard power. Indeed, Brazil ranks 17th in the world, according to the Monocle Institute for Government's 2012 rankings of soft power, ahead of several developed countries.<sup>10</sup> Brazil has played to its strengths in carving itself a respectable niche in the international arena. Brazil's global aspirations reached a golden age during the administration of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. Recognizing the question of global power status carries with it a certain set of criteria, usually chief among them, military power and economic capability, Lula chose to pursue Brazilian ascendancy by way of diplomatic capital and extensive multilateral relations. In this regard, much of Brazil's claim to global hegemony is predicated on their conduct in diplomacy. Their diplomatic clout reached an apex under Lula, as he embarked the country on a diplomatic trajectory of "sovereign diplomacy," which emphasized consolidating alliances with selected partners in the Third World, as well as engagement with emerging world powers like India, South Africa, and China. Lula also instituted greater consolidation of regional alliances, particularly diplomatic ones, within South America.<sup>11</sup> Brazil has witnessed recent constraints in their diplomatic capabilities.

Brazil's legacy of multilateralism and an overarching strategy of pragmatism and compromise is deeply rooted in their historical experience. Brazil was a founding member of the League of Nations in 1920, and the UN in 1945. Brazil has since chaired the UN Security Council on multiple occasion, and is an active participant in UN peacekeeping operations since the Suez Crisis in 1956.<sup>12</sup> Because of its participation in these activities, as well as engagement in a birth of multilateral institutions, the WTO, IMF, and African Development Bank to name a few, Brazil aspires to greater international status. For example, Brazil has pressed for a permanent seat on the Security Council in recent years. This status as an ascendant power affords Brazil some muscle in

<sup>10</sup> Trinkunas, Harold. "Brazil's Global Ambitions." *Brookings Institute*. 4 February, 2015. <<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/brazils-global-ambitions/>>

<sup>11</sup> de Almeida, Paulo Roberto. "Never Before Seen in Brazil: Lula Inacio Lula de Silva's legacy of grand diplomacy." *Rev. Bras. Polit. Int.* 53 (2). 14 August 2010. <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbpi/v53n2/09.pdf>>

<sup>12</sup> "Multilateral Relations." *Country Studies, Brazil*. US Library of Congress. <<http://countrystudies.us/brazil/107.htm>>.

diplomatic negotiations, but it is also necessarily constrained, especially in comparison to states like the US or UK. Brazil thus uses multilateral institutions and soft power to achieve its objectives, rather than finger-wagging or dictating terms. This has allowed it to achieve significant diplomatic success, especially among middle powers.<sup>13</sup> In tandem with the respect attributed to Brazilian diplomats for their cultural intelligence, professionalism, and efficiency, Brazil's diplomatic corps enjoys a legitimacy that is unique among Latin America.

Historically, the value placed in the Brazilian diplomatic corps has been reflected in their foreign ministry's budget, achieving its heyday under the leadership of President Lula. But in recent years, this trend has been shifting. To be sure, allocations for the Brazilian foreign ministry are still considerable. According to *The Brazil Business*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a budget of 2.2 billion Brazilian real in 2013.<sup>14</sup> But for a variety of reasons, chief among them former President Rousseff's marginalization of the ministry, funding for Brazil's diplomatic corps has seen a steady decline. A recent article by Dr. Oliver Struenkel, a scholar and specialist in Brazilian diplomacy, states that in 2014 the Itamaraty's budget was approximately half of what it used to be under President Lula.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, according to a report of the Brazilian Federal Senate, the 2015 operating budget for the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was 1.89 billion Brazilian real, approximately 600 million USD.<sup>16</sup> While still sizeable, the decrease in funding for the Itamaraty reflects a larger trend of decline in the past eight years. Since then, the Itamaraty has been relegated to a backseat role in foreign policy making and Brazilian statecraft at large. Interestingly, for all the budget cuts and political marginalization, the Itamaraty does not seem to have sacrificed any prestige or institutional quality.

## II. Organizational Structure

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the primary governing institution for the implementation of diplomatic relations with states and relevant international organizations. Proportional to its status as an aspiring or ascendant power, Brazil's Foreign Ministry maintains an impressively

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Brazilian Ministries and their budgets." *The Brazil Business*. <<http://thebrazilbusiness.com/article/brazilian-ministries-and-their-budget>>.

<sup>15</sup> Stuenkel, Oliver. "Brazilian Foreign Policy: Into the Dark." *Postwestern World*. 12 December 2014. <<http://www.postwesternworld.com/2014/12/12/brazilian-foreign-policy-into/>>.

<sup>16</sup> Paracer Preliminar: Projeto de Lei Orcamentaria para 2015, Portal Orcamento. Congresso Nacional, Comissão Mista de Planos, Orcamentos Publicos e Fiscalizacao, p. 25.

extensive network of diplomats, personnel, and missions abroad. It is worth noting that the relative size of the Brazilian diplomatic corps, approximately 1200 Foreign Service Officers, is less an indication of an inadequacy in personnel size, and more a reflection of the continued elitist and insular nature of Brazilian diplomats, as well as severe budgetary constraints.<sup>17</sup> The Itamaraty is headquartered in Brasilia, and constitutes the main body providing direct assistance to Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Secretary General of Foreign Affairs. The Itamaraty is further responsible for providing counsel to the Rio Branco Institute as well as nine Undersecretaries General, including their respective Coordinating Offices, Departments, and Divisions.

In terms of the Itamaraty's presence abroad, the Ministry of External Relations boasts a network of 226 official representations in 138 countries. This can be further broken down into 152 diplomatic missions, and 70 consular missions. The Ministry's 200+ diplomatic representations abroad provide a range of services: they promote Brazil's interests abroad, provide various consular services to Brazilian ex-pats and Brazilians living outside the country, offers key logistical and administrative support to Brazilian companies located abroad, and other similar functions. The Itamaraty is also responsible for coordinating official visits of Heads of State and Government, and other high-ranking foreign officials, to Brazil. Conversely, the Ministry also prepares the visits of the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Brazil to other countries.<sup>18</sup>

### III. Cones/Tracks

Brazil's Foreign Service is divided into 4 cones: Geographic, Thematic (Functional) and Multilateral Negotiations, Consular, and Administrative.

Diplomats serving in the geographic cone are responsible for monitoring the political, economic, and social developments in countries of a region or continent, and maintaining communications and relations with the various missions of the Itamaraty operating out of said regions/countries and their corresponding embassies in Brazil.

<sup>17</sup> Mohan, Archis. "Indian Diplomacy Fails Numbers Test." *StratPost: South Asian Defense and Strategic Affairs*. 1 October 2013. <<http://www.stratpost.com/indian-diplomacy-fails-numbers-test>>.

<sup>18</sup> "About the Ministry." Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Itamaraty. <<http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/the-ministry>>.

Diplomats serving in the theme and multilateral negotiations cone are responsible for the development of various issues (climate change policy, human rights, etc.) on Brazil's international agenda, and engage in negotiations about these issues. These diplomats establish guidelines and help implement commercial and cultural promotion of agenda items, often working towards regional integration negotiations directly.

Diplomats working in the consular track, intuitively, support the hundreds of consular offices established for the protection of Brazilian citizens abroad and for regulating entry by foreign visitors to Brazil. Lastly, diplomats assigned to the administrative cone work in an administrative capacity in managing Brazil's many missions overseas. These diplomats are responsible for everything from managing finance, managing personnel, procurement and contracts, maintaining the "heritage of the Foreign Ministry," and monitoring the administration of Brazilian missions abroad.

#### IV. Character of the Diplomatic Service

Due in large part to a diplomatic tradition hailing from the late 19th century, inspired by the French conception of international diplomacy, Brazil's foreign service is characteristically elitist and inclusive. The flipside to this being that Brazil's heavy emphasis on the humanities and arts as being instrumental to the study and practice of diplomatic engagement translates to a corps of foreign service officers who are incredibly capable, well-versed in a host of languages, and held in high esteem.

Brazil's diplomatic corps have received criticism for their lack of representation. These criticisms have come from a range of groups, including activist and advocacy groups, such as Black Women of Brazil, mainstream media outlets like NPR, and scholars of Brazilian foreign policy, such as Edward Telles.<sup>19</sup> Brazil's diplomats are turned out almost without exception via one channel: the Rio Branco Institute, a prestigious academy that trains forthcoming foreign service officers. Upon graduation from the Branco Institute, students are automatically

<sup>19</sup> See: Garcia-Navarro, Lucia. "For Affirmative Action, Brazil Sets up Controversial Board to Determine Race." NPR. 29 September 2016. <<http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/09/29/495665329/for-affirmative-action-brazil-sets-up-controversial-boards-to-determine-race>>; See also: Braziliense, Correo. "Study finds that 99% of Brazil's professors and diplomats are white." *Black Women of Brazil*. <<https://blackwomenofbrazil.co/2013/05/24/study-finds-that-99-of-brazilian-diplomats-and-federal-university-professors-are-white/>>; See also: Telles, Edward E. "Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil." Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 2004.



streamlined into a position as “Third Tier Secretary” with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The selection process for admission into the Branco Institute, while not de jure discriminatory, perpetuates a system that fails to improve upon existing problems with diversity and representation, both socioeconomically and ethnically/racially.

According to an interview with Carla Silva-Muhammad, Director and Coordinator of the Brazil Center at the LLILAS (the Teresa Lozano Long Institute for Latin American Studies), while there are no barriers to application to the Branco Institute, only those students who hail from the upper middle class to upper class have access to the kind of secondary and postsecondary education necessary for an acceptable score on the Rio Branco Institute entrance exam. Indeed, the Rio Branco Institute requires an extensive knowledge of the humanities and impressive foreign language proficiency from all of its students.<sup>20</sup> Compounding the claims of elitism that characterize the Itamaraty, Brazil’s diplomatic corps have received widespread criticism for their lack of representation. According to a 2005 study cited by the organization Black Women of Brazil, 99% of Brazil’s diplomats and college professors are white.

Moreover, public opinion in Brazil indicates that there are those who continue to believe that implementing affirmative action policies, like those at the Branco Institute, to promote greater racial and ethnic representation is “reverse racism.”<sup>21</sup> While the study does not establish a linkage between racism and the color of Brazilian faculties or diplomats, it does show unequal access to the requisite paths to these careers.<sup>22</sup> Qualitative research, namely interviews conducted with Brazilian public officials, state employees, or ex-pat citizens, echoes this concern. It is perhaps important to note, this lack of diversity and underrepresentation stands in marked contrast to the Baron Rio Branco’s original goal of creating a foreign service where membership across social classes is egalitarian, and economic inequalities do not have a bearing on access to a career in the Itamaraty.

The diplomatic service in Brazil has been receptive to the criticisms regarding the culture of their service. As such, there have been efforts made in order to help mitigate the issue that there is a diversity component lacking from the service. During our conversation with the Director of

<sup>20</sup> French, Portuguese, Spanish and English are all expected from RBI graduates; often students opt to study Farsi or Arabic as well

<sup>21</sup> “About the Ministry.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Itamaraty. <<http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/the-ministry>>

<sup>22</sup> Braziliense, Correo. “Study finds that 99% of Brazil’s professors and diplomats are white.” *Black Women of Brazil*. <<https://blackwomenofbrazil.co/2013/05/24/study-finds-that-99-of-brazilian-diplomats-and-federal-university-professors-are-white/>>.

the Instituto Rio Branco, Ambassador José Estanislau do Amaral Souza Neto, it was acknowledged that the Brazilian diplomatic service has had difficulty in recruiting Afro-Brazilians. As a result, Itamaraty leadership began implementing quotas and affirmative action programs, with the explicit intent of increasing diversity among new recruits. Although helpful in combatting criticisms that the diplomatic service in Brazil does not do enough to promote diversity, Itamaraty has been running into problems with the reforms in which they have implemented. One of these problems is that there appears no way to definitively assess whether someone is of Afro-Brazilian descent.

### **Recruitment/Selection**

Recruitment and selection in the Brazilian diplomatic corps is extremely competitive. There are only 30 spots made available to the public every year for which there are around 6,000 applicants; according to the Director of the Rio Branco Institute, roughly 1,000 of these applicants will be competitive. During the Lula reforms, incoming classes increased from 30 to 100; however, after 4 years, incoming class sizes were cut back to their original number. According to the Director of the Instituto Rio Branco, the scaling back of applicants admitted to the Institute to their original numbers has increased the magnitude and intensity of competition among potential diplomats.

While the Mello Franco and Oswaldo Aranha reforms sought substantive change within the Foreign Service, they only provided for steps towards its institutionalization.<sup>23</sup> Today, the best resources available to an aspiring Brazilian diplomat in order to break into the service and ascend the ranks are good socioeconomic standing and extensive professional networks or political capital. Indeed, the function of these kinds of professional contacts are strategically important to Brazilians hoping enter the foreign service. These contacts, historically, have served as sources of information concerning the career of a diplomat, as well as the CACD, the Ministry's entrance exam. This is key, as the Instituto Rio Branco does not offer any prep courses for the CACD. Access to these sorts of friendships is advantageous to those considering a career in diplomacy. In practice, this creates a problem of underrepresentation and lack of diversity, as the vast majority of Brazilians do not have access to these kinds of resources. Social class *de facto* serves to demographically "pre-screen" aspiring recruits, creating a condition where successful completion

<sup>23</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

of the CACD “[seems] to be weighted in favor of the upper classes, particularly the children of diplomats, regardless of its overall high degree of difficulty.”<sup>24</sup>

To be eligible to enter the Brazilian foreign service, a candidate must be 18 years old, Brazilian born, up to date with electoral obligations, have a college education, be in compliance with military obligations, and undergo physical and mental examinations. Additionally, there is a fee associated with taking the entrance exam. This fee could potentially serve as a barrier for entering into Brazil’s foreign service, and thus another form in which to bar a certain type of candidate from consideration.

Once these requirements have been fulfilled, one can begin preparing for the CACD (a newer version of the CPCD, established in 2002).<sup>25</sup> The exam is administered at least once a year; the exam is divided into four parts; each round is seen as increasingly more competitive and selective. The first part of the CACD tests candidates on the following: [Spoken] Portuguese Language, the History of Brazil, World History, International Politics, Geography, English Language, Economics, and Public International Law. The second round assesses a candidate’s written Portuguese, involves an essay, and two interpretation exercises, in addition to analysis and commentary of texts. The third part is written and, similar to the first portion, tests candidates on the History of Brazil, the English Language, Geography, International Politics, International law, and Economics. The final part of the exam focuses on the candidate’s Spanish and French language skills.<sup>26</sup>

A successful candidate will have mastered, to relative extents, both oral and written English, Spanish, and French, in addition to their native Portuguese, prior to taking the exam. It is worth noting, speaking more than one language in Brazil is rare. Education in foreign languages is not generally accessible as a public good in Brazil. This is primarily because learning a foreign language is not a requirement in schools in Brazil and is not taught in all schools. Additionally, foreign languages are generally taught in private schools, the majority of which most Brazilians cannot afford. As a result, a large swath of the population is already precluded and disadvantaged from performing well on the CACD.

<sup>24</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blr.12067.

<sup>25</sup> “Concurso De Admissao a Carreira Diplomatica.” Accessed October 22, 2016.

[http://www.institutorio Branco.mre.gov.br/pt-br/concurso\\_de\\_admissao\\_a\\_carreira\\_diplomatica.xml](http://www.institutorio Branco.mre.gov.br/pt-br/concurso_de_admissao_a_carreira_diplomatica.xml).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

Recognizing this was problematic to the Institution, Lula introduced a number of reforms to the Branco Institute to improve the recruitment and selection of the diplomatic corps in Brazil. These changes included an increase in number of diplomats in addition to changes and a redesign of the CACD (as well as inclusion of an official suggested reading list),<sup>27</sup> the removal of selection criteria deemed too subjective, an expansion in number of cities in which the examination is administered, and an increase in number of positions offered annually (leading to a rise from 2,556 in 1999 to 8,869 in 2010).<sup>28</sup> These changes were significant in that, for instance, vacancies increased from that of 30 to 100 between 2006-2010. Furthermore, in 2011 a quotas were first applied for self-declared African Brazilians.<sup>29</sup>

The reforms have created an interesting dynamic between diplomats who entered under the older, stricter guidelines, and how they view their younger counterparts who some view as having had it easier in being permitted to the Foreign Service.

### **Professional Development/Training**

Professional development and training for Brazilian diplomats begins immediately after matriculation into the Rio Branco Institute. As stated on the official Institute website, Brazil has consistently sought to recruit, train, and most efficiently develop their training since the academy's inception. The Institute's Diplomatic Training Program spans 3 semesters of theoretical and practical coursework. The program includes a core curriculum of required disciplines, including Law, Economics, Diplomacy and Politics, Diplomatic Language, English, Spanish, French, and others. The RBI's core curriculum is supplemented by several elective classes, as well as foreign language training.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The redesign of the CACD based on our qualitative findings, indicates a structural, organizational, reform of the exam. For example, the method of testing for foreign language acquisition, that of an oral proficiency interview, was deemed to be a disproportionately high barrier to entry; our findings suggest this has something to do with the way foreign language is taught in Brazil, i.e. usually by private tutors or schools. Consequently, candidates post-reform may know opt to prove their foreign language mastery through either an oral or written exam.

<sup>28</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> "Instituto Rio Branco." The International Forum on Diplomatic Training. 14 March 2010. <<http://forum.diplomacy.edu/profile/instituto-rio-branco>>.

In their third semester, diplomats finalize their formal training at the Rio Branco Institute by completing part-time internships in various divisions and departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>31</sup>

The Rio Branco Institute also offers two professional development and training classes for diplomats at other levels of the career, Diplomacy Refresher Course (Curso de Aperfeiçoamento de Diplomatas - CAD) and Advanced Studies Course (Curso de Altos Estudos - CAE). The successful completion of the CAD is a requirement for promotion from the Office of Second Secretary to First Secretary. The CAD is comprised of two components: (1) lectures given by Ministry of Division Heads of Foreign Affairs on topics of diplomatic interest, such as Brazilian foreign policy, and (2) lectures given by university professors on contemporary politics and the Brazilian economy. Similarly, the Advanced Studies Course is a requirement for promotion from the position of Counselor to Minister Second Class. The CAE is mandatory after the first 5 years of service in the diplomatic corps for career promotion.

Like that of in recruitment and selection, changes have been made to the rules of career progression within Itamaraty. For instance, the amount of time dedicated in studying counted towards the CAD in relationship to promotion and retirement, the investiture and further cultivating of the Third Level Secretary, and perhaps most importantly, a greater emphasis is now being put on meritocracy rather than seniority, lastly a more rapid ascent to the position of ambassador has been made possible through these changes.<sup>32</sup> Many of these new rules provide for a faster career progression as well as a higher salary. While this in turn, potentially causes turmoil within the foreign ministry and loss of organizational cohesion, its goal is to make the career of a diplomat much more enticing and arguably a career as opposed to a profession.<sup>33</sup>

Additionally, beyond the CAD courses, there is the CAE (Higher Studies Course) which is mandatory in being promoted from Second-Class Minister to first class minister and for commissioning the ambassador role. In order to successfully fulfill the CAE course, one must submit a thesis that, once approved, is between 150-200 pages. This thesis should be of “practical

<sup>31</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Itamaraty. <<http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/the-ministry>>

<sup>32</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

relevance and usefulness” to Brazilian diplomacy and should contribute to “historiography or Brazilian diplomatic thinking.”<sup>34</sup>

It has been argued that, traditionally, the personal lobby has played a significant role in a career diplomat’s advancement. That this has been much more powerful rather than following the rules and organically reaching higher level appointments. This new onset of rules has caused turmoil within the Brazilian corps as evidenced via the document titled “War and Peace at Itamaraty.”<sup>35</sup> This turmoil has been caused due to new rules which diplomats have accused of lacking in transparency in promotions and favoring diplomats who have not served abroad while allowing them to “‘cut’ the line of hierarchy to the detriment of more experienced Second Secretaries.”<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to observe how competitive Brazilian diplomats are in regards to their advancement. It does not appear as though the competition ends once a candidate successfully matriculates into the Rio Branco Institute.

Additionally, during our visit to the Brazilian Embassy we learned of two noteworthy training exercises which diplomats partake in. One of these training exercises is that of an exchange program that the Rio Branco Institute sponsors for participating nations around the world. This exchange program invites diplomats from other countries to sit in training courses with Brazilian diplomats-to-be. Previously, nations they were proud to have participated in this program include Argentina, Qatar, and Palestine. The foreign students are permitted to sit in all of the classes a third-tier candidate would take with the exception of a diplomatic language course where Brazilian students focus on the drafting of the declaration and where students are exposed to classified information.

The other training exercise unique to the Itamaraty is their sponsoring of diplomats to conduct “country visits.” These visits are a method of improving communication and rapport between Brazilian diplomats and the citizens they serve. Diplomats visit different states in Brazil, whenever possible, those that are remote or impoverished. This exercise is an attempt to combat the diplomatic services’ lack of diversity and is an initiative to familiarize Brazilian diplomats with the people they are representing abroad. From our conversations with Franklin Netto, a Counselor level diplomat, and Larissa Schneider Calza, a mid-career diplomat, we found that this is

<sup>34</sup> “Frequently Asked Questions.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed October 22, 2016. <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/faq#11>.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

something which Brazilian diplomats embrace, the opportunity to make the service more representative of the people they represent.

Although not explicitly stated, leadership is a significant component to being a diplomat in Brazil. Many of the expected tasks of Brazilian diplomats listed on the Itamaraty website enlist the use of leadership indirectly. These tasks range from representing Brazil before other countries and organizations, to negotiating on behalf of Brazil in international meetings, as well as promoting the culture and values of the Brazilian people.<sup>37</sup> Although the website does not specifically call for leadership, it suggests as much through its call for diplomats to “support and guide Brazilian citizens in need abroad” and through other responsibilities.<sup>38</sup> The only time the word leadership is used is when discussing higher leadership making decisions pertinent that to the lesser ranking diplomats. We take this to mean that in order to rise through the ranks one must be capable of leadership.

This was reinforced via our meetings at the Brazilian Embassy in Washington, D.C. as we asked if and how diplomats were taught leadership. From what we were told, it seemed as though the recruitment process tended to self-select leaders. The Rio Branco Institute did not then teach leadership courses, but expected to be learned through the example of other leaders in the diplomatic service.

## **Leadership**

The Brazilian foreign service has a clear top-down hierarchical structure, with some room for individual-driven autonomy; however, this autonomy rarely translates into policy decisions at the upper echelons of the Ministry. Because of the singular entry into the service through the Rio Branco Institute, and a long-standing and institutionally sound process of ascending the career ladder, all Brazilian diplomats follow a trajectory of third tier secretary to second, to first, and so forth until the rank of Ambassador. This means that while Brazil does not have an “up and out” policy similar to that of the US, it is highly uncommon for a Brazilian diplomat to not be careerist in nature and ascend the ranks within the status quo amount of time.

A cursory look at the top ten Ambassador profiles for Brazil will reveal a rather homogenous, typical path of career mobility upward through the ranks. As mentioned before,

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> “Frequently Asked Questions.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed October 22, 2016. <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/faq#11>.

most Brazilian diplomats hail from wealthy or well to do families; this is evidenced through the fact that many Brazilian diplomats obtained their post-secondary education abroad, from such prominent universities as the London School of Economics, Cambridge, Harvard, and American University. The average Brazilian Ambassador will have an advanced degree in either French, Public Administration, International Affairs, Economics or Law. This makes sense given the Rio Branco Institute's heavy focus on the languages and humanities. It is also worth noting, the average Brazilian Ambassador is almost without fail a male; female representation at the upper echelons of their diplomatic corpus is sparse. There are some nuances and exceptions of course (for example, Ambassador to Turkey Eduardo Gradilone studied Communications and Journalism in school), but for the most part, the path to Ambassadorship among Brazilian diplomats follows an almost stereotypical pathway.

The Brazilian diplomatic corps structured into six different classes. Candidates who pass the CACD and the required training at the Instituto Rio Branco become Third Level Secretaries.<sup>39</sup> Following this diplomats become Second Level and First Level Secretaries and then rise to Second Class Ministers with the ultimate goal of becoming First Class Ministers, otherwise known as Ambassadors.

Although the majority of advancement in the Brazilian diplomatic corps relies on seniority and merit, there are courses which are required and expected that a diplomat take in order to advance in one's career. The first set of improvement courses taken by Third Level Secretaries are known as CAD (Diplomats Improvement Course) which are sponsored by the Instituto Rio Branco. These courses are mandatory in order to become first and Second Level Secretaries. The CAD courses "deepen and update" the knowledge the Brazilian Foreign Ministry deems vital in Brazil being represented abroad.<sup>40</sup> The courses are structured in two phases. The first phase consists of lectures given on topics of interest in relation to Brazilian foreign policy and current events regarding current politics and the Brazilian economy. In the second phase applicants take exams in policy matters, economics, and public international law.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Upon graduation from the Instituto Rio Branco, all diplomats to-be become Third Tier secretaries. Third Tier Secretaries are considered diplomats proper, of the lowest rank. The positions then ascend from Third to Second Tier, to First Tier, culminating in the rank of ambassador.

<sup>40</sup> "Frequently Asked Questions." Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed October 22, 2016. <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/faq#11>.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.



In addition to seniority, merit, and having taken the CAD and CAE courses, there are other requirements which diplomats must fulfill in order to reach the highest levels of the foreign ministry in Brazil. These include having spent a minimum of three years abroad in each position they have held, and completion of specific courses in order to reach certain positions (for instance CAD in order to become Second and Third Level Secretaries). Furthermore, promotions, with the exception of the first, are voted on by diplomats' peers and superiors. Evaluations are also performed by members in the highest leadership of the foreign ministry, like that of the Prime Minister, in order to advance in one's career. In order to become an ambassador, it is law that a diplomat must have at least served 20 years, of which 10 must have been spent abroad.<sup>42</sup> This final stage in becoming an ambassador is something which the Brazilian Service prides itself. This is something stressed by the Director of the Instituto Rio Branco, who commented in an interview that the rigor of becoming an ambassador in Brazil is distinguished by the requirement of completing a program comparable to an American PhD, in addition to excellency of service. Mr. Souza Neto was especially excited to share with us that past dissertations (part of the process in becoming an ambassador) were now becoming accessible to the public.

### **Role in Foreign Policy-Making**

As a result of its hierarchical nature, lower level Brazilian diplomats do not have a significant role in foreign policy making. On the Rio Branco Institute's website, Brazilian diplomats' influence in foreign policy making is highlighted. One of the reasons as to why the institute was founded was in order to expand Brazil's influence abroad through improving its foreign policy and international relations. Many of the courses and materials taught at the institute are organized to directly or indirectly relate to foreign policy. Brazilian diplomats, per the Institute, are responsible for assisting the president in the formulation of foreign policy, through their gathering of information abroad. Additionally, the Brazilian diplomatic corps are involved in the implementation of foreign policy which they seemingly view as a synonym for diplomacy, rather than an instrument.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

Brazilian diplomacy's influence on policy-making can be seen in recent international ventures; Brazil played a significant role in the recent Iran nuclear deal, but it is often overlooked or understated. While Brazil is not a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and consequently cannot veto resolutions, it can facilitate or complicate UNSC consensus on decisions. Of particular importance to the Iran nuclear deal, Brazil's played a key role in ensuring the sanctions got implemented successfully, due to their activism inside the UN, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and in various informal groups. In this manner, Brazil characteristically plays to their strengths by leveraging multi-lateral institutions and drawing upon their hallmark expertise in negotiations. Brazil's role in the Iran Deal is not limited to consensus building though. In Brazil's view, the Iran nuclear program is an opportunity to issues broader statements about the international nonproliferation regime. To Brazil, and many smaller or emerging states, this nonproliferation regime has become a politically expedient tool wielded by the United States to selectively constrain the power of weaker states. To be sure, Brazil is not anti-American. According to Matlas Spektor of the Council on Foreign Relations, "As a major beneficiary of collective security as we know it since 1945, Brazil is not a challenger of the American worldview. But as an emerging country with a long history of frailty and dependence, it seeks protection and hedging against great-power use of international norms to impose their will on weaker nations."<sup>44</sup> Using the Iran nuclear deal and ensuing sanctions as just one case study, Brazil's gravitas and conduct in foreign policy-making is at once salient.

However, while diplomats as a whole play a large role in foreign policy making, the diplomatic corps in Brazil is hierarchical and most decisions are made at the top at senior positions.<sup>45</sup> It seems that throughout their tenure and until they reach higher levels within Itamaraty, Brazilian diplomats are not necessarily encouraged to make foreign policy decisions. Lower level diplomats, in effect, are trained to be prepared to make such decisions once they reach the higher levels within the State Department. It is, furthermore, interesting to examine how Itamaraty is accepting of divergent views in politics and even in foreign policy. Although, there have always been diplomats who espouse different political viewpoints on all levels of the spectrum, Itamaraty has done a fair job of allowing diplomats to hold their opinions. The only

<sup>44</sup> Spektor, Matlas. "How to read Brazil's Stance on Iran." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 4 March 2010. <<http://www.cfr.org/brazil/read-brazils-stance-iran/p21576>>.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

problem that would arise would be that of if a government official were to take a public stance against foreign policy which the State Department was supportive of.<sup>46</sup> This culture of tolerance seems to promote a level of diversity in opinion.<sup>47</sup> While criticized for its lack of diversity in ethnicity and lack of representation of the Brazilian people, it is important to acknowledge that there appears to be diversity of opinion and political ideology within the State Department. With all of the changes having been implemented in the recent past, it will be interesting to see how foreign policy making develops within Itamaraty.

### **Anticipating Future Challenges**

Easily one of the most challenging impediments to future diplomatic success in Brazil is that of the Itamaraty's budget. A dramatic decline in overall GDP, problems with political turmoil and corruption, and increasing public unrest have all precipitated dramatic changes in the funding, structure, and personnel of the Foreign Ministry. Since 2010, the Itamaraty has been subject to budget cuts, decreases in staff, and constraints on hiring new personnel, freezing the country's global aspirations in their tracks.<sup>48</sup> This, furthermore, will create further strains within the diplomatic service in Brazil as they not only expanded by upwards of 40 percent in number of diplomats in addition to increasing salaries by that of real wage gains of approximately 200 percent.<sup>49</sup>

But where Brazil is lacking in economic GDP, its diplomatic GDP is booming and in large part, is the cultural export that finances their global ambitions. Alongside regionalist economic initiatives like MercoSur and Unasur, Brazil has assumed a stronger leadership role, buoyed by their renewed national belief in development and autonomy. For Brazil, regionalism and engagement with their Latin American neighbors is more than an objective in and of itself, it is part of an overarching grand strategy of "soft power" balancing against the US and exerting global influence. This policy trajectory of regionalism, South American fraternity, and multilateral engagement continues to shape Brazilian diplomatic conduct. One of Brazil's key challenges in

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> This is something we will need to do further research on as we have limited interviews to support this.

<sup>48</sup> Torres, Caio Pizetta. "What (not) to Expect from Brazilian Diplomacy." *Plus55: Brazil Opinion*. 19 February 2016. <<http://plus55.com/opinion/2016/02/what-not-to-expect-from-brazilian-diplomacy>>.

<sup>49</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

the coming years then, will be to balance its growing commercial diplomacy with its public diplomacy.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, due to the revisions in law made under Lula's presidency, it is more important than ever to investigate whether the esprit de corps within Itamaraty has been in decline. While boasting a strong camaraderie since its founding, influenced by Jose Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior, Baron of Rio Branco, it will be interesting to see whether this sense of community has remained untouched or evolved, and in which direction.

Generally regarded as one of the strongest foreign ministries in the region, Itamaraty is used as an example by its neighbors for its high standards as they have in the past reminded themselves that the "Itamaraty no improvisa (Itamaraty does not improvise)."<sup>51</sup> This sort of mantra demonstrates the influence which Brazil's State Department has internationally. It will be interesting to see how its neighbors have responded to the changes Brazil has implemented in the recent past and whether they are perceived any differently.

In meeting these challenges, Brazil will have to reconcile its emerging status as a global leader and its characteristic style of diplomacy, conducted independent of the US and other large states. As Paulo Sotero of the Wilson Center writes, "Brazil wants a say in international affairs, and to be an agent of peace and stability."<sup>52</sup> Brazil will have to balance between reclaiming its status as a regional leader, convincing the public and new government that not only does diplomacy, and consequently foreign policy, matter, but it deserves greater funding from the Senate office. Presently, Brazil is not prepared to meet these challenges, more than anything, due to critical resource constraints and a body-politique among the general populace that sees foreign policy as secondary to domestic concerns. Brazil will also have to contend with serious investment in organizational overhaul; the Itamaraty lacks the logistical support to deal with the rapid democratization of information and materializing role of public diplomacy.

<sup>50</sup> Hanson, Stephanie. "Brazil on the International Stage." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 5 December 2015. <<http://www.cfr.org/brazil/brazil-international-stage/p19883>>.

<sup>51</sup> Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta De, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula Da Silva's Presidency (2003-2010)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4 (2013): 468-82. doi:10.1111/blar.12067.

<sup>52</sup> Hanson, Stephanie. "Brazil on the International Stage." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 5 December 2015. <<http://www.cfr.org/brazil/brazil-international-stage/p19883>>.

## **Marcos Bezerra Abbott Galvão**

### **Secretary General of Foreign Affairs**



Ambassador Marcos Galvão was born in 1959 and graduated from the Rio Branco Institute in 1980. He, furthermore, obtained his Master's Degree in International Affairs from American University. Mr. Galvão's first posting as third secretary began on September 2, 1980. Ambassador Galvão was Advisor to the Secretary General from 1982-1984 and from 1984-1987 he held a post in the United States in Washington, D.C. From 1987-1989 he served in Brazil's Embassy in Asuncion Paraguay. From 1990-1992 Mr. Galvão served as Deputy Advisor at the Presidency of the Republic. Following this he worked as Chief of Staff at the Ministry of the Environment from 1993-1994. From 1995-1998, Ambassador Galvão was posted in the United Kingdom at Brazil's mission in London. He was then Deputy Chief of Staff and Spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1998-2001. From 2001-2005 he served as minister-counselor. Mr. Galvão then became Ambassador of Brazil to Japan and held the position from January 2011 to October 2013. He became Secretary General of Foreign Affairs on May 25, 2016.

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## **Mauro Vieira**

### **Permanent Representative to the United Nations**



Ambassador Vieira was born in 1952 in Rio de Janeiro where he graduated from Fluminense Federal University in 1973. He then graduated from the Rio Branco Institute in 1974. He has also studied French at the Université de Nancy, and English at both the University of Michigan and Cambridge. Mr. Vieira served in Washington, D.C. as a second secretary from 1978 to 1982, followed by the mission to the Latin American Integration Association in Montevideo, Uruguay from 1982 to 1985. Following this post he served as an assistant to the Minister of Science and Technology. In 1989 he was also an advisor to the unsuccessful presidential candidate Ulysses Guimaraes. Ambassador Vieira then served in Mexico City, Mexico from 1990 to 1992 and at the Embassy in Paris, France from 1995 to 1999. While in Brazil, Mr. Vieira has held a number of posts. He's served as Chief of Staff to the Secretary-General, and Chief of Staff to the Minister of External Relations. From 2003 to 2006 he was a representative of the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations to the Board of Directors of the Itaipu Binacional Power Plant. Additionally, Vieira has served as National Secretary for Management at the National Institute for Social Security in the Ministry of Social Security and Assistance. Mr. Vieira served as Ambassador to Argentina from 2004 to 2009, and later to the United States from 2010 until 2014. In late 2014 he was nominated to Foreign Minister of Brazil where he served from 2015 to 2016. He is currently the Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

## **Sergio Silva do Amaral**

### Brazilian Ambassador to the United States



Ambassador Amaral was born in São Paulo, Brazil where he received a law degree at the University of São Paulo. He later completed a Diploma of Superior Studies in political science at the University of Paris (Pantheon Sorbonne). As a career diplomat he has served in Paris, Bonn, Geneva, and Washington, D.C. Previously Ambassador Amaral was Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom and France. Additionally, he was an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Brasilia. Mr. Amaral worked as a debt negotiator for Brazil at the Bank Advisory Committee and the Paris Club. He was also an alternate Governor to the IMF and World Bank in addition to being an alternate representative to Brazil to the GATT during the Uruguay Round negotiations. Ambassador Amaral has furthermore served as Vice-Minister for the Environment, Secretary of Social Communication. He has also served as a spokesman for President Cardoso. He was Minister of Development, Industry, and Foreign Trade, as well as Chairman of the Foreign Trade Council of Ministers (CAMEX) and the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES). Prior to becoming Ambassador of Brazil to the United States, Ambassador Amaral served as Chairman of the Brazil-China Business Council, Director of the Center for American Studies at FAAP, and was a member of the Strategic Council of the Industry Federation of São Paulo. He was also a member of the Board of WWF Brazil and a number of Brazilian and foreign companies.

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## **Valdemar Carneiro Leão**

### Brazilian Ambassador to China



Ambassador Leão joined the Brazilian Foreign Service in 1972 as a career diplomat. He graduated from the University of São Paulo where he studied Economics, and L'Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences-Po), in Paris in addition to the Rio Branco Institute. Mr. Leão has worked in London and Washington, and has served as Director-General of the Economic Affairs Bureau where he headed Brazilian delegations to many bilateral and multilateral meetings in the WTO, GEF – World Bank, UNCTAD, OECD, and in international commodity organizations in London. Mr. Leão's most recent assignments include being Deputy Chief of Mission to London from 1990 to 1993, Deputy Chief of Mission to Washington, D.C. from 1993 to 1995, followed by becoming Project Manager and Director to the Foreign Ministry in Brasilia from 1995 to 1998. In 1998, he became Director-General of the Economic Affairs Bureau in Brazil's Foreign Ministry. In 2003, Mr. Leão became Ambassador to Canada, and served in the post until 2007. In 2008, he became Ambassador to Colombia where he served until 2010. From 2010 until 2013, Ambassador Leão was Undersecretary for Economic and Financial Affairs at the Foreign Ministry in Brazil. In 2013 he was appointed Ambassador to China. A position he has held since then.

## **Paulo Cesar de Oliveira Campos** Brazilian Ambassador to France



Ambassador Campos was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1952. He commenced his diplomatic career in 1976 as a third secretary. He then became second secretary in 1979, followed by first secretary in 1983, Counselor in 1989, and second minister in 1996, then ambassador in 2003. Mr. Campos began his career in Brasilia at the Division of International Organisms specializes where he worked from 1977 to 1980. He then became Director the Department of Basic Products in 1987 and worked there until 1988. Additionally, from 1988 to 1989 he was Substitute Director of the Visiting Division. Following this, Mr. Oliveira Campos became director of this department and served in the position until 1990. In 1996 he then became Deputy Director of Protocol for the President of Brazil. He served in this capacity until 1999. In 2003 he resumed work in this department until 2009, as director. Mr. Campos has worked in the following missions for Brazil: Washington, D.C. from 1980 to 1983; Tokyo from 1983 to 1987; Bonn from 1991 to 1993; and Tokyo again from 1993 to 1995. From 1999 to 2002, Mr. Campos served in London as Consulate General, and from 2009 to 2015 as Ambassador to Spain. He has held his current position of Ambassador to France since July 3, 2015.

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## **Eduardo Dos Santos** Brazilian Ambassador to the United Kingdom



Ambassador Eduardo dos Santos was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1952 and holds a degree in Legal and Social Studies from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. He has been a career diplomat since 1975. Throughout his career, Mr. Dos Santos has held a number of high-profile positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as other government departments. He has served at a number of embassies including Moscow from 1977 to 1979, Buenos Aires from 1979 to 1984, and London from 1994 to 1999. Mr. Dos Santos has additionally served as an advisor to the Office of the Foreign Minister from 1986 to 1989, and again from 1992 to 1993. He was a special advisor to the Office of the Minister of Finance in 1993, as well as a diplomatic advisor to President Cardoso from 1999 to 2002. In 2002, Mr. Dos Santos became the Ambassador to Uruguay, a position in which he served until 2006. Following this post, he was appointed Ambassador to Switzerland, a post he held until 2008. He then became Ambassador to Paraguay where he presided until 2012. From 2013 to 2015, he held the position of Secretary-General at the Ministry of External Relations. He was appointed in 2015 as Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in 2015.

## **Mario Vilalva**

### **Brazilian Ambassador to Germany**



Ambassador Vilalva graduated from the University do Distrito Federal in Brasilia in 1976. That same year he graduated from the Rio Branco Institute. From 1978 to 1982 he served in Washington, D.C, followed by Pretoria, South Africa from 1982 to 1985. He then served in Rome, Italy from 1985 to 1987 followed by a posting in Lisboa, Portugal from 1991 to 1993. He then served as Consulate General in Boston, USA from 1996 to 1999. When he was not abroad, Mr. Vilalva served in high profile positions in the Brazilian government. He was Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Planning as well as Secretary of the Executive Commission of External Finances from 1999 to 2000. In 2000, Ambassador Vilalva was Director General for the Department of Commercial Interests within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was a position he held until 2006. In 2006, Mr. Vilalva became Ambassador to Chile. He held this position until 2010 when he became Ambassador to Portugal. He was Ambassador to Portugal until 2016 when he was appointed Ambassador to Germany.

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## **Eduardo Gradilone**

### **Brazilian Ambassador to Turkey**



Ambassador Gradilone was born in São Paulo in 1951. He graduated from Fundação Armando Alvares Penteado having studied Social Communication and Journalism in 1974. In 1974, Mr. Gradilone also graduated from the University of São Paulo with a degree in law. In 1978 he joined the Rio Branco Institute and in 1983, he completed a Masters in Law at the University of São Paulo. Mr. Gradilone's diplomatic career commenced in 1979 when he was director of the Personnel, Position, and Wage Classification Service in Brazil. He was a third secretary and was promoted to second secretary in 1981. From 1983 to 1987 his post was in Washington D.C. His next post was in Bogota, from 1987 to 1989, where he was promoted from second to first Secretary. From 1989 until 1992, Mr. Gradilone was stationed in Paramaribo, Suriname. During this post he was promoted to counselor. He then became the Executive Coordinator to the Department of the Americas until 1992 when he became an advisor to the Undersecretary for the General for Political Affairs. In 1994, Mr. Gradilone was posted to London's Embassy where he held the rank of Counselor. In 1997, he served as Counselor and Minister-Counselor in Tokyo, Japan. He then spent time at the Vatican as Minister-Counselor from 2001 to 2006. In 2006, Mr. Gradilone became the Technical Advisor to the Deputy Secretary-General of South America. In 2007, he became Head of the Cabinet to the Deputy Secretary-General of the Brazilian Communities Abroad Department and then Director. During his time in this position he became ambassador. In 2010, he became Deputy Secretary General of the Brazilian Communities Abroad Department. In 2013, Mr. Gradilone became Ambassador to Samoa, and served in the position for 5 months until becoming Ambassador to Kiribati. In 2015, Mr. Gradilone became Ambassador to Tonga and in 2016, Turkey.



## **Tovar Da Silva Nunes** Brazilian Ambassador to India



Ambassador Nunes was born in São Paulo in 1959. He graduated from the University of São Paulo in Public Administration through the French National School of Administration. He obtained his Masters in Economic Politics from the London School of Economics and became a diplomat through the Rio Branco Institute in 1983. Mr. Nunes' diplomatic career began in 1984, and he was first promoted to second secretary in 1988, followed by first secretary in 1995, then Counselor in 2001. He became a second minister in 2005, and then in 2011 became an ambassador. In 1985, Mr. Nunes was an assistant to the United Nations division. From 1986 to 1988 he worked in the Commercial Policy Division in Brazil, followed by the Environment Department from 1994 to 1995. From 1995 to 1997 he was Chief of Staff to the Secretary of Social Communication for the President. In 2001, he came back from his post abroad to serve as Head of Coordinating Negotiations at the ALCA until 2002. Mr. Nunes then served as spokesperson for Itamaraty's Press Office from 2011 to 2013, later becoming spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry in 2013 and serving until 2015. Ambassador Nunes has served in many posts abroad during his tenure. He served as a third secretary, eventually second secretary, in Brazil's Permanent Mission to Geneva from 1988 to 1991, followed by a tour in Quito, Ecuador from 1991 to 1994. Mr. Nunes then served as a first secretary and counselor at Brazil's Embassy in London from 1997 to 2001. He later became Ministry Counselor to Brazil's mission to Germany in Berlin from 2006 and served until 2011. In 2016 he became Ambassador to India.

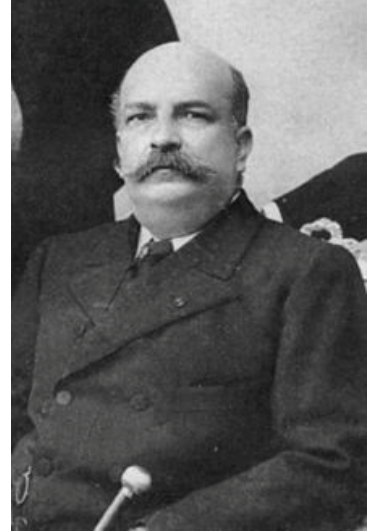
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## **Antonio Luis Espinola Salgado** Brazilian Ambassador to Russia



Ambassador Salgado has held the post of Ambassador to Turkey since November 2016. Before coming to Russia, Mr. Espinola Salgado served as Ambassador to Turkey in Ankara beginning in 2013. Previously, he served as Ambassador to Iran.

## **Jose Maria da Silva Paranhos, Jr.** “Father of Brazilian Diplomacy”



Jose Maria da Silva Paranhos, Jr., better known as the Baron of Rio Branco is an extremely prominent and highly-regarded historical figure in Brazilian diplomatic history. He was born in 1845 and passed away in 1912. His influence is still felt in Brazilian diplomacy as the Rio Branco Institute, through which all Brazilian diplomats are trained, is named in his honor. The Baron of Rio Branco lived during an interesting time in Brazilian history. He was born under Portuguese colonial rule and lived to see the state break away from Portugal. The Baron of Rio Branco embodied the many qualities and traits one imagines when they think of successful diplomacy. Not only was the baron an expert and skilled negotiator, having helped to resolve disputed boundaries with Brazil’s neighbors, he also worked for other nations as a mediator – particularly that of European nations and the United States. The Baron of Rio Branco, over a century later, is still regarded as one of Brazil’s most prominent statesmen. Although he was encouraged to run for president, he never did so as he could not gather consensus politically. He was however, beloved by the Brazilian people. Upon his death, it is said that Carnival was paralyzed as the nation mourned. Furthermore, the Portuguese Senate dedicated 10 minutes of silence in his honor which was unprecedented. The Baron of Rio Branco is remembered not only as a fine statesman and diplomat, but as a historian, geographer, and professor. He left a legacy that the Brazilian people remember to this day.

## **China**

Michael Deegan & Joel Keralis

### **Executive Summary**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China (MOFA) is the Chinese civil service agency tasked with matters of diplomacy and foreign affairs. Compared to other countries covered in this report, MOFA is unique as its development as a modern, professionalized diplomatic service occurred relatively recently. Understanding Chinese foreign policy is complicated by MOFA's role as a platform for diplomatic engagement by other Chinese bureaucratic structures and MOFA does not possess a monopoly on international engagement. While MOFA emphasizes consular work for Chinese citizens and businesses abroad, and acts as an information pipeline to and from Beijing, Chinese foreign policymaking is closely controlled by a small group of Communist Party (CPC) key players within CPC's Politburo Standing Committee, outside MOFA. Execution is concurrently tasked to MOFA, the CPC's International Department, the Ministry of Commerce, the Chinese Import/Export Bank, and others. With top-level decisions made outside MOFA, even high-ranking officers tend not to exercise much autonomy in the overall structure of the agency.

Still, China has culturally held civil service careers in high esteem since the Imperial Era, a legacy that helps the MOFA to recruit qualified officers. Applicants are chosen through a lengthy selection process emphasizing foreign language ability and academic talent. Applicants' only officially required foreign language is English, but competitive candidates are expected to know at least one additional language. Internally, MOFA stands out with its structured approach to professional development. Chinese diplomats are only eligible for promotion after earning a number of credits from short-term and long-term training courses. This system encourages a culture of continuous improvement within the service and is a practice that can be useful to examine in comparison to other foreign services.

The greatest challenge facing MOFA is its relatively restrained ability to set foreign policy priorities. As China has grown into a world economic power, the Chinese government has experimented with a National Security Council as well as expanded its military strength. MOFA has expanded in size, but its role in Chinese foreign policy has not changed. If MOFA remains marginalized following this period of growth, then morale could drop among China's diplomatic officers and tensions between the MOFA and other agencies could increase.

## History

China's approach to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in particular, and diplomacy in general, has been significantly influenced by China's historical legacies from well before the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. Chinese experiences with diplomacy as we view it today began during the Imperial era, when China's traditional assessment of itself as the "Middle Kingdom," or functional center of the universe, was justified based on its preponderant economic and military power<sup>1</sup>. Early diplomatic relations often consisted of extracting tributary payments from smaller surrounding states in exchange for trade concessions or military protection. Reception of these tributary envoys, as well as diplomacy in general, was under the oversight of the Imperial Ministry of Rites, the ministry in charge of state rituals, ceremonies, and sacrifices. China's early experiences with Western diplomats were disdainful, with the Qianlong Emperor claiming to have no need or interest in the novelties they offered.

This relationship changed with the advent of Western gunboat diplomacy which forced the Imperial government into a series of painful unequal treaties and ushered in a period known as the Century of Humiliation<sup>2</sup>. The losses experienced at the hands of the technologically superior foreign troops, and the quick lesson in European-style international law given by the unequal treaties left contributed to the destabilization and eventual collapse of the 2,000 year old Chinese empire. The experiences of the Century of Humiliation continue to be a driving force in the modern Chinese government's identity, and the drive to avoid similar outcomes and to regain China's lost prestige as the ruler of all under heaven remain fundamental to Chinese foreign policy today.

China's cultural experiences with Confucianism had instilled a hierarchical understanding of society into the Imperial government bureaucracies, allowing for top-down exercise of political authority and an expectation that subordinates follow orders without question.<sup>3</sup> This continues to be a hallmark of Chinese bureaucracies today. The first appearance of a body similar to today's

<sup>1</sup> Zhang provides an excellent description of the nature and organization of Chinese foreign relations during the Imperial era. Yongjin Zhang, "System, empire and state in Chinese international relations," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 27 Issue 5 (2001): 43-63.

<sup>2</sup> See Kaufman's testimony to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission for greater detail on the Century of Humiliation and how it impacts Chinese national identity. Alison Kaufman, "The "Century of Humiliation" and China's National Narratives," Testimony before the US China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on "China's Narratives Regarding National Security Policy," March 10, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Unlike western bureaucracies, Eastern government theory draws heavily upon Confucian moral order in its justification and operations. George H. Frederickson, "Confucius and the moral basis of bureaucracy." *Administration & Society*, Volume 33 Issue 6 (2002): 610-628.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) occurred in 1861 with the creation of the Zongli Yamen<sup>4</sup>. This body was established to coordinate communication between the Imperial government and foreign nations following the second Opium War, as certain Western nations were allowed permanent diplomatic presences in Beijing as terms of the forced treaties.

China's contemporary Ministry of Foreign Affairs was born after the Communist Party of China (CPC)'s victory over the Kuomintang (KMT) in the Chinese Civil War<sup>5</sup>. Upper ranks were initially predominantly held by the People's Liberation Army (PLA), with party members filling the majority of the upper ranks after the Cultural Revolution. Today the MOFA is much less militarized than in the past as the Chinese government has put a high priority on professionalizing all aspects of its bureaucracy, incorporating systems and structures that are often closely based on the modern bureaucracies they have observed within other contemporary modern powers. However, the PLA origins and CPC influences in the early modernization of MOFA have contributed to the current top-down authority structure in which Beijing holds significant control over the actions and decisions that are made at individual missions by individual diplomats.

The modernization of PRC diplomacy was significantly influenced by its drive for international recognition as the true government of China following the CPC victory in the Chinese civil war in 1949. As the Taiwanese KMT initially received significant recognition among Western countries as the legitimate government of all of China, it retained the Chinese seat in the UN despite its retreat across the Straits of Taiwan and. Early diplomatic recognition of the PRC primarily consisted of fellow communist and revolutionary states in Eastern Europe, but China made significant strides towards international acceptance in the 1970's. This began with a decision by the United Nations to recognize the PRC as the legitimate holder of the Chinese seat in the organization, including its position on the Security Council. Over the next several decades, the PRC succeeded in winning diplomatic recognition from the majority of Taiwan's former supporters.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Refer to Rudolph for more on the early organizational structure and functions of Zongli Yamen. Jennifer, M. Rudolph, *Negotiated power in late Imperial China: the Zongli Yamen and the politics of reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008).

<sup>5</sup> Feuerwerker describes the organization and objectives of MOFA early in the Communist era. Albert Feuerwerker, "Chinese history and the foreign relations of contemporary China." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 402 Issue 1 (1972): 1-14.

<sup>6</sup> As of March 2017, only 20 countries plus the Holy See maintain formal diplomatic relations with the ROC (Taiwan). Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of China (Taiwan), "Diplomatic Allies," accessed March 9, 2017, <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/AlliesIndex.aspx?n=DF6F8F246049F8D6&sms=A76B7230ADF29736>

## **Profile**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China consists of approximately 7,500 people, around 4,500 of whom work in missions abroad.<sup>7</sup> Overall, 30.7% of MOFA diplomats are women, but this percentage shrinks considerably at the senior-most ranks, with 30.4%, 24.4%, and only 7.9% women at the ranks of counsellor, consul, and ambassador, respectively.<sup>8</sup> While the total number of MOFA employees is somewhat small for such a large country,<sup>9</sup> this could be due to the fact that the functions of MOFA are more limited than some comparable ministries in other countries. Historically, MOFA diplomats covered all the necessary operations at a diplomatic mission, and locally engaged staff (LES) were avoided for security reasons. However, the official prohibition was dropped in the mid 1990's<sup>10</sup> and now LES are hired in many missions, although they are mostly restricted to administrative and consular roles.

Those who work for the MOFA do not choose a specific “cone” like the United States and instead are a part of a non-differentiated service with relatively few technical experts. Rather than recruiting specific subject matter experts, new Chinese diplomats come in as generalists and eventually through experience and professional development build their expertise in the service. This entry-level preference for generalists likely stems from the Confucian inspired bureaucratic traditions of the Imperial era, which stressed the culture, literacy, and morality in its entrance examination, rather than technical knowledge. Under this conception, the bureaucracy itself holds the repository of technological knowledge through its institutional memory, and junior officials can draw upon and continue to build this technical base over the course of their careers.

In the past, most would spend their entire career working in a single country or region, but today diplomats are now encouraged to seek out experience outside their primary area of experience.<sup>11</sup> Most Chinese MOFA employees today still naturally work within one region due to

<sup>7</sup>Rana provides somewhat similar estimates in his other writings, although these estimates can vary by as much as 500 persons from the numbers given here. Kishan S. Rana, "Diplomacy Systems and Processes Comparing India and China." *China Report*, Volume 50 Issue 4 (2014): 297-323.

<sup>8</sup>This figure was calculated for the year 2015. 中新社, “中国妇女发展白皮书: 中国有 1695 名女外交官,” *中国新闻网*, Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2015/09-22/7537560.shtml>.

<sup>9</sup> We have no knowledge of locally employed staff, however the AFSA benchmarking exercise describes some 2,000 members from other Chinese government agencies. We imagine these include those from the party's international section, international commerce, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Liu, Xiaohong, *Chinese ambassadors: The rise of diplomatic professionalism since 1949*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> This information was garnered from an interview with a Chinese diplomat working in the USA. In order to protect

language training and previous experience, but some decide to focus in a more functional capacity as their career develops. Using training and professional development opportunities through MOFA, diplomats can progress upwards through promotions with their accumulated regional and/or technical knowledge. These Chinese diplomats work in China or at one of the 258 missions around the world. This number includes 163 embassies, 87 consulates, and 8 permanent missions.<sup>12</sup>

Top officials in the MOFA include the Minister of Foreign Affairs, six Vice Ministers, four Assistant Ministers, one Chief Inspector and 28 Director Generals. The Vice Ministers have both region-specific and general administrative responsibilities. For example, current Vice Minister Wang Chao is in charge of Latin American affairs as well as the administrative duty of overseeing “translation and interpretation.” Director Generals, however, are heads of the 28 departments of the Chinese MOFA. Zhu Qingqiao, for example, is the Director General for Latin America. Therefore, he is the point-person for Chinese foreign affairs in Latin America, and he reports to Vice Minister Wang Chao.

The regional departments of the MOFA are divided into continental and subcontinental categories, although other functional and administrative departments also exist. Regional offices include Asia, Western Asia and North Africa, Africa, the European and Central Asian Region, the European Region, North America and Oceania, and Latin America. Each of these departments oversees the diplomatic activities of several countries in the region. All Chinese missions, bilateral relations, and policies related to the countries within each respective regional jurisdiction are overseen by their respective regional departments. Another noteworthy regional department, the Department of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan Affairs, also exists. Hong Kong and Macao, as “Special Administrative Regions,” and China’s close coordination with Taiwan create a unique situation for China necessitating this separate department.

Non-regional, functional departments like the Department of Arms Control or the Department of Party-Related Affairs<sup>13</sup> also exist. Each functional department leads a specific function or activity necessary for the day-to-day operations of the MOFA. The Department of

the diplomat’s identity, we will not be citing the diplomat’s name.

<sup>12</sup> China ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> globally in the 2016 Global Diplomacy Index, a metric designed to compare diplomatic networks. “Lowy Global Diplomacy Index,” Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/global-diplomacy-index/>.

<sup>13</sup> We wanted to learn more about this department to see if it aided coordination, however the lack of transparency in CPC affairs has prevented us from finding much information.

Finance, for example, develops the budget for the MOFA and coordinates the financial regulations of Chinese missions abroad. Likewise, the Consular Affairs department guides the consular operation of the Chinese MOFA. These offices, along with each regional office, provide the structure within the MOFA to allow the organization of information, ensuring that it flows in a hierarchical fashion. Those working in these functional capacities are hired as generalists in most cases and eventually work their way, through experience to these roles. This fact shows us that the Chinese value the institution over the technical expertise that one may bring.

The operational budget of the Chinese MOFA is 10.1 billion Chinese yuan, or 1.49 billion USD.<sup>14</sup> The gross domestic product of China in 2015 was 10.866 trillion USD. Total government expenditures for the Chinese government in 2015 amounted to 8.073 trillion Yuan, or 1.19 trillion USD.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the Chinese spend 0.0137% of their GDP and 0.125% of their government spending on their MOFA. This can be compared to their military budget of 1.337 trillion yuan or 197.2 billion USD, which amounts to 1.81% of GDP and 16.6% of total government spending. The Chinese military budget is therefore more than 130 times the amount of the MOFA budget.

It is important to note that the numbers of government spending are all self-reported by the Chinese government.<sup>16</sup> This is the best available source we have for these numbers even if the accuracy of these reports is debatable. If accurate, the numbers do tell a story. Clearly, there is an enormous difference between the budget of the MOFA and the Chinese military; however, this is a trend that we have seen across all of the countries examined in this study. The relative costs of funding a given number of foreign missions and a given number of diplomats is going to be much less than the operating costs of a military. Functionally, the MOFA is a very limited bureaucracy focusing its budget predominantly on consular services and intelligence gathering. Large expenditures on arts and culture or economic diplomacy are carried out through the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Commerce. We do not know the budget of these agencies or of the International Department of the CPC but we do know that they receive funding. Keeping these considerations in mind, we are able to better understand the budget numbers presented, even if we

<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that this number does not include foreign aid. However, 9% of it goes to China's mandatory contribution to the UN. PRC MOFA, "预算信息类 — 中华人民共和国外交部," *外交部2016年部门预算*, Accessed March 9, 2017, [http://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjbm\\_673085/zfxxgk\\_674865/xxgkml\\_674869/ysxxl\\_674871/](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjbm_673085/zfxxgk_674865/xxgkml_674869/ysxxl_674871/)

<sup>15</sup> Numbers on total government spending as reported from Chinese government. The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, "Full Text: Report on China's Central, Local budgets(2016)\_China National People's Congress." Accessed October 26, 2016. [http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Speeches/2016-03/23/content\\_1985907.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Speeches/2016-03/23/content_1985907.htm).

<sup>16</sup> An unanswered question is: how much can we rely on the numbers that we see reported from the Chinese?



do not have access to all of the information. The budgets relative to each other suggest that the MOFA may not be the highest priority for Beijing. A Chinese diplomat spoke of this during an interview. He said: “We need a lot of people. There are a lot of Chinese abroad, but the Minister of Finance wants to restrict the MOFA.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Recruitment and Selection**<sup>18</sup>

Civil service positions have historically been held in high esteem in Chinese culture and are still viewed in a favorable light by the general public. While MOFA is not necessarily seen as the most influential or prestigious of all possible civil service agencies, it has no trouble accessing a wide pool of potential talent for recruitment. In fact, MOFA restricts the applicant pool to only those who have undergraduate degrees in humanities, particularly international affairs and foreign languages. This suggests that the MOFA of China values writing and communication as fundamental tools required of successful diplomats. The only foreign language skill that is explicitly required is proficiency in English, which is tested during the examination process. However, due to the competitive nature of the hiring process, it is very difficult for an applicant to be successful without knowledge of at least one additional language. An advanced degree is valued but not required, with only 30% of officers holding an advanced degree in a related field. Language skills in particular are highly valued. The recruitment process has been described as somewhat flexible,<sup>19</sup> as MOFA has the ability to adapt qualification standards in order to recruit talent with specific critical language skills. Applicants join the MOFA at a relatively young age with a maximum age of entry at 45.<sup>20</sup> MOFA yearly recruitment brings on 100-300 new hires each year.<sup>21</sup>

The recruitment process begins with the national civil service examination, which applicants must pass before taking a separate MOFA examination,<sup>22</sup> and successfully completing an interview and physical exam. MOFA’s written examination tests for language ability, comprehensive skills and knowledge of global politics and geography. The interview process is

<sup>17</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

<sup>18</sup> While lots of material has been discovered in this area, we are relatively source-poor, relying heavily on Rana’s various publications, the AFSA benchmarking exercise, and a single interview with a Chinese diplomat.

<sup>19</sup> “More flexible than India” by Rana (2014) who expressed appreciation for the ability of MOFA to adapt recruiting procedures to target critical language talents.

<sup>20</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

<sup>21</sup> Recruiting targets from American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) Benchmarking Exercise: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training.

<sup>22</sup> We have been unable to get further information about these two examinations such as the frequency of exam offering, total number of test-takers, and pass rates.

individualized for each applicant. For example, if a candidate studied Japan or knew Japanese language, MOFA representatives from the Japanese Affairs Department would be present during the interviews.<sup>23</sup> The rigorous application and interview process ensures that the MOFA hires talented and competent individuals. Likewise, the individualized interview process allows the MOFA to identify key prospects for vacancies within various regional or functional areas.

New hires are expected to spend their first three-year assignment at MOFA headquarters in Beijing, and are not actually considered full diplomats until their first international posting. This three-year initial posting is reduced to one year for those who possess an advanced degree in a related field. In either case, the first year is considered provisional, although it is rare for new recruits to be dismissed during this period. The first year of service at MOFA is unique in that new hires work under different departments, rotating every three months, a structure that helps the candidate and MOFA determine the best fit for future placement. Additionally, this structure demonstrates the lengths taken by the MOFA to ensure that diplomats have a holistic understanding of their service before beginning their first assignments abroad. The initial assignment process has been described as “interactive,”<sup>24</sup> as MOFA and the new officer work to match knowledge, skills, and abilities to the positions available in the service. Still, all officers must be cleared for worldwide posting and might not be placed into their preferred job upon entry. Senior officers have more negotiating power when future assignments are made.<sup>25</sup> MOFA officers are expected to alternate between Beijing and overseas missions with each new posting. This rule likely exists to prevent Chinese diplomats from “going native” or becoming too disassociated with life in China and developments in Beijing. Also, it could exist in order to foster a closer integration between the ideology of the CPC and MOFA. Assignments, both foreign and domestic, usually last between two and four years, depending on the needs of the MOFA and available vacancies.

### **Professional Development**

Immediately after selection, new hires complete a six-month training course designed to familiarize themselves with MOFA and the Chinese diplomatic system. This training has been held at the China Foreign Affairs University, an institution that also offers mid-career officials the opportunity to pursue graduate education while stationed at MOFA headquarters in Beijing. The

<sup>23</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

<sup>24</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

<sup>25</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

new China Diplomatic Training Institute, which officially opened in the spring of 2016, was intended to take over training courses for MOFA diplomats allowing for more direct involvement of the Minister and MOFA's senior ranks, but this transition has been suspended, likely because of budget reasons.<sup>26</sup> Graduates of the China Foreign Affairs University are exempted from this training, but it is not known if there will be any exemptions for future training after the programs are completely transferred to the China Diplomatic Training Institute. There is an additional one-month training with the People's Liberation Army where recruits participate in military drills and physical training. The existence of this military training likely has roots in the origin of the Chinese MOFA and its connection to the PLA. Unfortunately, we do not have data on how many new diplomats do in fact choose to participate in this optional training.

Junior officers are required to participate in a certain number of trainings or classes in order to be eligible for promotion.<sup>27</sup> There are both long-term courses that can last up to two years and short term courses that span only a few days or weeks. These trainings are available regularly and cover a variety of different subject material relating to both professional development, job skills, and job knowledge. Officers choose when they want to take courses and gain credits for passing them, and a certain number of training credits are necessary for junior officers to be promoted. This incentive-based promotions system demonstrates that the Chinese MOFA promotes a culture of continuous professional development. MOFA employees have a clear understanding of how to move up through the ranks and are given the tools necessary to do so. Occasionally, officers are asked to help lead these professional development initiatives in addition to their usual duties.

A unique feature of MOFA professional development is that approximately 140 officers are sent to major national and international universities each year to complete a full year of graduate-level academic study.<sup>28</sup> Selection for this additional academic training is a strong indicator of future promotion to leadership ranks and officers of all levels are eligible to apply. Promotion to senior ranks begins after ten years of service, and is accompanied by a comprehensive, 360-degree review process which involves the participation of both superiors and subordinates. Lower ranking officers uninterested in or unable to achieve promotion to senior ranks are able to

<sup>26</sup> Rana refers to these developments in the "World Trends" section of his article. Kishan S. Rana, "Diplomatic Training: New Trends," *The Foreign Service Journal*, Volume 93 Issue 7 (2016): 41-43.

<sup>27</sup> Also, from the same interview with the Chinese diplomat, name withheld.

<sup>28</sup> Rana (2014, 2017) mentions this program repeatedly, but interestingly it was unfamiliar to our Chinese diplomat contact. We would like to know more about who is selected for this opportunity and what form the studies generally take.

stay at their current rank until retirement, and all MOFA employees face a mandatory retirement age of 55 for women and 65 for men, although the Chinese government intends to slowly increase the mandatory retirement age over the next several years.<sup>29</sup>

## **Leadership**

Advancement to key leadership positions can occur within MOFA at a relatively young age. The selection and review processes can elevate successful leadership candidates to the rank of ambassador as young as age 40, a promotion that becomes common among those still at MOFA in their 50's.<sup>30</sup> Those newly appointed to the rank of ambassador or to senior leadership positions are required to take a two-month training course that seems in part attuned to language training.<sup>31</sup> This training is a legacy of the early days of MOFA where ambassadors were commonly appointed from the PLA ranks and had little to no experience with diplomacy or policy, let alone a civilian bureaucracy.

Officially, it is stated that there are no political appointments to the position of ambassador, but it is extremely unlikely for non-party members to attain this rank.<sup>32</sup> In fact, virtually all senior level officers are Communist Party members. Some insight on what it takes to advance to the senior-most ranks can be gained by looking at the official biographies of various top Chinese diplomats are compared. From a sample of ten senior MOFA diplomats,<sup>33</sup> all has joined MOFA at or before 1989, and most had completed between nine and twelve assignments over their thirty to forty year careers. Several had experience in interpretation or had studied languages in their formal education before joining MOFA. It was not uncommon for senior diplomats to take a short absence from MOFA for education or to take some other leadership role within the CPC structure, but

<sup>29</sup> The PRC employs a mandatory national retirement age of 50/60 for blue collar workers, and 55/65 for white collar workers. A detailed plan for increasing the mandatory retirement age has yet to be completed, and may not begin until 2022. Owen Haacke, "China's Mandatory Retirement Age Changes: Impact for Foreign Companies," *The US-China Business Council*, April 1, 2015, accessed March 3, 2017, <https://www.uschina.org/china's-mandatory-retirement-age-changes-impact-foreign-companies>.

<sup>30</sup> According to Rana (2014), MOFA subdivides the rank of ambassador into three tiers. It is into the junior-most of these tiers that candidates in their 40's are likely to be promoted to.

<sup>31</sup> Rana (2004) mentions this two-month training course in several publications, but only in this chapter does he describe any of the content of the course. Kishan S. Rana, "Diplomatic Culture and Its Domestic Contents." In *Intercultural Communication and Diplomacy*, edited by Rana Kishan, 381–90. Geneva: DiploFoundation 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Approximately 80% of MOFA staff (at all ranks) are party members. Kishan S. Rana, *South Asian diplomacy: the foreign ministries of China, India, Japan, Singapore, and Thailand*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> See appendix containing selected profiles of senior diplomats

majority of their careers was occupied within MOFA positions. Especially at junior ranks, they tended to follow the standard rotations between postings abroad and postings in Beijing, but interestingly several of the senior diplomats were sent abroad immediately after joining the ministry, something that would be highly unusual today. Many of the diplomats served at the rank of Assistant Minister or Vice Minister before their promotion to Ambassador. Generally speaking, these profiles well represent a “typical” senior MOFA diplomat: Male, Han Chinese, university educated (often with some graduate education), active within the CPC, someone who worked their way up through the MOFA ranks, and an individual who has built significant experience in a particular region or discipline over their career.

However, there are the occasional outliers. Consul General Li Qiangmin in Houston, Texas worked on foreign economic relations for 15 years in the Hunan Province of China before entering MOFA and immediately he entered at the rank of Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in Israel in 2001.<sup>34</sup> Vice Minister Wang Chao, despite serving in several embassies over the early portion of his government career, was actually not directly affiliated with MOFA until his appointment as Assistant Minister in 2006. He had previously been a member of the Ministry of Commerce, working in foreign trade and economic cooperation for 20 years.<sup>35</sup> These two examples demonstrate that there are exceptions to the process of only promoting career-diplomats to senior leadership, although appointments still tend to come from inside government and party ranks. In order to understand the process and to what extent the party is involved, we need more information on the context surrounding the promotions and appointments of these and similar officials.

### **Role in Policy Making**

When compared to similar ministries in other countries, MOFA has significantly less ability to set the country’s overall foreign policy priorities. The president can set policy priorities, authority which generally resides within the Politburo’s Standing Committee. More broadly, policies are set through the Communist Party’s Central Committee which includes the heads of most ministries and certain other high ranking party members. Within the party structure and Central Committee hierarchies, the head of the MOFA falls relatively far behind key policy makers

<sup>34</sup> From The Consul General’s official biography. “Biography of Consul General Li Qiangmin,” last modified May 13, 2014, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://houston.china-consulate.org/eng/zlszc/t1155634.htm>.

<sup>35</sup> From Vice Minister Wang’s official biography. “Wang Chao,” last modified January 4, 2014, accessed March 9, 2017, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/zygy\\_663314/gjyl\\_663316/wc\\_666656](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zygy_663314/gjyl_663316/wc_666656).

in influence, and tends to follow the directives received from the president and the Standing Committee.

This relatively weakened role in policy making is reflected throughout the structure and function of Chinese diplomatic missions abroad. Up to half the personnel at a given mission are not actually diplomats employed through MOFA, but bureaucrats and officers from a variety of other ministries and organizations. In that sense, MOFA operates diplomatic missions a more of a platform for Chinese engagement with the world, but doesn't necessarily control all the mechanisms within that engagement. The core objectives of foreign missions, from the MOFA perspective, is to provide consular services and to function as an information pipeline to and from Beijing.

Key ministries and organizations operating within the MOFA diplomatic framework are the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, which is closely involved in the negotiations of trade agreements and economic exchanges, and the China Import/Export Bank, through which a large amount of Chinese foreign direct investment and concessionary loans are provided. The authority and policy making abilities of MOFA are additionally complicated by the existence of the International Department of the communist party itself. Functionally speaking, this department is a parallel ministry of foreign affairs which operates as the diplomatic arm of the party itself. Initially created to further party-party relations between the communist party and other friendly political movements, it has grown into a broader avenue of government-government cooperation and information sharing network that operates through Chinese diplomatic missions abroad. Members of the International Department act as diplomats but operate on outside authority exclusive to the party and often have more political and operational clout than their official MOFA colleagues.

Even internally, most diplomats have little voice in policy making or ministry strategy, even as senior level officers. Chinese diplomats from the MOFA generally must have all their actions approved by headquarters Beijing. The hierarchical structure does not leave much room for diplomats to contribute much beyond submitting research to inform other actors. Therefore, their work contributes to policy making, in that their reports inform the senior cadre of government decision makers and their daily actions implement these decisions, but they are not active "policy makers."

Further data regarding the exact relationship between the Communist Party of China and

the MOFA has not been accessible. However, a diplomat from the United Kingdom who specializes in Asian affairs and worked with many Chinese diplomats for years, supported our claims. She told us in an interview that it was no surprise that there was a lack of available data on the CPC and that in her experience, Chinese diplomats know well not to discuss party affairs.<sup>36</sup> The complicated nature of these structures and our limited access to this information leaves many unanswered questions as to the extent in which the International Department of the CPC constrains the Chinese MOFA.

### **Prepared for the Future?**

As a recently professionalized diplomatic bureaucracy, MOFA has a significantly different modern development trajectory than many other older diplomatic corps. While its policy making abilities have always been more restrained than other comparable diplomatic corps, MOFA is in a unique position of expansion. Over the past decade, MOFA has expanded its budget, its personnel, and its facilities both at home and abroad. With growing Chinese interest in both traditional and new international organizations, the ubiquity of Chinese businesses in the global markets, China's security aims throughout Asia, and its keen interest to restore the nation to its rightful place as a major power, these trends seem likely to continue. Barring a major shift in the trajectory of the Chinese economy, the need for diplomatic and consular representation abroad will likely make a compelling case for future increases in MOFA budgets and personnel in the immediate future.

MOFA also appears likely to be able to continue to recruit at the highest levels, and employment within the ministry should continue to be held in high regard by prospective applicants. Even considering the potential for future contraction in the size of the applicant pool due to China's changing demographics and competition from increasingly lucrative private sector employment, continued improvements in the Chinese education system<sup>37</sup> and the sheer size of the Chinese population relative to the number of positions available annually in MOFA will ensure qualified new diplomats joining the ranks. MOFA has also made significant strides towards integrating operating practices similar to other comparably large diplomatic corps in training,

<sup>36</sup> The Interview was conducted in January, 2017. To protect the identity of our source, we will not reference her name in this report.

<sup>37</sup> Rankings published by ICEF indicate that Chinese higher education systems have significantly improved in recent years and are approaching parity with some G7 nations. ICEF, "China shows greatest improvement in global ranking of higher education systems," *ICEF Monitor*, May 31, 2016, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://monitor.icef.com/2016/05/china-shows-greatest-improvement-global-ranking-higher-education-systems>.

specialization, and promotion. As contemporary global society places greater emphasis on the need for mid-career training and continued professional development, these newly integrated or expanded practices will help meet the needs of future MOFA diplomats.

While MOFA is well positioned to continue its advisory role in Chinese politics, the relative unimportance of MOFA within the Chinese construction of foreign policy could grow to be a larger issue in the future.<sup>38</sup> While Chinese diplomats do not have significant abilities to customize or craft Chinese policy, they have historically seen themselves as serving the Chinese state in a necessary capacity. However, changes in the distribution of foreign policy responsibilities to shift even further away from MOFA, such as through China's recent experimentations with a National Security Council.<sup>39</sup> At a time where China's military is also stretching its wings a shift in the priorities of China's top leaders could negatively impact MOFA's resources, staff, or even ministerial morale.

Finally, the rigid and highly controlled structure of authority and approvals within MOFA represents a possible liability in the future. This type of rigidity can easily lead to micromanagement and the paralysis of lower ranking officials in the absence of a connection with their superiors in Beijing. In the past this didn't create particularly troublesome hardships for MOFA, likely due to their relatively small size and relatively narrow portfolio of responsibilities. However, as China intends to grow into its desired role as a great power, its diplomats will be increasingly expected to respond to global crises quickly and professionally. The current structure is unlikely to cause tension among the diplomatic corps as there is no history of autonomy in the Chinese national bureaucracies except for the highest-ranking party members, but it will have the potential to create annoyances and miscommunications amongst China's allies and neighbors.

<sup>38</sup> Sun provides a succinct summary of the current state of MOFA's marginalization in policymaking. Jing Sun, "Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats – How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2016, 1-15.

<sup>39</sup> An NCS which may or may not actually still exist. Joel Wuthnow, "China's Much-Heralded NSC Has Disappeared," *Foreign Policy*, June 30, 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/30/chinas-much-heralded-national-security-council-has-disappeared-nsc-xi-jinping>



## **Cui Tiankai**

### **Chinese Ambassador to the United States**



Ambassador Cui (b. Oct. 1952), age 64, is a native of Shanghai. Trained as an interpreter, he studied in the foreign languages department at East China Normal University and interpretation at Beijing Foreign Studies University, which at the time was affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Following graduation from BFSU, he worked for five years in New York City as a translator with the Chinese delegation to the United Nations. He then returned to China and began working for MOFA in 1984. After two years in MOFA, he returned to the United States and completed a master's degree at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, returning to MOFA upon graduation. He is married and has one daughter. Ambassador Cui's career has encompassed eleven different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Department of International Organizations and Conferences, the Information Department, the Policy Research Office, and the Department of Asian Affairs. He has also held the positions of Assistant Minister and Vice Minister within MOFA. He served internationally as Minister Counsellor at the mission to the UN from 1997-1999, as Ambassador to Japan from 2007-2009, and as Ambassador to the USA from 2013-present. He was 55 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for nine years.

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## **Liu Jieyi**

### **Permanent Representative to the United Nations**



Ambassador Liu (b. Dec. 1957), age 59, is a native of Beijing. Trained as an interpreter, he studied at Beijing Foreign Studies University, which at the time was affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He received a master's degree from BFSU. Following graduation from BFSU, he worked for six years as an interpreter at the United Nations office in Geneva, Switzerland. He joined MOFA in 1987. Ambassador Liu's career has encompassed nine different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Department of International Organizations and Conferences, the Department of Arms Control, and the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs. He has also held the position of Assistant Minister within MOFA. He has served internationally as Counsellor in the Chinese Permanent Mission to the UN from 1995-1998, and as Permanent Representative to the UN from 2013-present. Ambassador Liu has also served outside MOFA as Vice Minister in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from 2009-2013. He was 56 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for three years.

## **Liu Xiaoming**

### **Chinese Ambassador to the United Kingdom**



Ambassador Liu (b. Jan. 1956), age 61, is a native of Jieyang, a coastal city in the southeastern province of Guangdong. He completed his undergraduate at the Dalian University of Foreign Languages in 1974, and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs immediately after graduation. After eight years in MOFA, he went to the US to earn a master's degree in international relations from the Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Foreign Affairs in Boston. He returned to MOFA after graduation. He is married to a fellow career Chinese diplomat and has one son. Ambassador Liu's career has encompassed fourteen assignments within MOFA. He served in the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, as well as general positions in MOFA as desk officer and ambassador. He served internationally as Political Officer in the Chinese Embassy in the Republic of Zambia from 1975-1978, as Second Secretary from 1989-1990 and First Secretary from 1990-1993, and Deputy Chief of Mission from 1998-2001 in the Chinese Embassy in the United States, as Ambassador to Egypt from 2001-2003, as Ambassador to North Korea from 2006-2009, and as Ambassador to the UK from 2009-present. He has also served outside MOFA as Deputy Secretary General in 2004 and Assistant Governor from 2004-2005 in Gansu Province, as well as Vice Minister in the Office of Foreign Affairs Leading Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from 2005-2006. He was 45 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for sixteen years.

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## **Zhai Jun**

### **Chinese Ambassador to France**



Ambassador Zhai (b. Dec. 1954), age 62, is a native of Hebei province (city unknown). He has completed his undergraduate at an unnamed university, and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1975. He is married and has one son. Ambassador Zhai's career has encompassed twelve different assignments within MOFA. He served in the Department of Translation and Interpretation, the Department of West Asian and North African Affairs, and the Bureau for Chinese Diplomatic Missions Abroad. He has also held the position of Assistant Minister within MOFA. He has served internationally as Attaché and Third Secretary in the Chinese Embassy in Yemen from 1980-1985, as First Secretary and Counsellor in the Chinese Embassy in Saudi Arabia from 1992-1996, as Ambassador to Libya from 1997-2000, and as Ambassador to France from 2014-present. He has also served outside MOFA as a member of the Standing Committee of Communist Party of China representing the Zhenjiang Municipal Committee of Jiangsu Province from 2000-2001. He was 43 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for nineteen years.

## **Shi Mingde**

### Chinese Ambassador to Germany



Ambassador Shi (b. Dec. 1954), age 62, is a native of Shanghai. He was accepted to the Beijing Foreign Language School at a young age and studied German from 1964 until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. He completed his undergraduate in East Germany from 1972-1975, and returned to China where he worked in agriculture for several months before joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and immediately returning to work at the Chinese Embassy in East Germany. He is married to a university professor and has one child. Ambassador Shi's career has encompassed nine different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Bureau for Chinese Diplomatic Missions and the Department of Western European Affairs. He has served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in East Germany immediately after joining MOFA from 1976-1981 and again as Second Secretary from 1986-1990, as Counsellor in the Chinese Embassy in Bonn, Germany from 1993-1997, as Minister Counsellor in the Chinese Embassy in Berlin, Germany from 2002-2006, as Ambassador to Austria from 2010-2012, and as Ambassador to Germany from 2012-present. He has also served outside MOFA as Director General of the Central Office for Foreign Affairs at the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from 2006-2010. He was 56 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for six years.

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## **Yu Hongyang**

### Chinese Ambassador to Turkey



Ambassador Yu (b. Oct 1957), age 59, is a native of Jiangsu province, a coastal area in east-central China. He has an unspecified undergraduate degree from an unnamed Chinese university. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1981, and was immediately sent to a post in the Chinese Embassy in Iran. He has also spent time in 2002-2003 serving as a visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Diplomatic Research Institute in Washington, DC. He is married. Ambassador Yu's career has encompassed twelve different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Department of West Asian and North African Affairs. He has served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in Iran on multiple occasions including immediately after joining MOFA from 1981-1986, as Third Secretary and Second Secretary from 1990-1994, and as Counsellor from 1998-2001, and as Ambassador from 2010-2014. He has also served internationally as Exequatur in the Consul General in Istanbul, Turkey from 2003-2006, as Ambassador to Jordan from 2008-2010, and as Ambassador to Turkey from 2014 to present. He was 51 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for eight years.

## **Li Hui**

### Chinese Ambassador to Russia



Ambassador Li (b. Feb. 1953), age 64, is a native of Suihua, a city in the northeastern province of Heilongjiang. He has an unspecified undergraduate degree from an unnamed Chinese university, and also holds an honorary doctorate degree from the Institute of Far Eastern Studies at Moscow State Linguistic University. He is a member of the current (12th) convocation of the National People's Congress, China's national legislative assembly. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1975. He is married and has one daughter. Ambassador Li's career has encompassed twelve different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Department of Soviet and East European Affairs and the Department of East European and Central Asian Affairs. He has also held the positions of Assistant Minister and Vice Minister within MOFA. He has served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union/Russia as Attaché, Third Secretary, and Second Secretary from 1981-1985, as First Secretary from 1990-1992, and as Ambassador from 2009-present. He has also served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in Kazakhstan as First Secretary from 1992-1995 and as Ambassador from 1997-1999. He was 44 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for twenty years.

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## **Luo Zhaohui**

### Chinese Ambassador to India



Ambassador Luo (b. Feb. 1962), age 53, is a native of an unnamed city in Hubei province in central China. He has an unspecified bachelor's degree from Central China Normal University, and a master's degree in history from Peking University. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1985. Ambassador Luo is also currently serving a three year from 2015-2018 term as a guest professor at Wuhan University in his home province of Hubei. He is married and has one daughter. Ambassador Luo's career has encompassed twelve different assignments within MOFA. He has served in a variety of positions in the Department of Asian Affairs, the Department of North American and Oceania Affairs, and the Department of External Security Affairs. He has served internationally as Third Secretary and Second Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in India from 1989-1993, as Second Secretary and First Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in the United States from 1996-2000, as Minister Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in Singapore from 2003-2004, as Ambassador to Pakistan from 2010-2011, as Ambassador to Canada from 2014-2016, and as Ambassador to India from 2016-present. He was 47 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for six years.

## **Li Jinzhang**

### **Chinese Ambassador to Brazil**



Ambassador Li (b. Nov. 1954), age 62, is a native of an unnamed city in the northeastern province of Hebei. He has an unspecified undergraduate degree from an unnamed Chinese university. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1976, and was immediately sent abroad to a post in Cuba. He briefly left MOFA from 1993-1995 in for advanced studies at the China Foreign Affairs University in Beijing. He is married and has one daughter. Ambassador Li's career encompassed ten assignments within MOFA. He has served in the Department of North American and Oceanic Affairs and the Department of Latin American Affairs, and also held the positions of Assistant Minister and Vice Minister. He has served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in Cuba immediately after joining MOFA from 1976-1980 and as Counsellor from 1990-1993, as First Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in Nicaragua from 1988-1990, as Ambassador to Mexico from 2001-2003, and as Ambassador to Brazil from 2012-present. He was 47 when he was first appointed as an Ambassador, and has held the title for fifteen years.

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## **Wang Yi**

### **Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs**



Minister Wang (b. Oct. 1953), age 63, is a native of Beijing. After high school, he spent eight years in the northeastern province of Heilongjiang in the Northeast Construction Army Corps. He also worked a year at the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications Intelligence Research Institute. Returning to Beijing, he enrolled in the African and Asian Languages Department at the Beijing International Studies University earning a bachelor's in Japanese language and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after graduation. He spent seven months at Georgetown University in Washington, DC in 1997-1998 as visiting scholar at the Institute of Foreign Relations. While working at MOFA in Beijing, Minister Wang completed a master's in international relations and economics at the China Foreign Affairs University, an institution run by MOFA. Minister Wang was a member of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Central Committees of the Communist Party of China. He is married and has one daughter. Minister Wang's career encompassed nine assignments within MOFA. He served in the Department of Asian Affairs and the Department of Policy Research and held the positions of Assistant Minister and Vice Minister before being appointed Minister in 2013. He served internationally at the Chinese Embassy in Japan as Counsellor and Minister Counsellor from 1989-1994 and as Ambassador from 2004-2007. He served outside MOFA from 2008-2013 as Director of the Taiwan Work Office of the CPC Central Committee and Minister of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council. He was 51 when first appointed Ambassador, a title held nine years until appointment at age 60 as Minister.

## **France**

Bryce Block, Catherine Cousar, & Marne Suttan

### **Executive Summary**

The French see themselves as missionaries for their revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Their diplomats seek not only to secure the interests of the French state, but also to promote these ideals through public diplomacy and other forms of “soft power.” They do so with the unique ability to make autonomous decisions regarding the everyday choices without consulting the headquarters in Paris. This dialogue between Paris and the mission appears to be unique to French diplomacy. While largely a top-down organization, the French as individuals appear to have significant autonomy to conduct their daily work. The French Foreign Ministry remains in high regard among its citizens. Recruitment is highly competitive and selective, requiring various separate entrance exams and the system heavily leans on a robust education prior to joining the ministry. The requirements are very robust and include the knowledge of French, English and a third European language. The Foreign Ministry focuses on strengthening the managerial skills and leadership capacities of diplomats, as well as deepening their knowledge on the priority areas of international action (including economic diplomacy, soft diplomacy, security and defense, European affairs, and climate change). Promotion within the establishment is based upon initial classifications when entering as a junior member. The rise of individuals is highly formalized and built upon early training and examinations. It is rare, but occasionally diplomats from the consular level are able to cross over to diplomatic roles. The highest level diplomats follow very similar careers and deviations are not common. The greatest challenge of French Diplomacy is maintaining superiority and influence in a time of turmoil within the European Union as the United Kingdom withdraws from the agreement. France’s goals are typically global in focus, but it might need to look inward within Europe to prioritize during the next few years.

## **History**

French diplomats believe that they invented the modern art in the sixteenth century. The Bourbon kings hosted the most impressive European diplomatic court, and their representatives set the standard throughout the continent and in the New World. Until the early twentieth century, French was the international language of diplomacy, and it remains one of the official United Nations languages today. Historically, French diplomats have come from the landed and intellectual aristocracy, they have assumed a highly respected status in French politics, and they have retained their status despite various regime changes. Talleyrand most famously served as a leading French diplomat before and after the Revolution.

The legacy of the French Revolution continues to influence all aspects of French society, particularly diplomacy. The French see themselves as missionaries for their revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Their diplomats seek not only to secure the interests of the French state, but also to promote these ideals through public diplomacy and other forms of “soft power.” The French Empire expanded across the world over four centuries to enrich French society and spread what the French have called their “mission civilisatrice.” The French clung to the last pieces of their empire through the early Cold War, and they continue to maintain deep influence in former colonial territories in Africa and the Caribbean. Recent French intervention in Mali attests to Paris’ continued influence in former colonial lands.

The Second World War and the Algerian War marked the end of the French colonial empire, replaced by the Fifth Republic following Charles de Gaulle’s popular coup in 1958. De Gaulle created a presidential system, with a directly elected national leader who oversees all foreign policy, including the professional diplomatic corps. The French president has historically defended France’s continued status as a leading global power, a promotor of European integration, and a sponsor of economic development in the “third world” (originally a French term.) France has been a close American ally on major strategic issues during the last half century, but French leaders have also asserted a flagrant independence from Washington at key moments, most recently opposing the Iraq War. French diplomats are deeply integrated in the Western alliance and they remain strongly nationalistic at the same time.

During its tenure, the ministry has held various names. From 1791-2007, its title was Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2007-2012, the name changed to Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs. At this time the focus of the organization began to look inward at Europe.

Starting with Minister Bernard Kochner, the French Foreign Ministry began to emphasize common European issues in their publications, specifically related to immigration from Northern Africa and the Middle East. Starting in May 2012 under Laurent Fabius, the Ministry took on its latest name, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development. This change resulted from a combination of factors, but most importantly an acknowledgement of the budget and support that the ministry provided to various nations and causes around the world. Specifically under Minister Fabius France extended support to Syrian rebels, as well as chaired the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris where Fabius was described as “crucial to the process”.<sup>1</sup> France’s adherence to worldwide promotion and support of democratic values has been codified in its latest iteration of the Foreign Ministry’s official name.

## **Profile**

The Ministère des Affaires étrangères of France is the second largest diplomatic service in the world.<sup>2</sup> After moving many times during its centuries, the current physical location of the Foreign Ministry was established in the mid-twentieth century on the left bank of the Seine at 37, Quai D’Orsay.<sup>3</sup> The budget for the entire foreign ministry was €5,029 million in 2012 (\$7,305 million Oct 2016) which represents just over one percent of the total 2012 federal budget.<sup>4</sup> Missions abroad include 163 embassies, 4 diplomatic branch offices, 92 consulates general and consulates, and 135 embassy consular sections and other missions. In addition to the 163 bilateral

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGEL ONLINE Germany Hamburg, “Historischer Weltklimavertrag: Zehn Gründe Für Das Wunder von Paris - SPIEGEL ONLINE - Wissenschaft,” *SPIEGEL ONLINE*, accessed March 11, 2017, <http://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/natur/un-klimavertrag-zehn-gruende-fuer-das-wunder-von-paris-a-1067540.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Archis Mohan, “Indian Diplomacy Fails Numbers Test,” *StratPost*, October 1, 2013, <http://www.stratpost.com/indian-diplomacy-fails-numbers-test>.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Gordon Lauren, *Diplomats and Bureaucrats: The First Institutional Responses to Twentieth-Century Diplomacy in France and Germany*, Hoover Institution Publications ; 153 (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> INSEE - National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, “Expenditures and Receipts of General Government (S13) (Billions of Euros),” accessed October 26, 2016, [http://www.insee.fr/en/themes/comptes-nationaux/tableau.asp?sous\\_theme=3.2&xml=t\\_3201](http://www.insee.fr/en/themes/comptes-nationaux/tableau.asp?sous_theme=3.2&xml=t_3201); “Euros (EUR) to US Dollars (USD) Rates for 12/31/2012 - Exchange Rates,” accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.exchange-rates.org/Rate/EUR/USD/12-31-2012>; “US Inflation Calculator,” *US Inflation Calculator*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>; The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The Ministry - All the Figures,” *France Diplomatie :: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs/article/the-ministry-all-the-figures-17578>.

Note - The foreign ministry budget was converted from December 31, 2012 Euros to October 26, 2016 US Dollars, accounting for historical exchange rates and inflation. The Federal Budget excludes Social Security, Local & Regional Government, and Quasi Government Body spending.



missions, French Ambassadors represent France within multilateral organizations as 16 permanent representatives and 25 dedicated ambassadors. France also designates nearly 500 honorary consuls in countries without a consular post, but where they deem it important to have a local point of contact.<sup>5</sup>

The French Federal Foreign service has approximately 14,798 personnel supporting offices in Paris and the network of embassies, consulates, and missions abroad. There are 5,503 recruited staff under local laws, 3099 tenured and open-ended contractual agents in the central administration, 2905 tenured and open-ended contractual agents abroad, 3017 fixed-term contractual agents (including international volunteers and temporary staff), 724 Military Staff (not from the Defense budget).<sup>6</sup> The total of these separate divisions make up the heart of the French Foreign Service. The Foreign Service divides itself into three categories or cadres, each of which is selected through a separate exam process.<sup>7</sup> “Catégorie A” is considered the top level, which staffs employees on tracks to reach the most senior diplomatic officers (from 1st Secretary of Embassy to Ambassador and Counselor and Secrétaire of the Ministry in Paris). Next in line is “Catégorie B” which is made up of primarily consular, management and administrative officers (including some who may also pass by exam into the A cadre). The final level is “Catégorie C”, containing primarily support personnel such as clerks, personal assistants (secretaries), administrative, and security and communications technicians.<sup>8</sup>

Historically, the French Foreign Ministry has been made up of a service of elite members. As prospects have improved in the private sector, the general makeup has become more diverse to reflect all types of French citizens though not yet fully representative. The Foreign Ministry has varying levels of representation of genders depending on the cadre of service. In total, 53% of civil servants are women, including 30% of Category A agents, 43% of Category B agents and 68% of Category C agents.<sup>9</sup> In January of 2013, 25 of the 180 ambassadors abroad were women, which shows a rise to 14% from 10% in 2006.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The Ministry.”

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Développement international, “Concours,” *France Diplomatie :: Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères et Du Développement International*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/emplois-stages-concours/concours/>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign affairs, “Gender Equality at the French Foreign Ministry,” *France Diplomatie :: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs/gender-equality-at-the-french-foreign-ministry/>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

## **Recruitment and Selection**

The French Foreign Ministry remains in high regard among French citizens. Serving the French Foreign Ministry is considered an honor and positions are coveted. Recruitment is highly competitive and selective.<sup>11</sup> The basis of recruitment is founded in the two tiered French education system. Universities are free for all, but students must pass the Bac exam in order to enroll. On this pathway, the student must hold an additional masters level degree, or a diploma Level II recognized as equivalent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The individuals must apply and succeed in four separate exams in order to be allowed into the A cadre.<sup>12</sup> The second pathway is the Grandes Ecoles established by Charles de Gaulle during the provisional government. This pathway is much harder to get into and requires two years of preparation for the entrance exam, but has more specific preparation for access to a position within the Foreign Ministry. Upon completion of a degree at either the Ecole Polytechnique (IRA) or the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) the individuals are ranked and carry their graduation for the rest of their career. Graduates can access the grand corps, and leading ENA graduates can get a public sector assignment in the foreign ministry. This would be a direct assignment into the A cadre.<sup>13</sup> Only those who have graduated from ENA are able to achieve A+ status.<sup>14</sup> Not all diplomats in the Quai (French Foreign Service) come from the Grandes Ecoles or Universities. There is also a separate entrance exam based upon specialized needs within the organization. A program known as "Concours d'Orient" lets ministers recruit people who have specific language skills and area specializations. These individuals are often graduates from the Institut des Langues Orientales.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to passing the various exams, entrants must have the following Foreign Language skills: mastery of English, second foreign language and finally a third foreign language is recommend in order to enter the A cadre. In the French system, mastery of the culture and

<sup>11</sup> Popoff, Sarah. Current French EEAS Secondary National Expert on Ukraine, Former Permanent Representation of France in Brussels Staff, interview by Author, November 4, 2016. Interviewed by author. November 4, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Développement international, "Les Métiers Du Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères," *France Diplomatie* : : *Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères et Du Développement International*, accessed November 2, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/emplois-stages-concours/article/les-metiers-du-ministere-des-107036>.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Popoff, Sarah. Current French EEAS Secondary National Expert on Ukraine, Former Permanent Representation of France in Brussels Staff. Interviewed by author. November 4, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Cogan, *French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with La Grande Nation* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003).

history of a foreign language area is also required and considered as important as speaking the language itself. In the early 2010s, German was specifically added as a “hard language”, not because of the decline of its popularity in France but because of its need in maintaining a “balanced” Franco-German partnership. Language facility is periodically tested and rated in recognition that without adequate practice, fluency changes and old ratings are meaningless.<sup>16</sup>

The routes to positions within the B and C Categories are different. The B cadre requires a diploma level IV prior to an attempt of the first examination and successful completion of the exam opens up positions of Chancery Secretaries as well as Information Systems and Communication Secretaries.<sup>17</sup> Cadre C requirements are even less and do not require a diploma. Upon admittance in this function, the roles are secretarial or administrative and support the other two cadres.<sup>18</sup>

Upon entry into the Ministry, officers are expected to be highly and professionally educated for diplomatic service. All A cadre staff members are required to enroll in an internal education service, Ecole Diplomatique and be tested on a six months formation curriculum. The school is staffed by master practitioners and respected journalists and new media, academic, management and strategic analysis experts. In addition to A cadre, long-standing training for B and C cadre personnel has been folded into the Ecole’s responsibilities. The stated purpose of the Ecole is to “assure an initial formation of all diplomats entering the Quai d’Orsay”, and “provide an ongoing formation to acquire competencies in line with requirements”.<sup>19</sup>

Another path to enter the French Foreign Ministry is open specifically to individuals who have five to ten years of experience in the private sector, such a former company managers and experts. Entrance requires a different exam and interview process.<sup>20</sup> The connection to the private sector is first established with the students of the Grande Ecoles during their rotations. They engage

<sup>16</sup> Stephanie Kinney, “AFSA BENCHMARKING EXERCISE: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training” (AFSA, n.d.).

<sup>17</sup> Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Développement international, “Les Métiers Du Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères.”

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Kinney, “AFSA BENCHMARKING EXERCISE: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training.”

<sup>20</sup> You must have five or ten years of experience in the private sector in a role similar to a company manager and there is a different exam process. Popoff, Sarah. Current French EEAS Secondary National Expert on Ukraine, Former Permanent Representation of France in Brussels Staff. Interviewed by author. November 4, 2016.

in a multitude of ministries as well as various private and governmentally run corporations.<sup>21</sup> Since the group of graduates are all intermingled, some individuals may be well connected across the different organizations. This route is intended to bring in former students who have institutional knowledge at a non-governmental entity, but maintain a background from their high level of education. The MFA consistently promotes economic relationships for its private sector corporations abroad, so certain private sector individuals could assist the ministry in those endeavors.

In discussions with diplomats it was noted that the caliber of education and pedigree required to be a top level diplomat is still highly pursued during the recruitment process.<sup>22</sup> There are various levels and opportunities to become a Categorie A diplomat, but a vast majority follow the traditional route of the Grande Ecole. France's ministry has worked to allow entrance in a more egalitarian way, but on a whole, it values the sophistication and preeminence of the traditional route over all others. Due to this preference, a standard French diplomat profile emerges.

Finally in the area of diversity, France has come a long way in employing a better balance of men and women, at least at the lower levels and among new recruits. They also have programs to train and hire hard languages. The ministry's success in the area of ethnic and religious diversity however, is less clear. France does not record the ethnicity of staff in government positions. A survey of staff profiles however, suggests that they have some way to go.

### **Professional Development**

The French Foreign Service does not have a cones or track system like many countries, but allows its members to self-select positions based upon interests in various areas. While assignments are not commonly refused, the officers are allowed to create points of focus within each role they take on to build a profile. Within cadre A officers self-select into various career paths or streams such as, "representation", "negotiation", "search for information", "protection of French interests", "promotion of bilateral relations", and "communication on the ground".<sup>23</sup> They are encouraged to focus their roles in these specific areas and apply to positions that promote the

<sup>21</sup> Counselor for strategic and security affairs Simond de Galbert, Interview at the Embassy of France of Washington, interview by Catherine Cousar, Bryce Block, and Marne Sutton, In Perosn, December 15, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Kinney, "AFSA BENCHMARKING EXERCISE: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training."

streams. In response to a White Paper<sup>24</sup> prepared in 2007, a new program of training was started with the creation of the Institut diplomatique et consulaire (IDC).<sup>25</sup> The IDC addresses the dual issues of insufficient training of initial first-term diplomats before primary deployment as well as experienced diplomats prior to reaching senior management posts.

A very academically focused competition is utilized to hire and train staff, and as a result the initial training session is essentially focused on practice, skills and the sharing of experience. The initial training program was created in 2010 and lasts 14 weeks. It requires a participatory teaching approach and makes wide use of peer training. On completion of their initial program, trainees should have acquired solid basic knowledge on their administrative environment and on the missions and values of the Ministry. The IDC offers modules with a variety of content: organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (working tools, diplomatic drafting, security, deontology), presentation of jobs at the Quai d'Orsay (negotiation, budget management and accounting, communication, crisis management), outreach on individual, collective and professional issues linked to the diplomatic career, thematic modules (European and legal dimensions, multilateral matters, global issues, Franco-German and Franco-British modules, consular issues in liaison with the Administrative and Consular Affairs Training Institute – IFAAC), practices of French diplomacy, and public speaking. The session program also allows trainees to participate actively through simulation exercises and practical workshops in subgroups. It is marked by the need for openness and has a major Franco-German component involving two trips jointly with the Germany Foreign Service Academy as well as a joint program with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO).<sup>26</sup>

Later in a diplomat's career, at approximately 15 years of service, a mid-career course training is undertaken. The first session of mid-career training was launched in October 2011. This course is aimed at staff who will for the first time return to central administration in roles such as Deputy Directors, Heads of Department or Head of Unit. The goal of the formalized program is to contribute to creating a pool of staff that will exercise upper management roles within the Ministry. The training aims in particular to strengthen the managerial skills and leadership

<sup>24</sup> “French White Paper on Diplomacy,” n.d.

<sup>25</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign affairs, “The Diplomatic and Consular Institute (IDC),” *France Diplomatie :: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs/training-of-diplomats-and-personnel/article/the-diplomatic-and-consular>.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

capacities of diplomats, as well as to deepen their knowledge on the priority areas of international action (including economic diplomacy, soft diplomacy, security and defense, European affairs, and climate change). France hopes that its diplomats will lead the international community in directing the future of many of these actions, so the training focuses on building foundational knowledge in specific areas of importance. The personalized dimension also involves language training, with assessment of language skills and the proposal of an individual training offer. This training is also a major event for diplomats themselves who, in addition to a first personal assessment, will also enjoy assistance and support for their later career and his or her next posting with high responsibilities. It remains compatible with the professional commitments of trainees and is dispensed over three years, corresponding to the average duration of a posting to central administration.<sup>27</sup>

### **Leadership**

The promotion within the Foreign Service has had a recent spotlight shined on its historical inequity between genders. In the past ten years, the ministry has worked to promote more women within higher levels and not just the historical lower cadres (B and C). The recent details regarding this transition have been widely publicized as the French work to reform gender inequity within its entire government.<sup>28</sup> While this gender resolution has been largely promoted, current evidence points to a steep divide within the higher levels of the ministry. As evidenced by the diplomatic profiles of France, nine out of ten of the highest level diplomats are men.<sup>29</sup> It is worth noting that the highly important Ambassador to the United Kingdom is a woman, Sylvie-Agnès Bermann, who was appointed in August 2014.

French Ambassadors are appointed directly by the President of the Republic in a meeting of the Council of Ministers on the suggestion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in a very formal process. The position is regarded as one of the highest within the government, but by law the President is able to appoint whomever he or she chooses. While other Ambassadors change within administrations, similar to the US, France's Ambassadors rarely change over. Diplomats are

<sup>27</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign affairs, "Training of Diplomats and Personnel," *France Diplomatie :: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs/training-of-diplomats-and-personnel/>.

<sup>28</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign affairs, "Gender Equality at the French Foreign Ministry."

<sup>29</sup> See Diplomat Profiles at end of Section

appointed based upon merit within the profession and historically must reach the grade of envoy prior to the promotion.<sup>30</sup> While the meetings between the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs are not published, anecdotally the President has almost never not accepted the recommendations of the Minister. There is an historical precedent prior to the founding of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic to maintain a professional service that's members are largely not influenced by partisan politics. This precedent is maintained by allowing the Foreign Minister make appropriate suggestions to Ambassador posts, and not replacing them with each new President. Interviews within the service have confirmed that this relationship is highly supported and is key to the strength of the members.<sup>31</sup> The highest achieving lower-level diplomats are comfortable remaining within the ministry, since they know there is a future post that they have the ability to qualify for and will not be blocked by a political appointee.

Given the structure of the French ministries, the President has the power and authority to act as his or her own Foreign Minister if desired. There is historical precedent of Presidents that desire to take a more direct role in foreign policy engaging openly with other nations' Foreign Ministries. Some Presidents rely wholly on the work of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the most recent elections within France a key component of platforms has been engagement with the United Nations and the rest of the world, suggesting that the candidates will lead with a more engaged role within foreign policy, possibly limiting the Minister's impact to make policy.

This dialogue has been relatively difficult to engage in without conducting personal interviews. The report would be further aided by the personal reflections of individuals within the French Foreign Ministry as compared to other ministries. The discourse regarding intra-governmental reputation among peer ministries would be an important addition to the current information that is available.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development is a highly centralized organization, with a clear policy line issuing from Paris. Most French diplomats holding senior positions entered the ministry through examinations and worked their way up, serving both in Paris and abroad in positions of increasing responsibility. However, some such as Laurent Bili the French Ambassador to Brazil have worked in many other government agencies

<sup>30</sup> The French Ministry of Foreign affairs, "The Ambassador," *France Diplomatie :: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development*, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs/what-diplomats-do/article/the-ambassador>.

<sup>31</sup> Simond de Galbert, Embassy of France of Washington.

throughout their careers. The majority attended either from Sciences Po ÉNA in Paris or École nationale d'administration or both and have spent their entire career in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some ambassadors do hold degrees from other universities, although this is uncommon

The majority of ambassadors are men in early middle age, although in recent years there have been increases in diversity, including more women in powerful positions, such as Sylvie Bermann, French Ambassador to the United Kingdom, who when she served as ambassador to China, was the first Frenchwoman to be an ambassador to a country on the UN Security Council.

### **Role in Foreign Policy Making**

The French Foreign Service is largely a top down organization, but not inflexible. Embassies and consulates receive instructions from Paris and know exactly what line to take and how issues are to be presented. However, in reality the relationship between a mission and headquarters is more of a dialogue. One of the greatest strengths of the French Foreign Ministry is its strong central authority and flexible support of its staff. In nearly all interviews conducted with service members there was a consensus, that while there was no question of central policy from Paris, officers still felt able to influence their superiors and act according to their better judgment. If a mission receives instructions from Paris that do not make sense in their situation or are told to take position that is not viable, they can communicate with higher ups to see if they can find a compromise. One of the roles of staff is to discuss with headquarters what the best approach is to any given situation. Officially, at the end of the day, if there is a different viewpoint between a mission and headquarters, headquarters chooses line and what position should be taken.<sup>32</sup>

France has exhibited much success in the international community as consistently leading conversations and directing dialogue. In interviews, we learned that the French diplomats are empowered to take stances that are consistent with the message of the organization, without returning to base at every juncture. This flexibility has allowed diplomats to command conversations rather than react to the positions of others. A recent example of this prowess has been France's negotiations with Russia regarding Ukraine. France and Germany met with Ukraine

<sup>32</sup> Popoff, Sarah. Current French EEAS Secondary National Expert on Ukraine, Former Permanent Representation of France in Brussels Staff.



and Russia in Berlin to discuss a stalled peace process.<sup>33</sup> Notably absent from the United States, the French led the dialogue of the summit Minsk II, pushing for a reinstatement of the Minsk Protocol ceasefire and opening aid to alleviate the suffering of the people in the conflict-ridden Donbass region of Ukraine. France's role was pivotal in bringing about the agreement and its authority is evidenced by the acceptance of Russia and Ukraine in the process despite not having a significant tie to the conflict.

There is a strong culture of recounting ones work upon exit from the French Foreign Service. A multitude of biographies and documents remain available from various sources that provide an internal perspective within the role of a diplomat for France. The culture of the foreign ministry is maintained as a highly intellectual practice. Being a diplomat is a respected, lifetime achievement and it follows as only natural to document those experiences that a diplomat had during his or her career. New or hopeful diplomats draw upon these works as manuals for their future roles. As a result of this process, a continuous prestigious culture remains evident in the work of all French diplomats.

### **Prepared for the Future?**

Over the last decade the French Foreign Service has shifted much of its focus to specific areas of interest, including Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Ukraine has risen as an areas of interest due to its effect on France's relationship with Russia. Africa, due to France's colonial ties, remains a major area of interest and involvement.<sup>34</sup>

One of the most significant new trends is a new focus on economic diplomacy. The French Foreign Service would like to do better but still struggles with economic influence. While France has turned its focus towards economic diplomacy, the Foreign Ministry is still in the process of actually hiring a broader base of educational backgrounds and supporting such programs. The ministry has some of the best educated diplomats possible, but they do not always have focus in key areas they might need, possibly due to personal preference selection. The French Foreign service is now trying to recruit people with more economic background. Exams for the Foreign

<sup>33</sup> "Russia Is Negotiating with Germany and France over Ukraine," *The Economist*, accessed March 11, 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709066-while-foreign-powers-argue-about-its-future-ukrainians-struggle-take-their-destiny>.

<sup>34</sup> Popoff, Sarah. Current French EEAS Secondary National Expert on Ukraine, Former Permanent Representation of France in Brussels Staff.

Service have shifted appropriately, changing one section of the exam that was previously focused on public finance and economics, to now only cover economics.<sup>35</sup>

Another significant challenge has been the recent 2016 vote in the United Kingdom to leave the European Union (colloquially known as Brexit). While the economic implications of Brexit are still being discussed, President Francois Hollande advised British Prime Minister Theresa May to make negotiations quick.<sup>36</sup> In addition, internal sympathizers in France of what is considered a populist movement are looking at electing Marine Le Pen as the new president. After the Brexit vote, Marine encouraged supporters noting that she would quickly follow the United Kingdom on its way out of the EU and “escape the prison”.<sup>37</sup> If France were to formally exit the EU, its diplomatic challenges and future would be massively altered from the current course. Economically, bilateral agreements would need to be founded around the world and within Europe. Even if France doesn’t exit the EU, the French are now having to contemplate the Lancaster House defence treaty, which binds the French and British militarily, especially in terms of nuclear warhead stewardship.<sup>38</sup> The alterations of established precedent are pushing France to expand upon its historically held views of the world.

In 2007, a white paper was prepared to investigate France’s role in Europe and the world. A number of ideas were developed within the document and changes previously mentioned came directly from the research conducted. In the second part of the White Paper, five priorities of external action are underlined including<sup>39</sup>:

- 1. Ensure the security of France and the French people, defend and promote their interests
- 2. Building a strong, democratic and efficient Europe with our partners
- 3. Intervening in the world for peace, security and human rights
- 4. Helping to organize a globalization that can ensure the sustainable and well-balanced development of the planet

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> “France’s Hollande Told May Expects Quick Start of Brexit Negotiations - Source,” *Reuters*, January 17, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/britain-eu-hollande-idUSL5N1F76V1>.

<sup>37</sup> Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, “France’s Marine Le Pen Explains How She Aims to Smash the European Order,” *The Telegraph*, 22:00, sec. 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/02/15/frances-marine-le-pen-explains-aims-smash-european-order/>.

<sup>38</sup> “Brexit Spells Disaster for France,” *Financial Times*, accessed March 11, 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/11bde1d6-39e8-11e6-a780-b48ed7b6126f>.

<sup>39</sup> “French White Paper on Diplomacy.”

- 5. Make visible French ideas, the French language and French culture while following the principle of cultural diversity

These five measures represent the external face of France as it navigates itself in the world, but are direct responses to challenges that France identified in its research: New World Balances, A Different Europe, New Peace and Security Dimensions, Growing Economic and Environmental Interdependencies, Global Competition of Ideas and The Challenge of Democracy. Each of these tests of French diplomacy have been identified to reframe the discussion and preparation of diplomats in a new and revolutionary way.

## **Jeann-Marc Ayrault**

### **Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development**



Jeann-Marc Ayrault is a career French politician. He was the Prime Minister of France from 16 May 2012 to 31 March 2014. He has served as Minister of Foreign Affairs since 2016. He was born 25 January 1950. He studied German at Nantes University and graduated with a degree in German in 1971. He later obtained his teaching diploma in 1972. He then pursued a career as a German teacher for several years before entering politics. He became Mayor of Nantes in 1989 and held the position until 2012. He led the Socialist Party group in the National Assembly from 1997 to 2012. His other past elected positions include: President of the Nantes Métropole Urban Community, 2001 – 2012, National Assembly Deputy for the third constituency of the Loire-Atlantique department since 1988, National Assembly Deputy for the Loire-Atlantique Department, 1986 – 1988, President of the Socialist, Radical, Citizen and Miscellaneous Left group at the National Assembly, 1997 – 2012, President of the Agglomération Nantaise district community, 1992 – 2001, Member of the Loire-Atlantique Department General Council, 1976 – 1982, Mayor of Saint-Herblain (Loire-Atlantique Department), 1977 – 1989. He is married and has two daughters. He also holds the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic.

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## **Gerard Araud**

### **French Ambassador to the United States**



Gérard Araud was appointed Ambassador of France to the United States in September 2014. He previously held numerous positions within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, notably including that of Director for Strategic Affairs, Security and Disarmament (2000-2003), Ambassador of France to Israel (2003-2006), Director General for Political Affairs and Security (2006-2009), and Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations in New York (2009-2014). He holds engineering degrees from the École polytechnique and the École nationale de la statistique et de l'administration économique. Araud graduated from the Institut d'études politiques de Paris and is also an alumnus of the École nationale d'administration. He is openly gay and has a long time partner. Araud's first posting was at the embassy of France in Tel Aviv as First Secretary, from 1982 to 1984. He was then assigned to Paris, at the Analysis and Policy Planning Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he was responsible for Middle East issues. From 1987 to 1991 he was Counselor at the Embassy of France in Washington, where he was also responsible for Middle East issues. He was Assistant Director of European Community Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1991 to 1993 and became Diplomatic Advisor to the French Minister of Defense François Léotard in 1993. Araud joined the French delegation to the North Atlantic Council (NATO) in Brussels in 1995 as Deputy Permanent Representative. He became Director for Strategic Affairs, Security and Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2000. He was Ambassador of France to Israel from 2003 to 2006. In September 2006, Araud was appointed Director General for Political Affairs and Security, Deputy Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On July 15, 2009, he was appointed Permanent Representative of France to the Security Council and Head of the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations. He presented his credentials to Ban Ki-moon, United Nations Secretary-General, on 10 September 10, 2009. He served as the President of the Security Council in February 2010, May 2011, August 2012 and December 2013.

## **François Delattre**

### French Permanent Representative to the United Nations



François Delattre was appointed Ambassador, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations on September 2, 2014, after serving as Ambassador of France to the United States in Washington DC (2011-2014), Ambassador of France to Canada in Ottawa (2008-2011), Consul General in New York (2004-2008), Press and Communications Director at the French Embassy in Washington, DC (1998-2002). François Delattre is a strong advocate of economic diplomacy, which he experienced in each of his diplomatic postings, starting with Bonn at the French Embassy in Germany (1989-1991), where he was in charge of assessing the economic impact of Germany's re-unification and the environment. In France, François Delattre was responsible for European and trans-Atlantic defense and security matters and managing the Bosnian crisis as a member of President Jacques Chirac's foreign policy team (1995-1998) after serving in the same capacity in the cabinet of Foreign Minister Alain Juppé (1993-1995). He also worked with the Strategic, Security and Disarmament Department of the French Foreign Ministry (1991-1993) and served as Deputy Director of French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin's Office (2002-2004). He was born in 1963. Delattre graduated from Sciences Po in Paris in 1984 and the École nationale d'administration with a degree in international law in 1989. Delattre joined the French Foreign Ministry in 1989, he served at the French embassy to Germany, and in the Department of Strategic Affairs and Disarmament. Delattre was Press and Communications Director at the French Embassy in Washington, D.C., from 1998 to 2002; Deputy Director of the French Foreign Minister's Office from 2002 to 2004; French Consul General in New York City from 2004 to 2008; and Ambassador of France to Canada from 2008 to 2011.

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## **Laurent Bili**

### French Ambassador to Brazil



Laurent Bili was born in 1961. He holds a History Degree from the University Paris I- Sorbonne (1984), a Political Science Degree, from the University Paris I-Sorbonne (1985), a Diploma of the Institute of Political Studies in Paris - Sciences Po (1988 ), is a graduate of the Institute of the King Prachadiphok , Thailand (2009) and is a Graduate of the ENA, promotion "Victor Hugo" (1989-1991 ). He speaks English, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish and Thai. He has worked in many government agencies throughout his career: 1982-1988: services in education, 1989-1991: at the National School of Administration, 1991-1993: at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for Strategic Affairs and Disarmament, 1993-1995: at the Ministry of Defense , Deputy Diplomatic Adviser, 1995-1998: in Ankara, First Secretary and then Second Counselor, 1998-2000: in Brussels, Deputy Permanent Representative to Western European Union, 2000-2001: in Brussels, Adviser to the Committee Political and Security Committee (PSC) of the European Union, 2002: to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, successively delegated to the Deputy Director of Strategic Affairs, Director of Cabinet and Advisor to the Minister for European Affairs, 2002-2007: to the Presidency of the Republic , Technical Adviser to the Diplomatic Cell, 2007-2009: in Bangkok, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, 2009-2010: to the Ministry of Defense Chief of Staff civil and military Minister, 2011-2015: in Ankara, Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

## **Maurice Gourdault-Montagne**

### French Ambassador to China



Mr Gourdault-Montagne studied at Sciences Po and Patheon-Assas University. He joined the French Foreign Ministry in 1978. He served as First Secretary at the French Embassy in New Delhi (1981–83), Counsellor in Bonn (1988–91), then as Spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry (1991–93) and Deputy Private Secretary to the Minister to Foreign Affairs (1993–95). He became Private Secretary and Head of the Prime Minister's Office (1995–97). He served as the Ambassador to Japan (1998–2002) and became Senior Diplomatic Advisor and G8 sherpa to the French President Jacques Chirac (2002–07). He was appointed as French Ambassador to the United Kingdom in 2007 and became Ambassador to Germany on 14. March 2011. On 20 August 2014, he was appointed Ambassador to China.

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## **Philippe Étienne**

### French Ambassador to Germany



Philippe Étienne, born on December 24, 1955, in Neuilly-sur-Seine (Seine), is a French diplomat, a former student of the Ecole Normale Supérieure (S 1974), and the National School of Administration (promotion Voltaire, 1980), with an Associate in Mathematics, a Bachelor of Science Economist, and he graduated from the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations ( Serbo-Croat ). He served in Belgrade (1981-1983), Bonn (1985-1987), Brussels (Permanent Representation to the European Union, 1988-1991 and then 1997-2002), Moscow (Councilor for Cooperation and Cultural Action, 1991-1994) and Bucharest (Ambassador, 2002-2005). He held various positions in Paris, notably as Director - General for International Cooperation and Development and President of AEFÉ from 2004 to 2007. He has worked in several ministerial offices: from 1985 to 1988 as technical advisor to Bernard Bosson's firm, then from 1995 to 1997 as deputy director of Hervé de Charette 's cabinet, and from May 2007 to April 2009 as director of the firm of Bernard Bosson. Bernard Kouchner, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs. As of 14 April 2009, he is the Permanent Representative of France to the European Union, replacing Pierre Sellal, appointed Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, who will succeed him in 2014 at the same post. He was appointed ambassador of France to Germany on 31 July 2014, replacing Maurice Gourdault-Montagne.

## **Alexandre Ziegler**

### French Ambassador to India



François Richier was born on 8 September 1969. He graduated from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Institute of Political Studies) and holds a degree in history (the prestigious "Agrégation"). He is an alumnus of the École Normale Supérieure as well as of the French National School of Administration (1995-1997). He is fluent in English and German and also has a working knowledge of the Chinese language. In 1997, he was appointed to the permanent post of Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, followed by a 4-year stint at the Strategic, Security and Disarmament Affairs Division of the same ministry (1997-2000). He served as Deputy Consul General in Hongkong (2000-2003), before being posted as First Secretary in Berlin (2003-2007). He was then appointed Counsellor for Culture and Cooperation in Beijing (2007-2010). Thereafter, he was appointed Head of Programmes and Network at the Globalisation, Development, and Partnerships Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2010-2012). From 2013 to February 2016, he served as the Head of the Foreign Minister's Political Office (Directeur de Cabinet / Chief of Staff to the Minister). He is married and has five children.

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## **Jean-Maurice Ripert**

### French Ambassador to Russia



Jean-Maurice Ripert (born 22 June 1953) is a French diplomat. He attended Sciences Po, ÉNA. As of 2013, and he is the Ambassador of France to Russian Federation. From 2009 to 2011, Ripert was the UN's Special Envoy for Assistance to Pakistan. Prior to this, from 2007 to 2009, Ripert was the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations in New York. In that capacity, he was the President of the United Nations Security Council in September 2007 and in January 2009. Ripert was France's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva from 2005 to 2007. Ripert was France's ambassador to Greece from 2000 to 2003. In 2011 he was selected for the role of Ambassador of the European Union to Turkey, followed by his present position.

## **Charles Fries**

### French Ambassador to Turkey



Charles Fries was born in 1962. He studied at Ecole Nationale d'Administration. He has a Diploma of the Institute of Political Studies of Paris, a Master's degree in public law (University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne), Diploma of the Ecole Normale de Paris (piano). He has served in many nations during his career: 29 August 2015: Embassy of France takes office in Turkey, May 2012-August 2015: Ambassador of France to the Kingdom of Morocco, November 2009-April 2012: Diplomatic adviser to Prime Minister François Fillon, November 2011 - April 2012: Secretary General of European Affairs, 2006-2009: French Ambassador to the Czech Republic, 2002-2006: Advisor for European Affairs of the President of the Republic, Mr Jacques Chirac, 2000-2002: Deputy Director of Relations Department of Foreign Affairs, 1998-2000: Deputy Director of Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995-1998: First Secretary at the French Embassy in London (Embassy spokesperson), 1993-1995: Counselor for European Affairs in the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Alain Juppé, 1989-1993: Directorate of Economic Affairs And financial affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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## **Sylvie Bermann**

### French Ambassador to the UK



Sylvie-Agnès Bermann (born 19 October 1953) is a French career diplomat and the current Ambassador of France to the United Kingdom. Mme Bermann previously served as French Ambassador to China in Beijing from 2011 until 2014, prior to which she was Director for United Nations, International Organizations, Human Rights and Francophony at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development. A graduate of Paris-Sorbonne University where she studied history, the Paris Institute of Political Studies ("Sciences Po"), the French Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales where she studied Chinese, and the Beijing Language and Culture University, Mme Bermann embarked on her diplomatic career in 1979. Vice-Consul at the French Consulate General in Hong Kong from 1979 to 1980, she became Third Secretary, then Second Secretary, at the French Embassy in China between 1980 and 1982. She was subsequently responsible for policy relating to China/Hong Kong/Taiwan at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development (France) until 1986, when she became Second Counsellor at the French Embassy in Moscow. In 1989, Sylvie Bermann returned to Paris to take up the post of Head of the Southeast Asia Department, where she remained until 1992. In 1992 she was appointed Second Counsellor at the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations in New York. In 1996, she became Head of the Common Foreign and Security Policy Department at the French Foreign Ministry, before becoming Ambassador as Permanent Representative of France to the Western European Union and to the European Union's Political and Security Committee (PSC) in Brussels in 2002. She headed the French Foreign Ministry's directorate for the UN and international organizations, human rights and Francophony, from December 2005 to February 2011. She was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to China on 23 February 2011, becoming the first woman to hold the post of French Ambassador in a country which is a permanent member of the Security Council. She became French Ambassador to the United Kingdom in August 2014.



## Germany

Marne Suttén, Catherine Cousar, & Bryce Block

### Executive Summary

The German diplomatic service is an elite, professional diplomatic corps that has a highly centralized office organization and culture. Guidance comes directly from Berlin, which can present challenges in today's networked, globalized international system. During our interviews, officers discussed centralization as a strength and believe that they have influence and can make recommendations about policy, but they will also not deviate from the federal position.

The German Foreign Service selects and trains a diverse diplomatic corps. The selection process and early training are among the most rigorous in the world and include a battery of written and oral examinations followed by 14 months to 3 years of training at the Diplomatic Academy. This training period includes an internship and final examination before new officers are assigned to their first posting. Language skills are highly valued and candidates must speak English and French or a 2<sup>nd</sup> UN language to apply. The best Foreign Service Officers acquire at least one additional “hard language.”<sup>1</sup> Approximately 40-50% of the service have legal backgrounds, but there has been an increase on hiring candidates with an economic background and softer skills including political science, regional experience and languages.<sup>2</sup>

Diplomats receive additional training mid-career to include classes on leadership, resiliency, team building, and management for continued promotion. Early in their career, most officers will be promoted after spending one to three years in a position and will be promoted two or three times in this fashion.<sup>3</sup> Generally, officials will not promote for another ten years and only a small percentage of personnel will receive a fifth promotion or sixth promotion.

The international community expects Germany to take a more active role in the world based on its political, economic, and military power. Challenges for the Europe Union (EU) and Germany include Brexit, the refugee crisis, and shaping globalization. The German Foreign Service's emphasis on adapting and evolving to face future challenges include crisis prevention and crisis management and post-crisis support will be critical during these challenging times.

<sup>1</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>2</sup> Holleck, Helege. "Interview Helge Holleck, First Secretary Spokesperson Coreper I, Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU." Interview by author. October 27, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## History

German diplomatic culture derives from the combined legacies of geography, history, tradition, and philosophy. Although Germany achieved statehood and national unity only in 1871, it has a long history and rich diplomatic tradition that long predates unification. Its diplomacy is strongly influenced by geography: situated in the middle of the continent with no natural protective boundaries, Germany of necessity has adopted a foreign policy of adjustment and maneuver. As a trading state whose economic well-being is heavily export-led, Germany inherited from its pre-unification past a tradition of economic diplomacy more pronounced than that of any other major European state.<sup>4</sup> This dimension was of course accentuated by the deep aversion to military force that came out of the searing national trauma of the Nazi period.

Germany's philosophical tradition was not shaped by seminal political philosophies comparable to those of Locke and Mill in Britain or Montesquieu and Rousseau for France, but it does reflect the influences of Leibniz, Kant, and Fichte, stressing abstract thought over empiricism, as well as the distinctive dialectical method of Hegel, which enables German diplomats to hold opposing, even contradictory ideas together in an overarching *Gesamtkonzept*.<sup>5</sup> The German intellectual style is guided "by the basic idea of *Gedankennotwendigkeit*: if one has accepted the premises and certain rules of inference, then the conclusion follows."<sup>6</sup> It is quite different from the Anglo-Saxon style of inductive reasoning via discourse and debate, a philosophical disjuncture that can create difficulties in negotiation quite apart from the substantive issues on the table. The German style is closer to the Cartesian rationality of the French, though in the Gallic style the conclusion is achieved not through rigorous deduction but rather by means of elegant synthesis.<sup>7</sup>

Contemporary German diplomacy reflects the competing traditions of Metternich and Bismarck. That of Austrian foreign minister Klemens von Metternich was characterized by the maneuver and compromise required to hold together the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian empire, whereas the tradition of Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was that of the *Machtpolitik* (power politics) employed to unite Germany's disparate principalities into a modern nation-state. As the website of the German foreign office notes, "The name '*Auswärtiges Amt*' dates back to

<sup>4</sup> W.R. Smyser, *How Germans Negotiate: Logical Goals, Practical Solutions* (Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2003), pp. 11-26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-5.

<sup>6</sup> Johan Galtung, "Structure, culture, and intellectual style: An essay comparing saxon, teutonic, gallic and nipponic approaches," *Social Science Information*, 20, 6 (1981): 829.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 830-32.

the eponymous institution of the North German Confederation in 1879 and the German Empire from 1871.... During Bismarck's time, the *Auswärtiges Amt* had only two directorates: the Political Directorate and a second Directorate responsible for foreign trade and other issues as well as legal and consular affairs."

Trained as a diplomat himself, serving as ambassador to Russia and later to France, Bismarck created the modern professional diplomatic corps and left behind a tradition of urbane and well-prepared diplomats. The foreign office at Wilhelmstrasse 76 was also a highly centralized and rigid operation, organized along military lines and tightly controlled by the Chancellor,<sup>8</sup> who once declared that "if an ambassador can obey, more is not required."<sup>9</sup> Yet Bismarck's Realpolitik and his diplomatic style demanded tactical flexibility and skill; it was opposed to the Romanticism and over-militarization to which his 20<sup>th</sup> century successors succumbed.<sup>10</sup>

The record of the *Auswärtiges Amt* during the Third Reich was thoroughly (if belatedly) examined in a nearly 900-page report commissioned in 2005 by Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer.<sup>11</sup> Its role during the Nazi era, neither better nor worse than that of most other German institutions, contributed to the decline of professionalism and prestige of the diplomatic corps well into the post-war period, particularly in that the service continued of necessity to rely on officers who had served during the Nazi regime.<sup>12</sup> With the findings and recommendations of the Herwarth Commission, set up in 1968 by Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, however, the Foreign Office began to rebuild its strong professional culture. The report's analysis of global trends stands up well half a century later, and its key recommendations – decentralization of decision making and strengthening of Germany's economic diplomacy – have served Germany well.<sup>13</sup> By the 1970s and 1980s, the ministry had reestablished itself as the most important government office after the Chancellery. The merger of the of the foreign services of east and west Germany after unification

<sup>8</sup> Lamar Cecil, *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 104-5 and 226-56.

<sup>9</sup> From the diary of Friedrich von Holstein, one of Bismarck's counselors, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 121-31.

<sup>11</sup> Eckart Conze, Norbert Frei, Peter Hayes, and Moseh Zimmermann, *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit: Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2011). See also Norbert Frei and Peter Hayes, "The German Foreign Office and the Past," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 49 (Fall 2-11).

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Lewin, "The Decline of Tradition in the German Foreign Service," *The Western Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December 1966): 653-62.

<sup>13</sup> D.C. Watt, "The Reform of the German Foreign Service: The Herwarth and Duncan Reports Compared," *The World Today*, Vol. 26, No. 8 (August 1970): 352-58.

in 1990 caused hardly a ripple in the work of the service in that not a single officer of the former east Germany (German Democratic Republic) was added to the ministry, though its role gradually diminished as power has gravitated toward the Chancellery.<sup>14</sup>

### **Profile**

The Federal Foreign Office budget is 4.8 billion euros and accounts for roughly 1 1/2 percent of the total federal budget.<sup>15</sup> Of the entire budget, approximately 1.3 billion euros is spent by the Federal Ministry to include staffing and administrative costs to support the ministry headquarters and 227 missions worldwide.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, 861.6 million euros is spent on cultural relations and education policy, 159.1 million euros is spent on bilateral cooperation and fostering internal relations, and 32.7 million euros is spent to support the German Archaeological Institute.

The Federal Foreign budget also account for approximately 2.4 billion euros spent on safeguarding peace and stability, which includes contributions to the United Nations. Safeguarding and stability also includes 733.5 million euros for humanitarian aid, 248.5 million Euros for crisis prevention, 180 million euros for the Stability Pact for Afghanistan, 30 million euros for disarmament, and 22 million euros for transformation partnerships.<sup>17</sup>

Missions abroad include 153 embassies, 61 consulates, 12 permanent missions, and 1 other mission.<sup>18</sup> Several of the German Ambassadors represent Germany in more than one country, as Germany has diplomatic relations with 195 countries. Germany also designates approximately 350 honorary consuls in countries without a consular post, but where they deem it important to have a local point of contact.

The German Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) has 6,051 personnel supporting offices in Berlin and Bonn and the network of embassies, consulates, and missions abroad.<sup>19</sup> The Foreign Service has five personnel categories, including secretarial staff, ordinary service, intermediate service, higher intermediate (administrative) service, and higher (executive) service. Of these categories, the intermediate, administrative, and executive services are considered career

<sup>14</sup> Ralf Neukirch, "German Foreign Ministry Fights to Stay Relevant," *Spiegel Online*, May 4, 2012.

<sup>15</sup> "Federal Foreign Office."

<sup>16</sup> "Federal Foreign Office."

<sup>17</sup> "Germany's Foreign Policy Budget."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

Foreign Service professional and require training and examinations.<sup>20</sup> The intermediate service includes 1,308 high school vocational degreed technicians including consular, administrative and information technology specialists.<sup>21</sup> The administrative service category includes 1,792 Foreign Service professionals including consular cadre, ministry desk officers, and Chancery as First Secretaries in small embassies.<sup>22</sup> The executive category includes 1,705 Foreign Service Officers.<sup>23</sup> The executive and administrative service account for the 3,497 career diplomats. The secretarial and telephone category includes 849 secretarial staff members. The ordinary service category includes 397 non-degreed drivers, technicians and laborers. The missions abroad also employ an additional 5,731 German and local national employees to support embassies and consulates.<sup>24</sup>

The German diplomatic service has a long history of wealthy and influential personnel that serve as diplomats, but the targeted audience has transitioned to well-educated university graduates with diverse backgrounds. The “Charter of Diversity” is Foreign Ministry commitment to diverse workforce that hires employees regardless of gender, nationality, ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, sexual orientation, and identify appreciation. The Federal Foreign office is well represented by both genders. Women make up 94% of the secretarial staff, 23% of the ordinary service, 62% of the intermediate service, 57% of the administrative service, and 33% of the executive service of the entire 11,782 workforce.<sup>25</sup>

### **Recruitment and Selection**

For career diplomats, the German Foreign Service selection process is rigorous and ensures personnel selected are among the best and brightest in Germany. Under Article 116 of German law, all applicants must be German nationals and “must justify their commitment to the free and democratic basic order set down in that law.”<sup>26</sup> They also must be under 33 years old, pass a security background check, and be physically able for worldwide posting.<sup>27</sup> Applicants for the three career levels must attend training at the German Diplomatic Academy and pass written and

<sup>20</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>21</sup> “Federal Foreign Office.”

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> “The Federal Foreign Office Facts and Figures.”

<sup>26</sup> “Federal Foreign Office.”

<sup>27</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

oral examinations. The written examination topics include law, economics, history and politics and a one hour political analysis writing assignment.<sup>28</sup> The oral section includes an interview with a selection panel, a five minute verbal presentation, an individual interview with a psychologist, a role play exercise and a group exercise.<sup>29</sup> Language skills are highly valued in the German Foreign service and officer candidates must speak English and French or a 2<sup>nd</sup> UN language to apply. The best Foreign Service Officers are expected to acquire at least one “hard language” in addition to English and French.<sup>30</sup> Final applicants will be invited to the “assessment center” for final selection into the academy. The German Federal Foreign Service academy is located on the shores of Lake Tegel in Berlin, Germany.<sup>31</sup>

An officer serving in the intermediate service must have a secondary education degree or vocational training before applying to the Federal Foreign Service.<sup>32</sup> Approximately 60 people a year will be selected into the intermediate category and will attend two years at the academy which works in conjunction with administrative colleges for training.<sup>33</sup> During the two years, intermediate service candidates will complete a five month internship at the Federal Foreign Headquarters and approximately eight months at a mission abroad.<sup>34</sup> At the headquarters, personnel in intermediate services will handle procurement, equipment, vehicles and transportation.<sup>35</sup> At missions, these personnel will work in legal, consular services and registry administration. The candidates will take an examination at the end of the two years to become certified as an intermediate Foreign Service employee.<sup>36</sup>

An administrative service officer must have a college or technical college degree before applying to the Federal Foreign Service.<sup>37</sup> Approximately 40 personnel a year are selected to attend three years at the academy and complete a six month internship at the headquarters and six to eight months at a mission abroad.<sup>38</sup> Administrative service officials are, “in charge of routine tasks in legal and consular services and administration, trade promotion, development and

<sup>28</sup> “Foreign Office - Questions and Answers on the Selection of Higher Service.”

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>31</sup> (www.dw.com), “Germany’s Training Ground for Diplomats.”

<sup>32</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>33</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>36</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>37</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>38</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

economic co-operation, cultural affairs, public diplomacy and protocol.”<sup>39</sup> These officials spend approximately two-thirds of their time at missions abroad and are entrusted with executive positions including Chief of Administration, Deputy Head of Mission, and Head of Legal or Consular Department.<sup>40</sup> The variety of responsibilities and positions for administrative service officials require that they are generalists and can handle a multitude of topics. Administrative services personnel will take an examination at the completion of their training and internship.<sup>41</sup>

All officers in the executive service have a university degree before attending the Foreign Service academy.<sup>42</sup> The training at the academy will involve a fourteen month training program that includes courses in history, German law, international law, political science, communications, language and economic.<sup>43</sup> The Federal Foreign Service states that “intellectual flexibility, and understanding of political contexts and the ability to think strategically and a high degree of intercultural and social competence” are traits valued for executive service.<sup>44</sup> Approximately 35 officers a year will be selected for the executive service out of 1,700-2,000 applicants.<sup>45</sup> The average age of personnel selected into the executive branch is 30 years old and most have a Master’s Degree.<sup>46</sup>

Formerly the Federal Foreign Service prioritized recruiting lawyers.<sup>47</sup> Officers with legal expertise comprised between forty and fifty percent of the service. In recent years there has been a push to recruit more officers with economic skills in order to address the economic environment in Europe and more specifically Germany.<sup>48</sup> In the past fifteen years they have also begun to recruit more candidates with softer skills, including political science, regional experience and hard languages.<sup>49</sup>

The German Foreign Service is extremely supportive of families and has focused on the

<sup>39</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>42</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>43</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>44</sup> “Foreign Office - Questions and Answers on the Selection of Higher Service.”

<sup>45</sup> Kinney, “AFSA BENCHMARKING EXERCISE: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training.”

<sup>46</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Helga Margarete Barth et al., Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Washington.

<sup>49</sup> Holleck, Helege. "Interview Helge Holleck, First Secretary Spokesperson Coreper I, Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU." Interview by author. October 27, 2016.

concept of "*audit berufundfamilie*" or "work-life balance" and has won four awards since 2005.<sup>50</sup> This includes opportunities for flexible and part-time work arrangements and the possibility of telecommuting. Flexible time at the Bonn and Berlin headquarters is from 09:00 to 15:00. Daycare is provided to 70 children at a facility located in close proximity to the Berlin headquarters.<sup>51</sup> The Foreign Office tries to mitigate the challenges associated with the language barrier and reciprocal professional qualifications acceptance for partners stationed in foreign countries. They attempt to identify appropriate jobs for partners at foreign missions and offer advanced training courses to help partners find jobs while stationed abroad. The Federal Foreign Office also established reciprocal agreements with 30 countries to allow partners of Foreign Service Officers the opportunity to work abroad and is currently in consultation with another 30 countries for additional agreements. Language training is also offered to the families of Foreign Service officers before they are stationed abroad.<sup>52</sup>

*Audit berufundfamilie*, extends to when an officer must be away from family for a hardship posting. In high-risk postings, such as Baghdad, every position is assigned twice. This allows staff to serve six to eight weeks in country and then take six to eight weeks off at home. They receive seventy-two holiday days in a year while serving in hardship postings. This makes these positions quite attractive and allows officers to maintain family bonds.<sup>53</sup>

### **Professional Development**

The German Foreign Service does not have cones or a track system like many countries, so all officers are considered generalists until they reach the counselor level.<sup>54</sup> Foreign Service Officers typically change postings every three to five years depending on the needs of the organization.<sup>55</sup> The normal career path is to serve two tours abroad and one at the headquarters.<sup>56</sup> Personnel are transferred from missions to headquarters or to another mission abroad without returning to headquarters, but officers normally return to the headquarters for their fourth

<sup>50</sup> "Foreign Office - Questions and Answers on the Selection of Higher Service."

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Holleck, Helege. "Interview Helge Holleck, First Secretary Spokesperson Coreper I, Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU." Interview by author. October 27, 2016.

<sup>54</sup> Kinney, "AFSA BENCHMARKING EXERCISE: Brazil, China, UK, Germany, France, Canada, Mexico, India Selection and Entry Level Training."

<sup>55</sup> Freibert, "Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service."

<sup>56</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.



assignment to focus on a specialization.<sup>57</sup>

The Federal Foreign Service's diplomatic academy conducts training courses for its personnel throughout their career. Once the initial training is completed, personnel receive a combination of on the job training in conjunction with one and two week mandatory courses provided by the academy.<sup>58</sup> Course topics include leadership training, legal instruction, self-management, time management and foreign language courses.<sup>59</sup> In the last three to four years the service also shifted to focus on management skills.<sup>60</sup> Every year over 300 international diplomats attend one of the 15 courses offered by the Federal Foreign Office's Foreign Service Academy.<sup>61</sup> Attending the courses are essential for promotion and are approximately four days long.<sup>62</sup> The academy builds cohesive relationships between Germans and diplomats worldwide. The German Foreign Service does not have a sufficient reserve to let personnel attend extended training or attendance at civilian institutions.<sup>63</sup>

The German Diplomatic Service also supports opportunities for their officers to serve in non-Federal Foreign Service positions. The Federal Foreign Office provides staff to the European External Action Service and also sends officers to serve for brief periods in the foreign ministries of other nations, including Poland, France, the Netherlands, the United States, Norway and Italy. There are also service exchanges with the Association of German Industry as well as corporations such as Siemens. These opportunities are available, but personnel assigned can be limited due to the fact that there is not an extensive personnel overhead to cover all required positions.<sup>64</sup>

## **Leadership**

The administrative regulations that outline the requirements for promotions are listed in the Federal Officials Act (FOA, *Bundesbeamtengesetz*), in combination with the Federal Ordinance on Careers and Promotion of Civil Servants (FOCPCS, *Beamtenrechtsrahmengesetz*).<sup>65</sup> These prerequisites are common to all civil servants in the German Government. Officers in the

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Helga Margarete Barth et al., Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Washington.

<sup>61</sup> "Training for International Diplomats."

<sup>62</sup> Helga Margarete Barth et al., Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Washington.

<sup>63</sup> Breunig, Human Resources Department Federal Foreign Service.

<sup>64</sup> Helga Margarete Barth et al., Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Washington.

<sup>65</sup> Anke Freibert, "Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service" (Support for Improvement in Governance and Management (SIGMA), December 2004).

executive service will “be promoted four times during a career of some 35 years, with the retirement age set at 65 years.”<sup>66</sup> Early in their career, most officers will be promoted after spending one to three years in a position, and generally will be promoted two or three times in this fashion to gain experience.<sup>67</sup> Officials will generally not be promoted for another ten years. Only a small percentage of personnel will receive a fifth promotion to the remuneration grade of B6 or sixth promotion to the remuneration grade of B9. In 2004, there were 51 grade B6 positions, 18 grade B9 positions, and only two B11 positions.<sup>68</sup> Promotions are not directly connected to specific positions, but generally personnel at the headquarters are promoted at a faster rate to fill the top positions. All staff receive performance appraisals that help determine promotions. An important note is that almost 100% of Ambassadors are career foreign service officers rather than political appointees.<sup>69</sup> We have been able to locate two ambassadors who were not career civil servants including the ambassador to Vatican and the first ambassador to Latvia.<sup>70</sup>

The Federal Foreign Office has a top-down management style with room for communication. Most German diplomats holding senior positions that are not ministerial posts have gradually progressed through their careers beginning as basic officers and moving up, often serving as a deputy head of mission before becoming a full ambassador. Most have had a career balance between serving in Berlin and abroad, and while some have regional specialties, not all do. Most have a doctorate, although they range in subject from law to history and not all do, as some take the entrance exam in high school. Many have also served as professors or assistant professors prior to entering the service or during sabbaticals. Peter Wittig, German Ambassador to the United States, taught as assistant professor at the University of Freiburg and Harald Braun, Permanent Representation of Germany was a Research Professor for Global Studies and Diplomacy at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The majority of ambassadors are married men with families in early middle age. Many have completed military service in their youths, but not all.

The political leadership of the German Foreign Ministry is different from most of the Ambassadors that we have profiled. Sigmar Gabriel, the German Federal Minister for Foreign

<sup>66</sup> Freibert, “Classifications and Career Development in the German Foreign Service.”

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Anke Freibert, “Email from Anke Freibert,” October 25, 2016.

Affairs, was a grammar school teacher for approximately 11 years before entering politics. He has worked in several other ministries including the Federal Ministry of the Environment and the Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Energy.

<b>Remuneration Grade</b>	<b>Title</b>
Preparatory Training	Attaché
Probationary Period	Second Secretary/Vice Consul
Entry Grade A13	Desk Officer/2 <sup>nd</sup> Secretary/Consul
Remuneration Grade A14	Desk Officer/1 <sup>st</sup> Secretary/Consul
Remuneration Grade A15	Desk Officer/Counsellor, Minister, Consul, General/Deputy Consul General, Ambassador
Remuneration Grade A16	Head of Division/1 <sup>st</sup> Counsellor/Minister Counselor, Counsel/Consul General, Ambassador
Remuneration Grade B3	Head of Division/1 <sup>st</sup> Counsellor, Minister, Consul General/Deputy Consul General, Ambassador
Remuneration Grade B6	Director, Minister, Consul General/Deputy Consul General, Ambassador
Remuneration Grade B9	Director General, Minister, Ambassador
Remuneration Grade B11	State Secretary

### **Role in Foreign Policy Making**

The political order of the Federal Republic of Germany, established under the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) of 1949, was specifically designed to prevent the concentration of political power that occurred under the Nazi regime. This both strengthens and weakens the role of the Foreign Office in foreign policy making.

On the one hand, the electoral system of mixed-member proportional representation has produced coalition governments for the entirety of the FRG's existence, most often with the Foreign Minister coming from a political party other than the Chancellor's, and serving concurrently as Vice Chancellor and party chairman. Thus German foreign ministers typically are powerful figures with independent political bases, whose partisan political responsibilities sometimes set them apart from the professional diplomatic corps. Some, like Willy Brandt, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Joschka Fischer, have rivaled their Chancellors in terms of power and prestige.

On the other hand, the federal system accords considerable power to Germany's 16 states

(*Länder*) via the upper house (*Bundesrat*) of the bicameral legislature as well as directly through the Minister-President of each *Land*. Some, notably Bavaria's legendary Minister-President Franz-Jozef Strauss, have been independent foreign policy actors in their own rights, particularly on matters of foreign commercial policy. And of course coalition governments impose constraints on foreign ministers as well as on chancellors, particularly when they are grand coalitions like the current *GroKo* (*Grosse Koalition*) under Chancellor Angela Merkel.

As is the case with other countries analyzed in this report, Germany manifests a growing centralization of foreign policy decision making, with a concomitant relative decline of influence of the foreign office. However, even a powerful and long-serving chancellor like Merkel must build and maintain consensus among coalition partners, particularly Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel, the longtime chairman of the Social Democratic Party.

Germany is a powerful and influential nation whose foreign policy's emphasizes the promotion of peace. German Law states that their foreign policy task is "to promote world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe."<sup>71</sup> Foreign Policy challenges for the Europe Union (EU) and Germany include Brexit, the refugee crisis, and shaping globalization. In 2014, Germany was the largest economy in Europe and the fourth largest in the world and has the 9<sup>th</sup> largest defense budget in the world.<sup>72</sup> The international community expects that Germany play a more active and prominent role in the world based on its power.

The German Foreign Service is a highly centralized office organization and culture, which can present challenges in today's networked, globalized international system.<sup>73</sup> During our interviews, centralization was discussed as a strength for the Federal Foreign Office. Foreign Service Officers at Embassies and Consulates have influence and have the opportunity to make recommendations or suggestions about policy, but they also clearly understand the position of Berlin and ensured that they didn't deviate from the German position. In some regions, especially those more frequently in the news, guidance came directly from Berlin. However, in regions that are not in the headlines there is more room for diplomats to maneuver although they must still inform superiors of their proposals and actions.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> "Federal Foreign Office," *Auswärtiges Amt*, accessed October 24, 2016, [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Startseite\\_AA-Zeile.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Startseite_AA-Zeile.html).

<sup>72</sup> Katy A. Crossley-Frolick, "Revisiting and Reimagining the Notion of Responsibility in German Foreign Policy," *International Studies Perspectives*, February 25, 2016.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Holleck, Helege. "Interview Helge Holleck, First Secretary Spokesperson Coreper I, Permanent Representation of

Additionally, individual officers felt that they have the ability to influence their superiors and the foreign policy through their cables.<sup>75</sup> There are no official dissent channels. While this seems to remove the opportunity for opinions or utilizing a dissent channel, it appears to foster a healthy culture of discussion. The diplomats that we interviewed felt empowered to provide feedback to their superiors without fear of retribution and believed that the leadership heard their thoughts and ideas.

### **Prepared for the Future**

In late 2013, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier was concerned about the culture inside the German Foreign Ministry. He believed that the ministry had an “outdated West-German culture of passivity, lack of strategy, and adversity to a more exposed role for Germany in the world.”<sup>76</sup> In 2014, Minister Steinmeier commissioned a year-long internal, external, expert and public evaluation of German Foreign Policy. The key focus of the review was how the Federal Foreign Office might be better prepared to respond to the challenges of unexpected events and encourage discourse about the Germany’s role in the world.

Internally, Minister Steinmeier was also concerned about how to regain influence within the Chancellery. Chancellor Angela Merkel has a team of her own policy advisors who were undermining the influence of the Foreign Ministry. Chancellor Merkel is part of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) which is one of the major political parties in Germany.<sup>77</sup> Externally, Minister Steinmeier knew that the review would make a public statement about foreign ministry desire to improve the organization and ensure that “Steinmeier’s Social Democratic Party (SPD) to bolster its standing within the grand coalition run by the all-dominant chancellor.”<sup>78</sup> Minister Steinmeier recognized that the study would not solve all the issues, but encourage an “open, wide and nuanced debate on German foreign Policy.”<sup>79</sup>

Review 2014 calls for a new approach to foreign policy called “Crisis Order Europe.” This

the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU." Interview by author. October 27, 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Helga Margarete Barth et al., Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Washington.

<sup>76</sup> “The Steinmeier Review of German Foreign Policy,” *Carnegie Europe*, accessed March 8, 2017, <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=59422>.

<sup>77</sup> SPIEGEL ONLINE Germany Hamburg, “From Black to Orange: SPIEGEL ONLINE’s Guide

<sup>78</sup> “The Steinmeier Review of German Foreign Policy.”

<sup>79</sup> “Closing Remarks by Foreign Minister Steinmeier at ‘Review 2014’ Conference,” *Auswärtiges Amt*, accessed March 8, 2017, [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Reden/2014/140520-BM\\_Review2014\\_Abschlussrede.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Reden/2014/140520-BM_Review2014_Abschlussrede.html).

can be broken down into crisis prevention, crisis management and post-crisis support. The agencies website is “shaping the elements of a new global order: and embedding German foreign policy even more firmly in Europe.” More concretely, the Federal Foreign Office made structural changes. It merged the directorates-general for disarmament and United Nations as well as created a crisis response unit. The degree to which Report 2014 will be implemented remains to be seen but the German Foreign service has clearly shifted its focus towards rapid crisis response.”<sup>80</sup>

While the report did make some recommendations, Jan Techau, the former Director of Carnegie Europe, states that, “Berlin’s failure to put the nation in the wider context of today’s dramatic global power struggle and ask what that struggle means for Germany’s interests, alliances, values, and responsibilities.”<sup>81</sup> There is a divide in the German government to determine what role it should play in the ever changing international landscape. Should Germany play the role of the “good European” and be tightly integrated with the European Union? Is Germany’s position of strength come from its ability to go it alone? <sup>82</sup> On 12 February, Frank-Walter Steinmeier was elected to be the President of Germany after serving eight total years as the German Foreign Minister.<sup>83</sup> The German Presidential role is considered ceremonial in nature, but previous “presidents have aspired to act as a moral authority in debates of national and international importance.”<sup>84</sup> Minister Sigmar Gabriel was selected as the new foreign minister and endorsed Steinmeier, a fellow social democrat, for President in late 2016.<sup>85</sup> These political positions changes will not significantly impact Germany’s Foreign Policy, but the upcoming election in September 2017 will have a greater impact.

<sup>80</sup> “Federal Foreign Office.”

<sup>81</sup> “The Steinmeier Review of German Foreign Policy.”

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Milena Veselinovic CNN Angela Dewan and Sara Mazloumsaki, “Frank-Walter Steinmeier Elected German President,” *CNN*, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/12/europe/germany-president-frank-walter-steinmeier/index.html>.

<sup>84</sup> Philip Oltermann, “Centre-Left Frank-Walter Steinmeier Elected President of Germany,” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2017, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/12/frank-walter-steinmeier-elected-germany-president-donald-trump-critic->.

<sup>85</sup> Fiona Maxwell, “Sigmar Gabriel Backs Foreign Minister Steinmeier for German President,” *POLITICO*, October 23, 2016, <http://www.politico.eu/article/sigmar-gabriel-backs-foreign-minister-steinmeier-for-german-president/>.

## **Sigmar Gabriel**

### German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs



Sigmar Gabriel (born 12 September 1959) is a German politician who currently serves as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice Chancellor. He became Federal Minister on January 27, 2017. He has been chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) since 2009, which makes him the party's longest-serving leader since Willy Brandt. He was the Federal Minister of the Environment from 2005 to 2009 and the Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Energy from 2013 to 2017. From 1999 to 2003 Gabriel was Prime Minister of Lower Saxony. He was born in Goslar on 12 September 1959. He served as a soldier in the air force from 1979-1981. He completed teacher training as a grammar school teacher for German, politics, and sociology at the University of Göttingen; 1st state examination in 1987, 2nd state examination for grammar school teachers in 1988. He entered politics in 1999 and has pursued a political career ever since. He has two daughters and is married. He is Lutheran Protestant.

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## **Peter Wittig**

### German Ambassador to the United States



Peter Wittig has served as German Ambassador to the United States since April 2014. Prior to this, he was German Ambassador to the United Nations in New York and represented Germany during its tenure as a member of the UN Security Council in 2011 and 2012. There, he drew on his wide expertise in United Nations matters, having previously served as Director-General for United Nations and Global Issues at the German Foreign Office in Berlin. Wittig joined the German Foreign Service in 1982. He has served at the Embassy in Madrid; as private secretary to the Foreign Minister at the headquarters, then located in Bonn; and as Ambassador in Lebanon and in Cyprus. He was the German Government Special Envoy on the “Cyprus question” (the division of Cyprus). He has acquired extensive knowledge of the Middle East. Before starting his career in the German Foreign Service, Wittig studied history, political science, and law at Bonn, Freiburg, Canterbury, and Oxford universities and taught as an assistant professor at the University of Freiburg. His wife, Huberta von Voss-Wittig, has worked as both a journalist and a writer. The couple has four children: Valeska, Maximilian, Augustin, and Felice.

## **Harald Braun**

### **Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations**



Ambassador Harald Braun has been the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations in New York since March 2014. As of September 2016, he also serves as Vice-President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Prior to his nomination, Ambassador Braun was State Secretary of the Federal Foreign Office from 2011 to 2014. Between 2009 and 2011 he had been Director-General for Management of the German Foreign Office. Former diplomatic postings include Beirut, London, Bujumbura, Washington and Paris. In 1992-94 he was Chief of Staff to the Foreign Minister and from 2003 to 2005 Deputy Foreign and Security Adviser to the Federal Chancellor. From 2005 to 2008 he was on leave of absence from the diplomatic service as Corporate Senior Vice President for policy and external relations of Siemens AG. In March 2008 Ambassador Braun was named Research Professor for Global Studies and Diplomacy at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Harald Braun studied economics and history in Tübingen and New York and completed a doctorate at SUNY Stony Brook before entering the Foreign Service in 1981. Ambassador Braun was awarded an Honorary Citizenship of Washington D.C. in 2002. He is Grand Officier of the National Order of the French Legion D'Honneur, bearer of the Grand Cross of the Italian Order of Merit and further international distinctions, as well as a member of the Knights of the Order of St. John. He is married and has three adult children and two grandchildren.

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## **Dr. Georg Witschel**

### **German Ambassador to Brazil**



After the completing high school 1973 in Nuremberg and performing his military service in the Armed Forces he studied 1975-1982 jurisprudence at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg and put there his First and Second Legal State Exam from. After his participation in several international courses, he also received his doctorate with a dissertation in international law. In 1983 he joined the Diplomatic Service and, after completing his apprenticeship, took up his position as a lecturer in the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Chancellery in Bonn in 1985. He then served as a Counselor for Political Affairs at the Embassy in Israel as well as from 1992 to 1995 Permanent Representative of the Ambassador and Head of the Economic Department at the Embassy in Slovenia. After his return to Germany, he was Deputy Head of the Personnel Office for Higher Service at the headquarters of the Federal Foreign Office, and from 1998 to 2001 Deputy Head of the Political Department and Legal Counsel of the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York City. In 2001, he returned to Germany and Head of Unit for United Nations Basic Principles, the United Nations Security Council and Peacekeeping and Creativity (Unit GF 01) of the Federal Foreign Office. Between 2006 and 2009, Witschel was the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany and, as such, was also a consultant to the Federal Government on questions of international law. Georg Witschel is married and has a daughter.



## **Michael Clauss**

### German Ambassador to China



Michael Clauss has been German Ambassador to China since August 2013. He was born in 1961. Clauss joined the Foreign Service in 1988 after graduating from high school. After the completion of the career test for the higher service in 1990, he was deployed during the Second Gulf War in the crisis section of the Federal Foreign Office. In 1991, he joined the embassy in Israel as a political speaker. After a subsequent stint from 1994 to 1997 as a Personnel Referee for the Higher Service at the Federal Foreign Office, in 1997 he became a councilor at the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU in Brussels. Clauss then served as Head of the Office of State Secretaries at the Federal Foreign Office between 2001 and 2002, and in 2002 took over as Head of the Secretariat of the Federal Government for the European Convention. After this, he was deputy head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Foreign Office from 2005 to 2010, as well as commissioner for the German EU Council Presidency 2007. In 2010 he became Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of Europe. He is married and has four children.

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## **Nikolaus Meyer-Landrut**

### German Ambassador the France



Nikolaus Meyer-Landrut (born 1960) is a German diplomat, currently serving as German Ambassador to France. He was previously chief adviser for European affairs to the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. Meyer-Landrut was born in 1960 and was awarded his PhD in history, examining the role of France in German reunification, at the University of Cologne in 1988. In 1987, Meyer-Landrut joined the German foreign office under the third cabinet of the conservative chancellor Helmut Kohl. Between 1990 and 1993, the diplomat served in Vienna, leading the German negotiations of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and advised on German foreign affairs in Brussels thereafter (until 1995). From 1995 to 1999 Meyer-Landrut was deputy chief of the central ministerial office in Bonn, responsible for the Amsterdam Treaty and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union among other things attached to that portfolio. Between 1999 and summer 2002, Meyer-Landrut served as press spokesperson of the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the European Union under the social democratic–green Schröder administration and was appointed spokesperson of the president of the Convention on the Future of Europe by Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, the convention's president and former president of France (1974–81). Between September 2003 and April 2006, he advised as leading official on European affairs in the German foreign office and joined the German Chancellery, advising on the same topic, in May of the same year. From February 2011, he served as chief adviser to Merkel on European affairs, thereby succeeding Uwe Corsepius. In July 2015, Meyer-Landrut succeeded Susanne Wasum-Rainer as German Ambassador to France. He is married to a Frenchwoman and has four children.

## **Dr. Martin Ney**

### **German Ambassador to India**



Dr. Martin Ney studied law at the universities of Würzburg and Geneva, as well as politics and economics at Oxford (1976-1983). He has a law degree from the University of Würzburg and an M.A. from Oxford University, where he was as a Rhodes scholar. From 1983 until 1986 he taught constitutional and public international law as a junior lecturer at Würzburg University, where he received his Doctorate in international law in 1985. In 1986, he started his diplomatic career in the Legal Department of the German Foreign Office. He then headed the Cultural and Press Section of the Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand, from 1988 – 1990. He then served as Executive Assistant to the State Secretary of the Foreign Office from 1991 till 1993. In 1993, he was posted to Washington DC as Counsellor for Politico-Military Affairs before moving on to Tokyo in 1997. After one year as the Embassy’s Deputy Head of the Economic Section, he became Head of its Political Department (1998-2001). From 2001 till 2005, he was the European Correspondent of the Foreign Office, responsible for coordinating the German input into the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. In 2005, he was appointed Ambassador and Senior Deputy High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, mainly in charge of political reforms. From June 2006 till July 2007, he was Commissioner for the United Nations, Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid of the German Foreign Office. From August 2007 till July 2010, he served as Deputy Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations in New York (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary). In August 2010, he was appointed Deputy Director General, Legal Affairs, and in July 2012 The Legal Adviser of the German Foreign Office. He is married and has two adult sons.

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## **German Ambassador to Russia**

### **Rüdiger von Fritsch**



Rüdiger Freiherr von Fritsch ( 28. December 1953 in Siegen ) is a German diplomat and since March 2014 Ambassador of Germany in Russia .In 1973, Rüdiger von Fritsch graduated from the boarding school of Schloss Salem and studied history and German studies in Erlangen and Bonn. During his studies, he was a scholarship holder of the German Cultural Foundation . He joined the Foreign Service in 1984 and worked as a political speaker at the German embassy in Warsaw from 1986 to 1989, including the task of maintaining contact with the then illegal opposition. From 1989 to 1992 he worked as a speaker for press and cultural affairs at the German embassy in Nairobi. After use at the headquarters of the Federal Foreign Office (press office) and at the German EU representation in Brussels (1995-1999, German member of the Antici Group and negotiations for the preparation of the EU eastward expansion), he chaired the planning staff of the Federal President from 1999 to 2004. From 2004 to 2007 Fritsch was vice president of the federal news service .From 2007 to 2010, he headed the Department of Economic Affairs and Sustainable Development of the Federal Foreign Office and was the representative of German Sherpa in the G8 negotiations. From July 2010 to March 2014 he was German Ambassador to Warsaw. His successor there was Rolf Wilhelm Nikel , who was previously the commissioner of the Federal Government for questions of disarmament and armament control. Since then he represents Germany as an ambassador in Russia.

## **Martin Erdmann**

### German Ambassador to Turkey



Martin Erdmann (born 25 January 1955 in Münster, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany) is a German diplomat. Erdmann joined the German Foreign Service in 1982. In 1984 he completed his diplomatic-consular state exam and became Personal Assistant of Parliamentary State Secretary (State Minister) Alois Mertes at the Foreign Office, Bonn. From 1985 to 1987 he was delegated as Second Secretary to the German Embassy Helsinki and subsequently until 1990 as First Secretary to the German Delegation to NATO, Brussels. In 1990 he returned to the Foreign Office in Bonn as Desk Officer at the Press Division. As preparation for subsequent missions as Minister Counsellor and Minister Plenipotentiary (Deputy Ambassador) at the German Delegation to NATO, Brussels he completed Senior Course 95 for NATO executives at the NATO Defence College, Rome. Following his mission as Minister Plenipotentiary Erdmann joined the international staff of NATO Headquarters, Brussels in summer 2005. He was appointed by the then NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer to NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs corresponding to the role of Political Director at a national Foreign Ministry. In January 2010 he returned for a short period to the Foreign Office in Berlin until he was appointed Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany on the North Atlantic Council, Brussels in March 2010. From October 1, 2014 until end of July 2015 he acted as Dean of the North Atlantic Council. Since August 2015 he is Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Turkey. Erdmann is married and has three children.

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## **Peter Ammon**

### German Ambassador to the UK



Peter Ammon (born in Frankfurt/Main on 23 February 1952) is a German diplomat and Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Kingdom since May 2014. Ammon holds a doctorate in economics from Berlin's Free University and most recently served as German Ambassador to the United States (2011-2014) and as State Secretary at the German Foreign Office in Berlin (2008-2011) under both Frank-Walter Steinmeier and Guido Westerwelle. In 2007 and 2008, Ammon was appointed German Ambassador to Paris, France. His prior diplomatic career included postings to London, Dakar/Senegal, New Delhi, and Washington, D.C. From 1996 to 1999, he was Head of Policy Planning and speech writer to the President of Germany, Roman Herzog. A staunch advocate of free trade, Ammon takes strong personal interest in what it takes to build a fair, peaceful and prosperous global order. [ As Director General for Economics at the German Foreign Office from 2001 to 2007, he helped prepare the G8 world economic summits for German chancellors Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel. He is married and has two grown daughters.

## **India**

Leena Warsi & Joshua Orme

### **Executive Summary**

Established in 1947, the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) evolved from a fledgling service to one aspiring to regional and global leadership in a relatively short amount of time. Considered one of the most prestigious government careers in India, the IFS takes pride in its commitment to promoting peaceful conflict resolution, economic freedom, and democratic values. The most striking feature of the organization is the small size of the corps that consists of less than a thousand diplomatic officers. In the world's largest democracy, it should come as no surprise that such ambition paired with limited positions translates into fierce internal competition.

Since the IFS funnels applicants through a common civil service exam, the selection process not only involves screening for talent, drive, and creativity, but also ruling out perfectly qualified candidates due to the high volume of applications. Accepted recruits undergo a period of initial training that typically lasts 3 years: about 2 years of domestic training followed by a foreign language tour with minimums ranging from less than 1 year to 2 years depending on the language. The IFS has little to offer in the way of mid-career training which has largely been attributed to the organization's informal culture of strong mentorship. Promotion within the service, therefore, is handled on a seniority cum merit basis. The advantages of a small cadre, according to many IFS officers, include having a lean chain of command, which allows for increased independence, tempered with the understanding and guidance that comes from the informality among a small group of officers. There remain challenges to the system such as the diversity of the workforce, budget constraints, and work-life balance for officers. The current most pressing concern for the IFS, however, is that of insufficient staff – a glaring disadvantage of a small cadre. While measures to increase staff size are being debated, diplomatic officers are unable to undergo formal mid-career training due to increased responsibilities at post.

## History

While many national institutions lay claim to extended periods of historical precedent, the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) may be the winner of such a competition. References in the great Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, to the king's envoys, including the Hindu deity Hanuman, are repeatedly noted as the origins of Indian diplomatic experience.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these legendary origins, the IFS has a direct lineage from within the Indian Civil Service (ICS) of the British Raj. As a part of the bureaucracy from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, the "Political Service" component of the ICS largely interacted with the numerous princely states within British India. The Political Service typically transferred officers from the ICS and the Army to fill its positions, however, unlike those institutions, the Political Service was not open to actual Indians until the late 1930s.<sup>2</sup> Following Indian independence in 1947, twenty Political Service officers and others from the Commerce and Finance ministries were quickly brought under the new Union (central) government of India as the IFS.<sup>3</sup> With this rather thin original bureaucracy, Jawaharlal Nehru, as the nation's first prime minister, directed Indian foreign policy and its diplomatic mechanisms personally as his own foreign secretary. Nehru's force of will has largely shaped India's ideological position towards the international system, which predominantly included Non-Alignment during the Cold War, restrictions of foreign investment in India, and camaraderie with other developing, particularly fellow Asian, countries.

As a prominent nation-state at independence, India has always aspired to global leadership rather than limiting its resources to specific regions or targeted allies. In that process, India has taken upon itself a mantle of leadership, self-confidently claimed from the British, as not just the inherited regional power but also a natural leader for other post-colonial countries and the world at large.<sup>4</sup> This culture and attitude have combined with an impressively professional corps of diplomats but one over-stretched and under-supported. Stephen Cohen considers the IFS a "persistent underachiever" on the global stage despite all its efforts and

<sup>1</sup> J.N. Dixit, *Indian Foreign Service: History and Challenge* (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 2005) & Kishan S. Rana, *Asian Diplomacy: The Foreign Ministries of China, India, Japan, Singapore and Thailand* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Dixit, *Indian Foreign Service*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 & Stephen Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), 84-89.

professionalism.<sup>5</sup> The IFS has faced significant historical junctures within India's international experience; from the humiliating defeat in the Sino-Indian war of 1962, to the diplomatic height of defeating Pakistan and facilitating an independent Bangladesh in 1971, and to the dramatic economic reforms of 1991 following the dissolution of the USSR; the IFS has been largely constant in approach.<sup>6</sup> This consistency is especially noteworthy considering the dramatic impact of the end of the Cold War for India's global relevance as the Non-Aligned Movement's leader.

There has thus been a clear mission for the Indian Foreign Service articulated by the nation's early leaders and thinkers. First, the religious leader, Swami Vivekananda, called on India to be "a messenger of peace...a catalyst for creating a just and moral world order" and second, Nehru envisioned world peace through an "active positive approach for international problems...leading first to the lessening of the present tension...and, then, to a growing cooperation between nations".<sup>7</sup> The means of illustrating and sharing India's moral superiority with the world has been a delicate balancing act due to the precedent of what Nehru called "a 'non-committal' and 'influential' stand on international issues".<sup>8</sup> The grand mission of Indian diplomacy has therefore become focused on, what Stephen Cohen calls, "getting to no", by which Indian negotiations are fraught with sensitivity and perceived slights.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, India's strategic culture within diplomacy has been described as ambivalent and restrained largely due to the heavy Nehruvian influences that resist one another.<sup>10</sup>

## **Profile**

The IFS and the corresponding Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) can be summarized by the attempt to engage in global diplomacy with a widely-recognized professional corps of diplomats.<sup>11</sup> Within these goals, the IFS is incredibly constrained with the combination of a highly selective entrance process juxtaposed with extensive international ambitions. For 172

<sup>5</sup> Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Rana, *Asian Diplomacy*, 48-50.

<sup>7</sup> Dixit, *Indian Foreign Service*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, 87.

<sup>10</sup> Mike Dyer, "Strategic Culture, National Strategy, and Policymaking in the Asia-Pacific: An Interview with Ashley J. Tellis," *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, published October 27, 2016, [http://www.nbr.org/downloads/pdfs/psa/tellis\\_interview\\_102616.pdf](http://www.nbr.org/downloads/pdfs/psa/tellis_interview_102616.pdf).

<sup>11</sup> Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, 72.

missions abroad, the IFS has a current cadre strength of only 770 officers.<sup>12</sup> Reported numbers from the MEA and IFS are often much higher than this as the total Ministry employment is 4,086 with 2,700 considered “diplomatic” across multiple ministries. These individuals, however, are not generally formal members of IFS and include support staff, translators, and “technical experts” from other governmental agencies. Another numerical discrepancy for the IFS is the term “sanctioned strength”, which defines the IFS as 912 officers. This is merely the allowable number of officers, which to-date has not been reached but as IFS entering batches have increased in recent years this total will likely be reached in the coming years. However, the IFS also includes 212 “under-secretaries” identified as the B Cadre.<sup>13</sup> The B Cadre handles many administrative roles and consular affairs responsibilities that typically fall to Foreign Service Officers in other national diplomatic corps. While the B Cadre falls under the IFS umbrella, these staff members do not come through the IFS’ exam or training pipeline and are not eligible for promotions. While the IFS formally includes 770 officers as noted, numerical comparisons to other diplomatic services could reasonably include the B Cadre raising the IFS total to nearly one thousand. It will be also highly relevant for future study to determine if the additional “diplomatic officials” noted in recent Parliamentary committee meetings represent a less-trained class of diplomat carrying the burden of the IFS’s staffing dilemma.

Entrance to the IFS is notoriously difficult and is in competition with the more popular Indian Administrative Service (IAS) as well as other Civil Service positions that all share a unified examination process. The IFS has no designated cones or tracks, and their training structure is heavily tilted towards generalist skills with greater regional than functional focus. However, entering batches of IFS officers have diverse educational backgrounds from engineering and medicine to humanities and law.<sup>14</sup> In addition to a lack of cones, the IFS has no equivalent to a “fast-track” promotion system with rank promotions largely occurring by “batch” of officers.<sup>15</sup> Batches are common across the All-India Civil Service and are functionally an

<sup>12</sup> “Indian Foreign Service”, *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated April 22, 2015, <http://www.mea.gov.in/indian-foreign-service.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> “If Shashi Tharoor’s panel has its way, India’s diplomatic corps could grow in quality and quantity,” *FirstPost.com*, published August 3, 2016, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/india-is-strapped-for-diplomats-but-if-shashi-tharoors-panel-has-its-way-you-could-become-one-2931362.html>.

<sup>14</sup> “Training Programs: Officer Trainees,” *Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated June 10, 2016, <http://meafsi.gov.in/?5101?000>.

<sup>15</sup> Rana, *Asian Diplomacy*, 57.

identifier like a graduation year. The organization of the IFS has been criticized by former diplomats as overly hierarchical and with little in the way of ancillary services like human resources or career planning.<sup>16</sup> Funding for the MEA is small with only 0.03% of GDP going to the MEA versus over 2.3% to defense purposes.<sup>17</sup> The estimated 2016-2017 MEA budget approximately equals \$900 million USD after removing the budget allocations for technical and economic cooperation (both grant and government-to-government loan programs were excluded to provide a standard comparison with MFA's that separate international aid and development to an additional agency).

Since Jawaharlal Nehru's infamous description of the pre-Independence Indian Civil Service ("not Indian, not civil...not a service"<sup>18</sup>), the All-India Civil Service, and especially the IFS, have struggled with appropriate representation of the Indian population. The Indian Constitution places significant importance on representation of the traditionally lower-caste groups of Indian society (designated as OBC, SC or ST), which is why members of these groups receive certain advantages within the recruitment process and, in the last 5 years of IFS batches, have represented 46% of new officers. However, there remains several areas of representational concern. First, a significant gender imbalance persists within the IFS. Recent estimates suggest under 20% of the total diplomatic corps is female. However, IFS batches from 2010-2015 were 36% female including one year (2012) where over 40% were women; the highest in IFS history. Second, the IFS, along with other civil service groups, faces some domestic pressure to provide more opportunity for non-Hindi speaking Indians and rural Indians.<sup>19</sup> Overall, there is a significant numerical advantage for urban Indian males with the native tongue of English or Hindi versus any other demographic. Statistics for these demographic details are available for batches of the all-India civil service but not the IFS alone and a further analysis of the data

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 53, "India Military Expenditure % of GDP," *World Bank*, 2016, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?end=2015&locations=IN&start=1988&view=chart>, & "Union Budget at a Glance 2016-2017," *Ministry of Finance, Government of India*, no date, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/ub2016-17/bag/bag4.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, "Letters from jail during Quit India movement to daughter, Indira," *Glimpses of World History*, 1934.

<sup>19</sup> "Batch Profile," *Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration*, no date, <http://www.lbsnaa.gov.in/batches> & "Training Programs: Officer Trainees," *Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated June 10, 2016, <http://meafsi.gov.in/?5101?000>.



tracked as well as information like religious diversity that is not tracked would supplement this criticism of the IFS and the Indian civil service at large.

### **Recruitment and Selection**

To enter the IFS, candidates must apply through the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC), which conducts the annual Civil Service Exam (CSE). The CSE covers many government positions within India, including the IAS, Indian Police Service (IPS), Indian Revenue Service (IRS) and the IFS.<sup>20</sup> There are three stages within the CSE – the preliminary exam, the main exam and an interview – that occur over the course of a year from May to May annually. Recent years of the CSE have seen initial applications reach over 1 million. Due to a limit on the number of times an individual can sit for the exam, only about 50% of applicants typically appear for the preliminary exam. This means that over 300,000 on average, and in recent years, closer to 500,000 still complete this first stage. Between the two examinations, a broad set of material is covered including several humanities subjects, Indian languages (a total of 20 official Indian languages including English are recognized for supplemental test subjects), English language proficiency and an ethical aptitude case study.<sup>21</sup> In addition, optional sections cover a gamut of engineering, history, chemistry, philosophy, etc. that can be used to demonstrate a specialized field of study as the Civil Services accept candidates from every academic background, which is unlike any other service in this study. By the completion of the CSE, the final acceptance rate on average is less than 1% each year; most recently, narrowing down one million candidates to one thousand or so admitted equals only 0.1%.<sup>22</sup> This has been described by participants as more elimination process than selection process as successful candidates have often demonstrated commitment, perseverance and ambition more so than any other criteria.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> “Things you must know before you start preparing for UPSC civil services exam,” *India Today*, published June 2, 2016, <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/education/story/upsc-civil-services-exam/1/683251.html>.

<sup>21</sup> “Question Papers,” Union Public Service Commission, Government of India, last updated September 15, 2016, <http://www.upsc.gov.in/examinations/question-papers>.

<sup>22</sup> “Number of Candidates in Civil Services Exam,” UPSC Syllabus, 2014, <http://www.upscsyllabus.in/info-zone/number-of-candidates-in-civil-services-exam>.

<sup>23</sup> From interviews with IFS officers

At their initial examination stage, candidates make selections ranking the Civil Service body they prefer most. This process has allowed for some periods of low IFS popularity vis-à-vis the other services. Many current IFS officers note that their first choice was initially the IAS based on their pre-existing knowledge and exposure to that institution.<sup>24</sup> These periods have resulted in selection of new officers that are ranked relatively low on the annual merit list.<sup>25</sup> However, while that reality has caused concerns in some areas, especially Parliamentary oversight committees, the exam process is so rigorous that some IFS officers believe that the quality of successful candidates is inconsequentially different from the “toppers” to the minimum qualifiers. More notable for the MEA is its inability to include separate qualifications or testing requirements for IFS candidates as they have no independent legal mandate apart from the broader Civil Service mechanism.<sup>26</sup> Our study has not shown any official means for lateral transfers that by-pass the CSE; therefore, any of the very limited lateral transfers occurring would be from other Civil Service entities who have already passed through the same evaluation. Out of the small group accepted through the CSE process, currently around twenty to thirty become IFS probationary officers. However, this level of intake has only been present for roughly a decade; historically, the average intake was approximately a dozen new officers per year.<sup>27</sup>

### **Professional Development**

Upon the completion of the CSE and selection into the IFS, officers undergo three stages of induction training with future options for mid-career in-service courses. Induction training spans the first 3 years of service, and consists of basic training at the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration (LBSNAA), professional training at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) with attachments throughout the Indian government and MEA, and a Compulsory Foreign Language (CFL) during their initial posting. After this, recruits are considered full-fledged officers. In-service training occurs after an officer has served for about 5 to 10 years or if they are being considered for senior-level promotions. There are various training institutes which officers of the All-India Central Civil Services can be sent to, however, IFS officers are normally sent to LBSNAA and FSI.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Rana, *Asian Diplomacy*, 52-53.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Rana, *Asian Diplomacy*, 58.

### *Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration:*

Originally set up as a training school for the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), LBSNAA was chosen as a site for IFS induction training to promote “the ethos and values of higher civil services especially, the values of integrity, humanism, service and professionalism.”<sup>28</sup> By integrating IFS induction training with IAS foundational training, the MEA sought to instill a better understanding of domestic, especially rural, public affairs in IFS recruits. IFS officers are also linked by “batch” to a corresponding cadre of IAS officers.<sup>29</sup> The program lasts 15 weeks (3-4 months) during which recruits take courses on: public administration and social management, economics, law, political theory and the Indian constitution, Indian history and culture, Hindi or a regional language, and information and communication technology.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to attending classes, IFS recruits are required to participate in the Village Study Program. This consists of a 10-day trek in the Himalayas and a 12-day visit to a remote village.<sup>31</sup> The main objectives of this program are to cultivate better interpersonal relations, social awareness, and physical endurance. The Academy’s Foundation Course is specifically intended to be “a transition from the academic world of colleges and universities to the structured system of government.”<sup>32</sup> At the end of the induction training, IFS recruits take a final assessment in each of their courses. During this training, the IFS recruits are not distinguished from any other Civil Service trainee and despite a military style of discipline and lack of comforts, the experience is generally remembered with nostalgia and as being invaluable for instilling critical characteristics for long-term success in the IFS.<sup>33</sup>

### *Foreign Service Institute:*

<sup>28</sup> “Batch Profile FC90,” *Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration*, 2015, <http://www.lbsnaa.gov.in/admin/upload/doc/Batch-20.pdf> pg. 4-5 & Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service: Structure, Role, and Performance* (Jaipur: Aalekh Publishers, 2000), 123.

<sup>29</sup> “Indian Foreign Service”, *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated April 22, 2015, <http://www.mea.gov.in/indian-foreign-service.htm>.

<sup>30</sup> “Curriculum and Pedagogy,” *Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration*, 2015, <http://www.lbsnaa.gov.in/pages/display/592-curriculum-pedagogy>.

<sup>31</sup> Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service*, 126.

<sup>32</sup> “Batch Profile FC90,” *Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration*, 2015, <http://www.lbsnaa.gov.in/admin/upload/doc/Batch-20.pdf>, 1.

<sup>33</sup> From interviews with IFS Officers

In 1986, the Government of India realized that IFS officers needed more than general training at LSBNAA and created FSI. FSI provides professional training to IFS officers, MEA staff and representatives, and diplomats from foreign countries.<sup>34</sup> FSI also collaborates with foreign institutions, such as Harvard and Georgetown University, to conduct training and workshops for IFS officers abroad. IFS officers complete both their induction and in-service training at FSI.

After basic training at LSBNAA, IFS recruits undergo one year of professional training at FSI in New Delhi. The course consists of 26 modules such as International Relations, Indian Foreign Policy, Diplomatic Practice and Protocol, etc. FSI employs faculty from top Indian universities (such as Jawaharlal Nehru University and Banaras Hindu University), government think tanks (like the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis), and retired IFS officers. During this time, recruits also receive training as an attachment with the Armed Forces, Navy, and Air Force to study the structure of the Ministry of Defense.<sup>35</sup> Foreign language acquisition consists of learning basic French, one compulsory, and one optional foreign language. New recruits are also required to complete the *Bharat Darshan*, a tour of major cultural, commercial, and historic sites in India. The sites covered during the *Bharat Darshan* vary among the different batches of IFS recruits, since the goal of the tour is for them to visit places they have not been and will not likely go to during their diplomatic career.<sup>36</sup> It should be noted here that the domestic tour of *Bharat Darshan* does not include the same level of social immersion as LSBNAA's Village Study Program and occurs only in preliminary training. However, this experience does provide the trainees with thorough exposure to all levels of state and local governance within India as well as interaction with key stakeholders from non-governmental groups including leading Indian corporations.<sup>37</sup> This training has been identified as a highly unique feature of the IFS training program in comparison to other diplomatic corps around the world.

FSI describes the year's phases as follows: 5 months for FSI Phase I, 2 months with MEA desks, 3 months of field attachment (i.e. district administration, army, etc.), 1 month for FSI Phase II, and 1 final month for pre-departure attachment with their assigned regional

<sup>34</sup> Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service*, 95.

<sup>35</sup> "Photo Features," *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated May 3, 2013, <http://www.mea.gov.in/photo-features.htm?826/INDIAN+FOREIGN+SERVICE+Kautilyas+of+Bharat>.

<sup>36</sup> Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service*, 136.

<sup>37</sup> From interviews with IFS Officers

division. Over this year, the MEA hopes to instill a “strong sense of history, knowledge of diplomacy and international relations and a grasp of general economic and political principles.”

<sup>38</sup> Upon completion of professional training at FSI, IFS recruits continue for another 6 months at the MEA to familiarize themselves with the functions of the Ministry, and end their induction training with posting at an Indian Mission abroad chosen per their foreign language study.

Languages available for study are chosen by the IFS’ leadership and trainees make selections based on rankings from the CSE results. English is never made available here as a high level of functionality in English is expected prior to the exam and generally enhanced through the previous trainings. A trainee’s language selection will determine his or her first placement abroad wherein native instruction of the language including at local universities is possible. Each language has a minimum required study time ranging from less than one year for European languages to over 2 years for languages like Chinese and Arabic, which are considered more challenging. IFS trainees may take longer than the minimum time allotted if needed but this is considered rare.<sup>39</sup> During this period of language study, the officer is considered a Third Secretary and is also expected to learn relevant diplomatic skills as well as demonstrate their ability to handle cross-cultural life. In addition to the training programs held within India, this final 1-2 years of training are considered crucial tests and development of the raw talent brought in through the examination process.<sup>40</sup> When the CFL exam is passed satisfactory, the officer will be confirmed into the service as a Second Secretary and may begin applying for full IFS roles, which may entail remaining in their current country or taking a new posting.<sup>41</sup>

#### *In-Service Training:*

Following the first 5 years of service, IFS officers are required to undertake in-service training. The main objectives of this training are to increase efficiency, morale, and opportunities for advancement. Since the IFS promotes a very generalist training of its recruits, officers are not expected to choose specializations early in their career. In fact, one of the major complaints of IFS officers is that the MEA has yet to institute an effective career planning system. Since the

<sup>38</sup> “Training Programs: Officer Trainees,” *Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated June 10, 2016, <http://meafsi.gov.in/?5101?000>.

<sup>39</sup> From interviews with IFS Officers

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> “Indian Foreign Service”, *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated April 22, 2015, <http://www.mea.gov.in/indian-foreign-service.htm>.

Pillai Committee in 1965, which advised the MEA "to devise a broad framework of career growth within which the officer may be expected to develop,"<sup>42</sup> not much has been changed or been added to the career planning system. Currently, IFS professional development is limited to geographical specialization - postings are assigned per the officers' region of interest. Two factors cited for the poor professional development system are 1) the small size of the IFS and 2) the unequal distribution of "comfortable" and "difficult" posts. Because officers are generally assigned by geographic specialization, some may get a larger share of "comfortable" posts, which fosters internal tension amongst officers.

The current form of in-service training at FSI is known as Mid-Career Training Programs (MCTP). MCTPs are divided into 3 phases: Phase I is for officers returning after the first round of postings abroad. Training lasts 4 weeks and focuses on workshops and case studies regarding legislative and judicial institutions. Phase II is targeted toward officers returning after the second round of postings abroad. Training lasts 3 weeks at either FSI or another BRICS institution and covers emergency foreign policy issues and domain specialization. Lastly, Phase III is for officers at the Joint Secretary level.<sup>43</sup>

Due to the small size of the IFS cadre and the growing number of missions, officers find it difficult to spare time to return for in-service training. As a result, the MCTPs, especially Phase III, do not have a concrete curriculum and depend heavily on the batch of officers attending.

### **Leadership**

IFS officers undergo yearly performance appraisals, known as Annual Confidential Reports (ACR), regarding their ability, achievement, and potential. IFS Officers are reviewed in a "two-up" system that includes assessment by their immediate supervisor and one additional level above in seniority. Officers have identified the process as internally transparent in terms of criteria.<sup>44</sup> However, while the ACR provides the MEA with information on IFS officers, surveys show that officers rarely get feedback on their ACRs unless there are adverse remarks. Promotion in the IFS is largely based on seniority and is time-bound, for example, an Attaché

<sup>42</sup> Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service*, 185.

<sup>43</sup> "MEA Training Framework 2013," *Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, last updated February 4, 2016, <http://meafsi.gov.in/?3558?000>.

<sup>44</sup> From interviews with IFS Officers

must serve for five years before rising to the rank of Under Secretary. The highest posts of Additional Secretary and Secretary, however, are offered on the basis of merit, competence, and leadership.<sup>45</sup> In addition to rank-based promotions, IFS officers can at times raise quickly in terms of job description and responsibility thereby allowing some degree of meritocracy to exist in the MEA. In addition, the IFS has a minimal number of political appointees – traditionally the Prime Minister appoints about 10 ambassadors outside the IFS, though many are retired Indian diplomats returning to service. The early history of the IFS is however, filled with personally-connected, political appointments as newly independent India compensated for an extremely limited pool of candidates with diplomatic experience. Many of this first appointments to the IFS came from the British Indian Army who had foreign experience and members of the royal families from various princely states that likewise more exposed to the world at large.<sup>46</sup> At present, however, IFS officers who perform satisfactorily can expect to raise to an ambassador level role based on merit in due time.

Rising to the highest positions of influence and leadership within the IFS in the modern day, though, requires extensive experience throughout the MEA's apparatus and over-seas postings. A review of top ambassadorial or high commissioner positions assigned to key countries and posts (including the USA, UN and other countries in this study) illustrate some potential trends in the promotion process. Public profiles for ten leading Indian diplomats are attached in this study. First, all entered government service with higher level education beyond the mandatory minimum. Reaching the ambassadorial role at a critical post requires career diplomats to serve 20-30 years in the IFS and successfully complete an appointment as an ambassador in a smaller country. In general, these top leaders have demonstrated the ability to have a regional area of focus, successfully served in a UN-related permanent mission or have other multilateral experience, and have combined work experience abroad with managerial experience at the MEA HQ.<sup>47</sup>

The profiles of the IFS' leaders speak to the flexibility within a hierarchical instruction as well as to critical limitations on diversity. First, these diplomatic leaders entered the IFS in the late 1970s and early 1980s and found India's foreign policy dominated by a focus on Russia and

<sup>45</sup> Siran Mukerji, *Indian Foreign Service*, 211.

<sup>46</sup> Dixit, *Indian Foreign Service*, Chapter 2.

<sup>47</sup> Biographical information found on Embassy websites for Indian Missions and available in Appendices

like-minded Arab states. This is illustrated by an emphasis on Russian and Arabic language training. However, rather than exclusively focus on a regional expertise, these diplomats have had diverse opportunities to experience a gamut of countries and topical areas. In many cases, different points in a career have emphasized one skill set over another. For instance, the Indian Ambassador to Germany is focused both on business and Japan/East Asia while the Indian Ambassador to France is focused on Francophone relations and trade. At various times, they have utilized one or the other skillset. Further flexibility is also illustrated as even at relatively low rank, IFS officers assigned a high responsibility position such as Consul General or Head of Chancery at a relatively small mission or an external facing MEA post can prove themselves on merit despite a seniority focused promotion system. Finally, the profiles assembled are strikingly devoid of any female IFS officers and it remains to be seen if recent efforts to encourage female recruitment will facilitate a commensurate rise in female leadership. In a different area of diversity, despite the IFS' pride in a varied educational background for their recruits, these leaders demonstrate that study in a relevant international or policy field from Delhi's premiere universities still holds value.

### **Role in Foreign Policy Making**

The influence of the IFS on India's foreign policy has been reduced over time largely due to its history as initially highly linked to Prime Minister Nehru. His personal prioritization of the IFS raised its national stature immensely and while it may have waned slightly since then, the IFS remains the leading foreign policy body for the Indian central government. However, since the IAS and private sector opportunities may have become more attractive to Indian graduates, IFS recruitment has remained low, prompting the Office of the Prime Minister to assimilate a portion of the IAS in foreign affairs. Recently, the Modi administration has been more interested in involving regional governments in foreign policy making, delegating more power to the IAS.<sup>48</sup> This does not mean, however, that the IFS will necessarily see its position eroded more in future, as the MEA is pushing to increase recruitment quotas and lateral entry into the service. These challenges may be relatively superficial however, as the IFS continues to attract sufficient high-quality recruits and there is only a marginal difference between the traditionally selected "toppers" of the Civil Service Exam and those somewhat lower. The IFS and MEA remain a

<sup>48</sup> T.P. Sreenivasan, "Foreign Service must remain elitist," The Hindu, published June 25, 2015, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/foreign-service-must-remain-elitist/article7350788.ece>



highly central and critical government body. In addition, the current Foreign Secretary holds an influential position in the Indian government and appears to have the ear of the prime minister, at least for now.

The IFS faces a unique diplomatic experience due to India's political and cultural history, which can be illustrated by the strategies adopted in regards to UN Security Council Reforms. As previously noted, the fall of the Soviet Union altered the relevance of India's diplomatic position as the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. In the "New World Order" and the UN's *Agenda for Peace*, India seemed poised for a new level of global leadership with a strong candidacy for a permanent UN Security Council seat then and at several points in the last two decades.<sup>49</sup> India's diplomatic policy-making process is, in this context, consistently in tension between global leadership aspirations, urgent regional concerns, and the enduring impact of Gandhi's asymmetrical approach to power dynamics. Many within the IFS and MEA would see a Security Council seat as a major diplomatic success and yet the diplomatic compromises required particularly in relation to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and vis-a-vis Pakistan could be untenable.<sup>50</sup> In addition, and comparable to Stephen Cohen's vision of India's diplomatic *modus operandi* of "getting to no", the IFS' efforts to acquire the Security Council seat were essentially self-sabotaged in a rejection of playing by the purported rules of engagement created by the USA and Western countries.<sup>51</sup> Thus, while the IFS can certainly drive India's foreign policy, the conflicting currents of long-term goals are a notable strain on a tight-knit corps of officers.

The IFS' effectiveness within the Indian government will continue to be impacted by these broad cultural and historical realities as well as the nuances of personal leadership. As the IFS grows the concentration of bureaucratic authority and leadership with the Foreign Secretary will become logistically tenuous. As India continues its self-proclaimed ascent to super-power status, the trend of centralization of foreign policy within the Prime Minister's Office will either invigorate the IFS as a key tool or side line it, perhaps in favor of other ministries including Commerce, Defense and Finance. These issues will be impacted by the IFS' preparation for the future.

<sup>49</sup> Mani Shankar Aiyar, *A Time of Transition: Rajiv Gandhi to the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2009), 258-261

<sup>50</sup> Strobe Talbot, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy and the Bomb* (Washington DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 228-230

<sup>51</sup> Mani Shankar Aiyar, *Time of Transition*, 258-261

## **Prepared for the Future?**

When confronting the challenges of the future, there are several structural and bureaucratic issues facing the IFS. As stated previously, the small size of the IFS cadre has been the source of various complaints. One of the most pressing is that mid-career training for IFS officers is often delayed because of short-staffing at missions. This, in turn, has created a system of promotion that is based more on seniority than merit. The MEA is currently considering offering Non-Resident Indians (NRI) the opportunity to apply and work for the IFS. While the political logistics of allowing NRIs to take the civil service exam seem difficult, PM Narendra Modi has publicly declared working with the India diaspora community as a priority.<sup>52</sup> Technologically, the current administration has been quick in implementing an overhaul of information systems within government ministries and establishing a stronger digital presence.<sup>53</sup> The IFS is looking toward the extensive Indian diaspora community for new sources of engagement and collaboration within a broad "soft power" framework in conjunction with bolstering economic ties within regional partnerships and development projects. India's ability to reconcile the disparate goals of their diplomatic agenda will be largely based on the capacity of the IFS' bureaucratic structure to support the weight of these expectations. It remains to be seen if the IFS' flexible and small nature will be an advantage or a detriment.

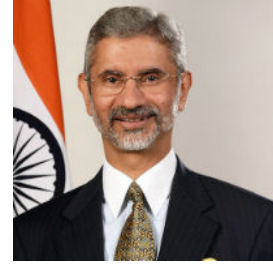
In that light, it is critical to see the new priorities developing within the MEA. First, the current Minister, in particular, has expanded the role of domestic public diplomacy and the integration of technology, especially social media, could potentially enhance the effectiveness of even a small officer corps. The relevance of global Indian business interests as well as an increasing focus on the diaspora community adds a significant and relatively new skillset needed for Indian diplomats, previously focused on gaining cultural competency abroad. Finally, as the Western world sees notable shifts in governmentality and global objectives, will India's diplomats be able to respond, even take advantage of, a rapidly changing international landscape?

<sup>52</sup> "PM Modi hails Indian diaspora, says they are role models for other communities," Economic Times, January 2017, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/nri/nris-in-news/pm-modi-hails-indian-diaspora-says-they-are-role-models-for-other-communities/articleshow/56400651.cms>

<sup>53</sup> "Indian Diplomacy," Ministry of External Affairs, since July 2010, [https://twitter.com/IndianDiplomacy?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor](https://twitter.com/IndianDiplomacy?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)

## **Subrahmanyam Jaishankar**

### **Indian Foreign Secretary**



Dr. S. Jaishankar has more than three decades of diplomatic experience. Joining the Indian Foreign Service in 1977, Jaishankar's first postings abroad were as Third and Second Secretary in Moscow from 1979-1981. From 1981-1985, he served as Under Secretary (Americas) and Policy Planning in the Ministry of External Affairs. From 1985-1988, he was First Secretary at the Indian Embassy in Washington, DC, followed by two years as First Secretary/Political Advisor to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka. In 1990, he became Commercial Counsellor in Budapest and after three years returned to India to serve as Director of East Europe Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, and then as Press Secretary for the President of India. Dr. Jaishankar went abroad again in 1996 as Deputy Chief of Mission in Tokyo. From 2000-2004, he served as the Ambassador of India to the Czech Republic. For three years, he returned to India, where he led the Americas Division in the Ministry of External Affairs. From 2007-2009, he served as High Commissioner to Singapore then as Ambassador to China from 2009 to 2013 and finally was the Ambassador to the US before assuming responsibilities as Foreign Secretary. Dr. Jaishankar holds a Ph.D. and M.Phil in International Relations and a M.A. in Political Science. He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. He is married to Yokoko Jaishankar and has two sons and a daughter.

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## **Syed Akbaruddin**

### **Indian Ambassador to the United Nations**



Syed Akbaruddin is a senior Indian diplomat with considerable multilateral experience. Joining the Indian Foreign Service in 1985, he served first as Third and Second Secretary in Cairo, Egypt followed by First Secretary positions in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and at the Indian Mission to the UN. From 2000-2004, Akbaruddin was Consul General in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Ambassador Akbaruddin also served as an international civil-servant at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna from 2006-2011. As the Official Spokesperson of India's Ministry of External Affairs during 2012-2015, he was a member of Indian delegations to the UNGA and various other multilateral and bilateral meetings at the Summit and Ministerial level. He effectively used social media tools to considerably expand public diplomacy outreach. Prior to his assignment as the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, Amb. Akbaruddin was the Chief Coordinator of the India-Africa Forum Summit held in October 2015 in New Delhi. All 54 African States who are members of the United Nations participated along with the African Union in this milestone event. Ambassador Akbaruddin has a Master's Degree in Political Science and International Relations. He is married to Mrs. Padma Akbaruddin and they have two sons. He is an avid and passionate sports enthusiast.

## **Navtej Sarna**

### **Indian Ambassador to the United States**



Navtej Sarna took charge as Ambassador of India to the United States on November 5, 2016. Born on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1957, Sarna joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1980 with his initial posting at the Indian Embassy in Moscow where he trained in Russian. Subsequently, he has served at the Ministry of External Affairs in the divisions for Public Relations, Protocol, the United Nations, International Organizations, as the MEA's official Spokesperson and as the Secretary for the West Division. His postings abroad include Warsaw, Thimphu, Geneva, Tehran and as Ambassador to Israel and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. Sarna holds a Bachelor of Commerce and a Bachelor of Law from Delhi University as well as a Diploma in Journalism. He has published several works including translations of Urdu, collections of short stories and his own novels. The Ambassador is married with two children.

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## **Vijay Gokhale**

### **Indian Ambassador to China**



After earning his Master's degree in History from Delhi University, Vijay Gokhale joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1981 at the age of 22. His previous diplomatic assignments include postings in Hong Kong, Hanoi, Beijing, and New York. He has also served as Deputy Secretary (Finance), Director (China & East Asia), and Joint Secretary (East Asia) during his stints at the Headquarters of the Ministry of External Affairs. He was High Commissioner of India to Malaysia from January 2010 to October 2013. From October 2013 to January 2016, he was the Ambassador of India to the Federal Republic of Germany.

## **Pankaj Saran**

### Indian Ambassador to Russia



Pankaj Saran joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1982 after completing an MA in Economics from Delhi University. His first posting was in Moscow where he studied Russian and later served as Second Secretary (Political). Since then, Mr. Saran has served in Dhaka, Washington, DC., Cairo, Nepal, and Geneva in addition to serving as a Deputy Secretary in both the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister's office in New Delhi. He is also notable for playing an important role in the recent Indo-Bangladesh land boundary agreement.

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## **Y.K. Sinha**

### Indian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom



Y.K. Sinha has handled assignments at Indian diplomatic missions in South Asia, the Middle East, Europe, South America and the Permanent Mission of India at the United Nations in New York. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1981 and was a member of the Secretariat of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit, held in New Delhi in 1983. He also has a diploma in Arabic from the American University, Cairo. Before coming to the UK, he was High Commissioner of India to Sri Lanka from June 2013 to December 2016. Prior to this, he was Additional Secretary and headed the important Pakistan-Afghanistan-Iran Division at the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi for almost four years. Mr. Sinha was Counsellor at the Permanent Mission of India, United Nations, New York from 1998 to 2002 where he represented India in the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly handling Peace Keeping, Decolonization, Information etc. He also handled the issue of UN Security Council reforms and was a member of the Open-Ended Working Group on UN Security Council Reforms and the Committee on Palestine. He served as Counsellor and head of the Political Section in the Indian High Commission in Islamabad from 1995 to 1998. He was Deputy Secretary (Pakistan) in the Ministry of External Affairs from 1992 to 1995. He also led the Indian delegation for the first and second India-US-Afghanistan trilateral consultations in New York (September 2012) and Delhi (February 2013) respectively.

## **Gurjit Singh**

### Indian Ambassador to Germany



Gurjit Singh has a postgraduate in International Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Appointed to the Indian Foreign Service in 1980, he has served in Indian Missions in Tokyo (twice), Colombo, Nairobi, Rome. His last assignment was Ambassador of India to Indonesia and Timor-Leste and to ASEAN. Since January 2016, he has been Ambassador of India to Germany. He is proficient in Japanese and has published *The Abalone Factor: An Overview of India-Japan Business Relations* (1997), which also won him the Bimal Sanyal Award for Research by a Foreign Service officer. His subsequent books included *The Injera and the Parantha: Enhancing the Ethio-India Relationship*, which was released in 2009. His latest book *Masala Bambu* on India and Indonesia was released by the Minister for External Affairs in Jakarta in April 2015. He is also author of a comic book on the legacy of the India-Indonesia relationship. Mr. Singh has frequently contributed on economic, development and trade issues to various journals and books. While in Nairobi, he was the Deputy Permanent Representative of India to UNEP and UN-HABITAT. He has an abiding interest in developmental economics and issues of sustainable development.

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## **Mohan Kumar**

### Indian Ambassador to France



Mohan Kumar joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1981. He holds an MBA from the University of Delhi and a PhD from the reputed Sciences Po in Paris. He served as Third Secretary in the Permanent Mission of India in Geneva learning French. Between 1984 and 1990, he served as Second Secretary and First Secretary at the Indian diplomatic Missions in Morocco and Congo respectively. Between 1990 and 1992, he served at the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi as the Desk Officer for India's bilateral relations with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives. In 1992, Mr. Kumar began his long association with the GATT/WTO based in Geneva. Not only was he closely associated with the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations, he was also India's lead negotiator in areas such as Textiles, Intellectual Property Rights and Services and represented India at the WTO Marrakesh Ministerial Conference of 1994. Later, he returned to Geneva and participated in the WTO Ministerial Conferences of Seattle (1999) and Doha (2001). In 2005, Ambassador Mohan Kumar was posted as Head of the Division (Joint Secretary) at the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi overseeing India's bilateral relations with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Myanmar. In May 2015, he assumed charge as India's Ambassador to France and in August 2015 was concurrently accredited as the Ambassador of India to the Principality of Monaco.

## **Sunil Kumar Lal**

### Indian Ambassador to Brazil



Sunil Lal joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1982 and has served in various capacities at the Indian Missions in Havana, Berlin, Ankara and Washington. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in New Delhi, Mr. Sunil Lal worked in the External Advertising, UN and Public Diplomacy divisions. He was assigned to the Defense Staff College in Wellington (1988-1989); To Georgetown University (1999-2000) and also to the Secretary of the National Security Council as Deputy Secretary (2004 - 2006). His last mission was as Ambassador of India to Spain. He assumed the position of Ambassador of India to Brazil on September 30, 2014. Mr. Sunil Lal holds a postgraduate degree in International Relations and a Masters in Diplomacy. He is fluent in English and Spanish and has basic knowledge of German.

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## **Rahul Kulshreshth**

### Indian Ambassador to Turkey



Rahul Kulshreshth studied at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh and Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1985 at the age of 24 and has served in different capacities at the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and Indian embassies in Moscow, Thimphu, Yangon, Cairo, and Islamabad. His first posting was in Moscow where he studied Russian. Prior to appointment as Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Kulshreshth was on deputation with the Department of Atomic Energy.

## **Russia**

Jessica Terry & Zachary Reeves

### **Executive Summary**

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a strictly hierarchical and centralized structure. The bureaucratic culture shows continuity across periods – Tsarist, Soviet, and post-Soviet, and this can be seen in the modern structure and priorities of the Ministry. Diplomats have very little in the way of personal autonomy and are expected to follow specific orders that come straight from their direct superiors. While minor diplomatic issues in countries with low geopolitical relevance may be handled internally, any significant diplomatic action is likely to be delegated by Vladimir Putin himself. Some aspects of the Soviet era are especially pronounced, as most of the highest-level leadership in the Ministry consists of officials who were raised and trained under the Soviet tradition. Diplomats still follow a highly professionalized and rigorous course of diplomatic training, although the ideological component of the Soviet era is not present. The majority of recruits to the foreign service come from the Moscow State University of International Relations, which is operated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Russian Foreign Service maintains an international reputation for professional excellence and Russian diplomats are known for their profound linguistic and cultural knowledge of assigned regions. Diplomats generally focus on one region of the world, moving around from post to post while slowly rising through the ranks. Additionally, with changes in communications technologies, the Russian Foreign Service has increasingly utilized social media for purposes of public diplomacy. While the Service is still a prestigious and valued institution in Russia, it has faced challenges in recent years which have lowered this prestige. While some aspects of this reduced prestige are due to external factors outside the control of the government, such as the relative ease of travel outside the country today as compared with during the Soviet era, some factors are internal – many students in the prospective-employee category have cited a perceived lack of agency for those working for the Ministry, suggesting that perhaps the Russian Ministry has failed to address the issues of the post-Soviet generation. As fewer and fewer of the traditionally-trained Soviet era diplomats remain, the Russian Ministry will face the challenge of integrating the younger post-Soviet generation into the fabric of the leadership.



## **History**

Russia's earliest diplomatic history begins in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when Russian principalities sought better connections with the Byzantine empire.<sup>1</sup> In the early years, Moscow inherited a political and institutional culture from the Byzantines that is in some ways still reflected today.<sup>2</sup> Russians borrowed the concept of 'symphony' – i.e., the unification of the state and the church – from the Byzantine model of diplomacy and statecraft. This resulted in a sort of missionary concept for the early Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While in the period preceding Peter the Great this focus was on religion (Russian Orthodoxy), in other eras ideological components served as stand-ins for religion (Marxism/Leninism and Soviet ideology). The inheritance of the Byzantine model differentiated Russian diplomacy from Asian and Western models in another important way. The initial insecurity and weakness derived from the Russian system of principalities, together with the way in which Byzantine diplomatic assistance was designed to support Orthodox administrative structures, resulted in a very strong impulse toward super-centralization, which can still be seen in the structure of the modern Russian Ministry. While not much of the Tsarist system exists in today's system, there is still a certain level of continuity that can be seen in its goals and objectives.<sup>3</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two important and opposing ideological camps also developed – those of the Slavophiles and the *Zapadniki*, or Westernizers.<sup>4</sup> As Russia began to develop and expand its influence, these two philosophical camps sought to answer the important question: which path of development should Russia choose, and what would be Russia's place in the world? Those in the Slavophile camp asserted that Russia should resist Western influence and values, as these would undermine what they viewed as the unique cultural heritage of Russia. The *Zapadniki* advocated for greater involvement and acceptance of the West, as Russia was lagging far behind

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Russian Diplomatic Service," *archive.mid.ru*, last modified February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://archive.mid.ru/bdcomp/ministry.nsf/bef2f953396375864425796d0038553b/b8b630f80524d5db44257b0c0032b5c7!OpenDocument>

<sup>2</sup> T. V. Zonova, "Diplomatic Cultures: Comparing Russia and the West in Terms of a 'Modern Model of Diplomacy,'" *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* no. 2, 2007, pp. 1 – 23.

[http://old.mgimo.ru/files/30029/T.Zonova%20Diplomatic%20cultures\\_comparing%20%20Russia%20and%20the%20West.pdf](http://old.mgimo.ru/files/30029/T.Zonova%20Diplomatic%20cultures_comparing%20%20Russia%20and%20the%20West.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Igor S. Ivanov, *The New Russian Diplomacy*, Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004. Print.

<sup>4</sup> "Of Russian Origin: Slavophiles and Zapadniki," *russiapedia.rt.ru*. Accessed October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://russiapedia.rt.com/of-russian-origin/slavophiles-and-zapadniki/>

Western industrialized nations and they believed that accepting Western ideas and values was essential for Russia's advancement. This debate has carried on long since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and is present even today in Russia's contemporary political environment and decisions regarding Russian foreign policy.

Under Peter and Catherine, the diplomatic services underwent massive restructuring and improvement. Both leaders were increasingly looking to expand their influence outward, as Russia's unique geopolitical position made foreign policy essential. As Russia's involvement in foreign affairs grew, so did the strengthening of the foreign unit. Additionally, both Peter and Catherine believed in a *Zapadnik* view of progress, and both tried increasingly to Westernize the foreign service model and to strengthen Russia's connections with the West.

The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 essentially reset Russian/Soviet foreign relations and the development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The old Tsarist system was almost entirely liquidated (including personnel during the Stalinist purges), and thus most of the current structure reflects the ghost of the Soviet structure of the Ministry. There is still a clear, hierarchical, top-down bureaucratic structure, such that decisions can be given quickly from the top and executed by the lower levels. Additionally, aspects of the Soviet legacy and the Soviet approach to foreign affairs are still alive in the modern Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ideological component of recruitment into the government apparatus – the importance of loyalty to the state and defense of state interests above all else – is still ever-present (although perhaps less intense than in the Soviet era) in the Russian Foreign Ministry of today. Conformity and the collective is valued above individual initiative. This is also unsurprising, considering that many leading Russian officials grew up in and were products of the Soviet era – Putin and current foreign minister Lavrov, for instance, can be included in this category, among many other officials in the Foreign Ministry and the state apparatus.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Ministry once again experienced an intense shift to the West. Russia sought integration into the Euro-Atlantic structure and to establish an alliance relationship with the West in a return to the *Zapadnik* idea of modernizing and moving forward.<sup>5</sup> However, this idealistic pro-Western orientation was short-lived, and today's Russian Ministry focuses above all else on defending national interests and priorities. The Ministry underwent a complicated and painful internal transformation in the 90s to be better able to handle the needs of

<sup>5</sup> Igor S. Ivanov, *The New Russian Diplomacy*, Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004. Print.

the new international environment. While the new Ministry is certainly much different from both the Tsarist and Soviet iterations, it is much closer to its Soviet predecessor. Continuity does exist across all three previous periods of the Ministry – many of the cultural, social, and political goals and traditions of the old structures remain and can still be seen today. As previous Foreign Minister Sergei Ivanov once wrote, “Russian society looks to its own history to provide the vital reference points it needs to fill the political and psychological vacuum left by the fall of the old system.”<sup>6</sup>

According to the Ministry’s brief overview of diplomatic history, the historical assumption on which today’s service is based is the subordination of the diplomatic service to the state to defend and promote the state and its national interests in the international arena.<sup>7</sup> One other important factor in evaluating today’s foreign service in Russia is leadership style. Comparatively speaking, the state was more flexible and transparent under Yeltsin than under Putin. Since the early years of the post-Soviet era, the political system has moved further towards centralization and authoritarianism. Such centralization is also reflected in the bureaucracy, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Putin could also be categorized as a Slavophile, which means that the service is focused less on adopting the Western model of diplomacy and more on co-opting Slavic culture and perspectives to create a distinctly Slavic model of diplomacy. This also manifests in a pulling away from the West in pursuit of a strengthening of the ties between Russia and other Slavic and East European nations.

## **Profile**

According to the Lowy Institute for International Policy’s Global Diplomacy Index,<sup>8</sup> Russia’s diplomacy network is ranked fourth in the world in terms of extent and reach. The Russian diplomatic service boasts 243 total posts – 142 embassies/high commissions, 89 consulates/consulates-general, 11 permanent missions, and 1 other representation.

The Russian Federation, as of July of 2015, proposed a planned budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the 2016 fiscal year of 92 – 98 billion rubles.<sup>9</sup> Assuming that the budget is

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “Diplomacy of the Russian Federation,” *orenburg.mid.ru*. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

[http://orenburg.mid.ru/history\\_05.html](http://orenburg.mid.ru/history_05.html)

<sup>8</sup> “Lowy Institute for International Policy Global Policy Index,” *lowyinstitute.org*. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://www.lowyinstitute.org/global-diplomacy-index/>

<sup>9</sup> “2016 Spending Budget on the Foreign Ministry Could Reach Almost 98 Billion Rubles,” *ria.ru*, last modified July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <https://ria.ru/economy/20151007/1298250077.html>

somewhere in the middle of these two numbers, this translates to roughly \$1.5 billion U.S. dollars. These numbers should be considered within the context of the year; i.e., that the ruble has experienced significant devaluing on the international market since 2014. In 2016, Russia's defense spending amounted to more than 4% of the country's GDP;<sup>10</sup> in contrast, spending on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was 1/32<sup>nd</sup> of that number. The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is composed of 10,000 employees, which includes those working in regional and functional divisions, those working as representatives and in consulate offices abroad, employees in international organizations and those in "subordinate enterprises." Of these, 2,500 are Russian diplomats posted abroad.<sup>11</sup>

The Russian diplomatic service does not have cones or specific career tracks; rather, there is a regional focus and a clear, hierarchical ladder for advancement in ranking.<sup>12</sup> The structure includes 17 regional bureaus as well as 22 functional departments (we have included the Department of International Organizations in the functional department category). The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' organizational structure is currently arranged so that lower employees and departments can quickly take and execute orders from the president and the executive office, rather than as an institution with the capacity for coming up with new initiatives independently of the executive office. In other words, the bureaucracy is very centralized, with a strictly top-down approach to giving and executing orders from the state.

Although we were not able to find information regarding gender representation and the makeup of the Foreign Ministry, we were able to find some information to illustrate what the gender ratio might look like. A number of articles that we have found refer to the difficulty for a woman to become an ambassador or to enter the diplomatic service at all. In an article published by the Krasnoyarsk branch of the Ministry, it states that "...after the 1917 transformation of the Ministry into the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the situation has not changed: the possibility of becoming ambassador was still inaccessible for the weaker sex."<sup>13</sup> The same article goes on to state of today's Russian Foreign Ministry that "...without a doubt, the work of a

<sup>10</sup> "The Draft Budget: Defense Spending in Russia in 2016 Will Amount to 4% of GDP," *ria.ru*, last modified October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <https://ria.ru/economy/20151024/1307503105.html>

<sup>11</sup> Kseniya Gulia. "Peers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *kommersant.ru*, last modified February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Accessed January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017. <http://kommersant.ru/doc/1108422>

<sup>12</sup> "Block Diagram of the MFA of Russia," *archives.mid.ru*, last modified April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://archive.mid.ru/bdomp/ministry.nsf/info/01.03.01.04>

<sup>13</sup> "The Female Face of Russian Diplomacy," *krsk.mid.ru*. Accessed October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://krsk.mid.ru/zensiny-v-diplomatii>

diplomat is heavy – and for women in particular it is necessary to work two to three times longer and harder to prove that, by right, you occupy a key position.” In an article for *Kommersant*, a male Russian diplomat states that “...the diplomatic profession involves a high degree of mobility and long trips abroad, which is in conflict with the natural destiny of a woman as mother and her family situation.”<sup>14</sup> A female representative of MGIMO described the Russian Foreign Service as following a “patriarchal, militarized tradition,” and as such she also stated that there were few female diplomats, and especially few women in the highest-level positions. She also pointed out that most women who were in the foreign service were not tied to families.

One source stated that an aspect unique to the Russian Foreign Service is their attention to institutional memory regarding high-level positions.<sup>15</sup> Ambassadors and diplomats for key organizations (such as the Russian ambassador to the U.N.) often stay in these positions for much longer than those of other services. The ambassador to the U.S., for example, has been in his current position for nine years, while the former ambassador to the U.N. held his position for over ten years. Because of these long high-level positions in key places, the Russian Ministry has a better institutional memory and working knowledge of certain countries and organizations.

### **Recruitment and Selection**

The vast majority of Russian diplomats come directly as graduates from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO).<sup>16</sup> MGIMO is run by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has long played a traditional role in preparing would-be bureaucrats for careers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the Soviet era, the Russian diplomatic service consisted almost exclusively of graduates from MGIMO; today, there are other ways to pursue a career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While most career bureaucrats come from this academic institution, there are some recruits who come from other major state institutions as well.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs values qualities in recruits such as a high level of professionalism, strong analytical skills, strong interpersonal skills, strong writing skills, and a good knowledge of foreign languages – Russian diplomats are expected to come in with mastery

<sup>14</sup> Kseniya Gulia. “Peers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” *kommersant.ru*, last modified February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Accessed January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017. <http://kommersant.ru/doc/1108422>

<sup>15</sup> Foreign Diplomat. Discussion Panel on Diplomacy. Austin, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Yelena Biberman, “The Politics of Diplomatic Service Reform in Post-Soviet Russia,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 126, no. 4, Winter 2011 – 2012, pp. 669 – 680.

of at least two foreign languages.<sup>17</sup> Above all the Ministry stresses a sense of responsibility to the state, faith in the country, and defense of all points of national interest.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the typical Russian recruit for the diplomatic service needs to have a fierce loyalty to their country and to the promotion of national interests.

MGIMO handles the training of new recruits. In the Soviet era, training largely focused on ideology, so that diplomats could go abroad as ideologists in foreign countries. Now, training focuses more on classical diplomacy. Recruits undergo intensive learning of foreign languages, deep theoretical training, and before assignment are taught the host country's customs, traditions, and political history. To enter the MGIMO Department of International Relations, students must pass exams on history, a foreign language, and the Russian language. Students in this department also go through special intensive training which includes role-playing and situational workshops related to diplomacy and crisis management.<sup>19</sup> In an interview with *RIA*,<sup>20</sup> many Russian diplomats mentioned that they had the impression that their language and theoretical training was more intensely focused than that of other nations' diplomatic services. The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' focus on training and tradition have resulted in a highly professional diplomatic service.

While in the past those who entered the diplomatic service in Russia usually went on to become career diplomats, since the beginning of the post-Soviet era the Ministry has been dealing with an employee drain.<sup>21</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has become less prestigious in the eyes of potential MGIMO recruits, and while in the past the vast majority of those attending MGIMO were specifically pursuing careers in the Foreign Ministry, this is no longer the case. In a survey published in 2011, studies at MGIMO showed that many students were interested in pursuing alternative careers (many were specifically interested in pursuing careers in business). When asked specific questions about why they were not interested in careers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, most students seemed vaguely optimistic in their perceptions of the prestige of the Ministry, but expressed dissatisfaction over issues such as salary, nepotism, cronyism, and gender

<sup>17</sup> Kseniya Gulia. "Peers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *kommersant.ru*, last modified February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Accessed January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017. <http://kommersant.ru/doc/1108422>

<sup>18</sup> "How to Become a Diplomat: Russian Ambassadors on the Secrets of the Work," *ria.ru*, last modified October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2013. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <https://ria.ru/politics/20130210/922131163.html>

<sup>19</sup> "How to Become a Diplomat: Russian Ambassadors on the Secrets of the Work," *ria.ru*, last modified October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2013. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <https://ria.ru/politics/20130210/922131163.html>

<sup>20</sup> "Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Yelena Biberman, "The Politics of Diplomatic Service Reform in Post-Soviet Russia," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 126, no. 4, Winter 2011 – 2012, pp. 669 – 680.

discrimination. A large percentage of those surveyed stated that they were driven to pursue alternate careers by their interest to “make a difference in society” or to have greater agency in their work. The conclusion of this study was that perception of the government does not seem to be a largely contributing factor to the difficulty in attracting and keeping recruits; however, the study does state that the Ministry has failed to address the main issues of the first post-Soviet generation. While the Ministry has increased material incentives (i.e. salary), they have not addressed the issue of agency – many students at MGIMO pursuing careers outside the Ministry stated a wish for greater agency in their work.

Additionally, this drop in prestige might be due to the absence of the glamor that existed previously in the potential for living abroad as a diplomat in the Soviet era when travelling abroad was much more restricted, as well as the definition of the Soviet Foreign Service as an elite and closed institution. One source has stated that he believes, however, that the foreign service’s prestige has been rebounding since around 2005 – the Ministry doubled salaries for diplomats around 2006/2007, and diplomats are starting to be seen once again as figures of high importance in Russian society. Additionally, this source expressed his belief that perhaps since there are now more lucrative alternatives to working as a bureaucrat, this has resulted in a reduction of pressure to keep outsiders out, thus making recruitment less about family line, status, and “eliteness” than it had been in the Soviet era.<sup>22</sup> Today’s recruits seem to be motivated to join the Foreign Service mostly out of patriotism and due to the relatively high level of job security in working for the government.

### **Professional Development**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosts its own university, the Diplomatic Academy, where mid-career level training is handled.<sup>23</sup> In addition to providing continued professional development for Ministry officials, students unaffiliated with the Ministry can also pursue advanced degrees at the Diplomatic Academy (it is currently unclear to us how acceptance for those outside the Ministry is conducted, or how rare it is for those outside the Ministry to attend). In addition to advanced degrees, the Academy offers training seminars for returning professionals.

<sup>22</sup> Professor of International History at the London School of Economics. Interview by Jessica Terry. Personal interview. Austin, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> “Training,” *dipacademy.ru*. Accessed October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://www.dipacademy.ru/programmes/>

These seminars are two to four week courses on a wide range of thematic issues – Russia’s foreign policy, diplomatic and consular service, international law, peacekeeping, work with the Russian and foreign mass media, etc. Training offered at the Diplomatic Academy is in the classic style of functional and theoretical diplomatic training.

In a personal interview, a source familiar with the Soviet system of training stated that the training was very traditional – MGIMO provided typical classroom instruction on the history of Europe and the world, and training was strict and clinical.<sup>24</sup> The source also expressed that the Soviet system focused a great deal on on-the-job training and that diplomats were expected to learn from mentors and from experience. More research is required to confirm if these general ideas of Soviet-era training might have carried over into today’s foreign service training in Russia.

Between assignments at institutions abroad, diplomatic personnel are expected to spend no less than one year on assignment within one of the subdivisions of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>25</sup> Our information suggests that those looking to further their diplomatic career have a very clear hierarchy to climb – recruits start directly from MGIMO and then rise through secretarial ranks (third secretary, second secretary, first secretary, etc.) MGIMO honors students start as attaches, while the rest start as assistants (a position which does not rank). Rising in rank typically takes about three years.<sup>26</sup>

Political appointees do exist in the Russian Foreign Service. For example, Valentina Matvienko served as Soviet/Russian ambassador to the Republic of Malta and Greece. Political appointments have been much more frequent during turning points in Russian history, such as after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the logic that skilled political appointees would be better able to explain the changes within their own country and the international consequences of such changes.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Professor of International History at the London School of Economics. Interview by Jessica Terry. Personal interview. Austin, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> “Model Law on Diplomatic Service (Adopted in Saint Petersburg 13 June 2000),” *pravo.levonevsky.org*, last modified in 2007. Accessed November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016. <http://pravo.levonevsky.org/bazazru/texts17/txt17318.htm>

<sup>26</sup> Kseniya Gulia. “Peers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” *kommersant.ru*, last modified February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Accessed January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017. <http://kommersant.ru/doc/1108422>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



## **Leadership**

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a top-down management style with a clear hierarchical structure. Many Russian diplomats holding senior positions (ambassadors, generals and deputy generals, the foreign minister, etc.) have steadily climbed the hierarchical ladder over time, with some starting at the lowest level (secretarial rank). While PhDs are not required to enter the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia, many of Russia's ambassadors and senior level diplomats do hold PhDs and have a long list of professional affiliations. While those in senior level positions have varied widely in the various departments, offices, and organizations they have served in previous to current positions, quite a few of them seem to have served offices in the same general region of their appointment as ambassador. Most have held high-level positions in some sort of functional department (for instance, Churkin had formerly been Director of the Information Department; Kislyak Director of the Department of Security Affairs and Disarmament; Yakovenko also served as Director of the Department of Security Affairs and Disarmament). Almost all of those studied spent time in mid-to-high-level positions at the central office in Moscow. More generally, those who reach senior positions in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs have built a career which has demonstrated them capable of a high level of professionalism, specialized knowledge, and versatility both in Moscow and abroad. Those at high-level posts have usually remained in those positions even during shifts in leadership; typically, the only time this is not true is when a new leader has drastically different ideas and goals than those previous (for instance, Gorbachev replaced many high-level officials in the administration, including the previous foreign minister, Gromyko).

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs faces a unique problem for their leadership moving forward. Most senior level diplomats and those in senior positions in the central office of the Ministry are Soviet-trained. Like Putin and like many in the state leadership, they are the legacy of the Soviet era, and their way of thinking has been shaped by the Soviet experience. In recent years, some of those in the older generation have passed away (of the 10 diplomatic profiles chosen for the Russia report, three of these ambassadors and representatives are recently deceased). In the coming years, the Russian Ministry will have to deal with the challenge of integrating the younger post-Soviet generation into the fabric of the leadership.

## **Role in Foreign Policymaking**

Those who rise to high-ranking positions are able to influence policy to some degree. The real decisions, however, are made at the level of minister and deputy minister; even those at the level of ambassador cannot say much without prior consultation with superiors. As one woman states in an interview with *Kommersant*, “ordinary employees simply follow instructions.”<sup>28</sup> Current research suggests that Russian diplomats have little leeway in bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Despite the perceived lack of room to maneuver in negotiations, high-level diplomats understand the official positions of the executive office to the extent that “leeway” could be viewed as unnecessary. Because of this, senior Russian diplomats conducting bilateral and multilateral negotiations go into discussions knowing exactly how much flexibility they have on each issue. This appears to be the status quo across different missions of the Russian Ministry, with the one exception being embassies located in small countries with low geopolitical importance to Russia. Russian diplomats in those countries have suggested that their missions receive less direct supervision from Moscow and so they have more agency to direct policy, but this situation appears to be typical of other countries with large foreign ministries.

While lower-level diplomats might not have much influence on foreign policy decisions, those at the ministerial posts usually do. For instance, Sergei Lavrov, the current foreign minister, has a strong relationship with the president, a dearth of knowledge and experience, and is a strong figure in Russian foreign policy. Like many of his high-level administrative counterparts, Lavrov is the product of the Soviet era, and has shown a clarity of vision in international affairs that proves remarkable. Lavrov is frequently a fixture on the international stage (he is often involved in Russia’s dealings with the U.N. and formerly served as the U.N. Permanent Representative), and while the president is firmly in control of Russian foreign policy, he is clearly influential. It is worth noting that Lavrov is now the longest-running foreign minister of post-Cold War Russia.

Andrei Gromyko, known infamously abroad as “Mr. Nyet,” would serve as a Soviet example of a minister-influencer. His nickname came from frustrated Western policymakers, and was a reference to his frequent use of the veto at the U.N. Security Council. Gromyko served as foreign minister from 1957 to 1988 – almost three decades of work at the head of the Ministry. Whether or not he served as core architect of the policies he expounded still remains a mystery,

<sup>28</sup> Kseniya Gulia. “Peers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” *kommersant.ru*, last modified February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Accessed January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017. <http://kommersant.ru/doc/1108422>

but he was considered indispensable in his position as foreign minister across *four* successive leaderships – Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. Gromyko was the first professional diplomat to join the Communist Party’s ruling Politburo, and was the voice and the face of post-WWII Soviet diplomacy. Gromyko’s acceptance into the central decision-making group proves that his value went far beyond simply his loyalty.

Additionally, the Russian Ministry has also increasingly come under the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 2007 a law was passed aimed at uniting the interests of the Church and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Russian Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov, has stated that it is the Ministry’s intent to protect the interests of the Russian (Orthodox) diaspora abroad and facilitate their spiritual needs.<sup>29</sup> In recent years, the Orthodox Church has amassed considerable power among the Russian political elite, including Putin himself; the increasing influence of the Church in the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be seen as an extension of this. In 2014, Vladimir Putin stated that it was the responsibility of the Russian Federation to protect Russians abroad.<sup>30</sup> In a similar vein, the Russian Orthodox Church has a responsibility to Orthodox Christians throughout the world. There is a clear goal overlap here, making the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Russian Orthodox Church ideal partners in advocating for the interests of ethnic Russians throughout the world.

### **Prepared for the Future?**

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs now actively reaches out to Orthodox Christians abroad, broadening its appeal to believers in foreign countries.<sup>31</sup> The Russian Orthodox Church, which has periodically worked closely with the state, has its own office focused on foreign policy, the Department of External Church Relations (DECR), and many of DECR’s foreign policy objectives align with Russia’s foreign policy priorities. According to Russia’s National Security Concept from the year 2000, Russia was faced with the domestic threat of “the depreciation of

<sup>29</sup> Daniel Payne, “Spiritual Security, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Russian Foreign Ministry: Collaboration or Cooptation?” *Journal of Church and State* 52, no. 4 (2010): 716.

<sup>30</sup> Vladimir Putin, “Transcript: Putin says Russia will protect the rights of Russians abroad.” *Washington Post*, March 18, 2014. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/transcript-putin-says-russia-will-protect-the-rights-of-russians-abroad/2014/03/18/432a1e60-ae99-11e3-a49e-76adc9210f19\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.8dff07815a3d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/transcript-putin-says-russia-will-protect-the-rights-of-russians-abroad/2014/03/18/432a1e60-ae99-11e3-a49e-76adc9210f19_story.html?utm_term=.8dff07815a3d)

<sup>31</sup> Robert C. Blitt, “Russia’s “Orthodox” Foreign Policy: The Growing Influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Shaping Russia’s Policies Abroad,” *law.upenn.edu*, last modified in 2011. Accessed March 17, 2017. <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/142-blittboyd33upajintl13632011pdf>

spiritual values,” as well as the external threat of the imposition of contrary cultural and religious values onto Russia by other states. Thus, Russian foreign policy has increasingly been involved in the protection of this traditional religious identity as well as the promotion of Russian Orthodoxy abroad. The Russian leadership has also endorsed Russian Orthodoxy in order to invoke traditional notions of Russian nationalism, both at home and abroad in states with sizable Russian populations.

The Russian Ministry has also made concerted efforts to improve its public diplomacy efforts in post-Soviet states.<sup>32</sup> Because of the nature of the Soviet Union, many post-Soviet states were highly interdependent, and there remains a large body of Russians abroad in states no longer connected under the Soviet umbrella. The unique nature of the relationship that developed between post-Soviet states and Russia lead Russian politicians to coin these countries the “near abroad,” a concept that plays prominently in the priority importance given to this region in the scope of Russian foreign policy. Public diplomacy in these regions is often referred to as humanitarian cooperation. Efforts in post-Soviet states seem to be primarily driven by material and security interests, rather than being purely issues of image and reputation.

Russia has pursued a different public diplomacy strategy in the West. Many Russian public diplomacy efforts for Western audiences have centered on the practice of cultural diplomacy and focused on international media. This has intensified some in recent years in that Russia has significantly updated international broadcasting and news services, cultural outreach and the implementation of cultural centers, cooperation in education, and supported pro-Russian think-tanks abroad.<sup>33</sup> Whereas the goal in post-Soviet states has been to maintain interdependence and close connections (a goal which takes priority over public diplomacy in the West), the goal of public diplomacy to Western audiences seems to be to counteract negative publicity, images, and stereotypes of Russia, and to repair and restore Russia’s international image.

The Russian Ministry has also embraced the role of technology in aiding public diplomacy, as it runs its own YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook pages. In 2015, the Foreign Ministry appointed Maria Zakharova as official spokesperson. Zakharova is active on social media and answers questions directly from other users under the guise of what she refers to as “expert opinion” rather

<sup>32</sup> Sinikukka Saari, “Russia’s Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy ‘po russkii,’” *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, no. 1, January 2014, pp. 54.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

than “official statements.” This enables Zakharova to appear as a more impartial commenter while still subtly advancing the Ministry’s agenda.<sup>34</sup>

Zakharova’s approach to public diplomacy both within Russia and beyond coincides with the effort to rebrand and redirect the Russian Foreign Ministry. In 2013, speaking to a crowd on Diplomatic Worker’s Day, Putin called for a change in the style of Russian diplomacy, basing its work in soft power to combat potential information threats. Putin focused on the use of soft power mechanisms such as promoting Russian language study abroad, promoting a positive image of Russia abroad, and integrating the Russian perspective into global information flows. Zakharova has been a bold and vocal face of this “new” Russian Ministry, and has been very active online and in interactions with the Russian press.

The Russian Ministry also actively uses its official twitter account in conjunction with the *RT* to better legitimize its message to a global audience. By retweeting *RT* rather than simply putting out a message on its own, the Ministry draws in international readers who may be unaware of *RT*’s direct connection to the Kremlin.<sup>35</sup> In general, the Russian Ministry has shown itself to be adept at utilizing new technology to reach netizens directly, making it an important component of the Russian government’s public diplomacy efforts.

<sup>34</sup> Nikolay Surkov, “Russia’s Foreign Ministry’s New Press Head is a Breath of Fresh Air,” *rbth.com*, last modified August 28, 2015. Accessed November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016. [http://rbth.com/politics/2015/08/28/russias\\_foreign\\_ministrys\\_new\\_press\\_head\\_is\\_a\\_breath\\_of\\_fresh\\_air\\_48819.html](http://rbth.com/politics/2015/08/28/russias_foreign_ministrys_new_press_head_is_a_breath_of_fresh_air_48819.html)

<sup>35</sup> Ilan Manor, “Is Russia Ruining Digital Diplomacy for the Rest of Us?” *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*, February 17, 2015. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/russia-ruining-digital-diplomacy-rest-us>

## **Sergey Lavrov** Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia



Sergey Lavrov was born on March 21, 1950, and has served as the Foreign Minister of Russia since 2004. Lavrov attended the Moscow State University of International Relations, where he studied Singhalese and Dhivehi (Maldivian). Following his graduation in 1972, Lavrov was stationed at the Soviet embassy in Sri Lanka, where he served for four years. In 1976, Lavrov served as the Third Secretary and Second Secretary in the International Economics Department of the Soviet MFA, before being appointed as an advisor to the Soviet Mission to the UN in 1981. In 1988, Lavrov returned to the International Economics Department, serving as its deputy head before being appointed Director in 1990. In 1992 he became Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in 1994 was appointed Permanent Representative to the U.N. He remained in this position for 10 years until his appointment as Foreign Affairs Minister in 2004.

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## **Vitaly Churkin** (deceased, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017) Permanent Representative of Russia to the United Nations



Ambassador Vitaly Churkin was Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations from 2006 until 2017. Previously he was Ambassador at Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2003-2006), Ambassador to Canada (1998-2003), Ambassador to Belgium and Liaison Ambassador to NATO and WEU (1994-1998), Deputy Foreign Minister and Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation to the talks on Former Yugoslavia (1992-1994), Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR/Russian Federation (1990-1992). Ambassador Churkin held a Ph.D. in history and was a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

## **Sergey Kislyak**

Russian Ambassador to the U.S.



Ambassador Kislyak was born in 1950. He graduated from the Moscow Engineering Physics Institute in 1973, as well as the USSR Academy of Foreign Trade in 1977. Kislyak has been an employee of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation since 1977. Previous postings include Second Secretary of the Permanent Mission of the USSR to the UN in New York (1981-1985), First Secretary and Counselor of the Embassy of the USSR to the U.S. (1985-1989), Deputy Director of the Department of International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (1989-1991), Deputy Director of the Department of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR/Russia (1991-1993) and Director of the same department (1993-1995), Director of the Department of Security Affairs and Disarmament of the Foreign Ministry of Russia (1995-1998), Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Belgium and, simultaneously, Permanent Representative of Russia to NATO in Brussels (1998-2003), and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (2003-2008). Kislyak has served as Ambassador to the U.S. since 2008. Ambassador Kislyak speaks both French and English and is married with one adult daughter.

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## **Andrey Denisov**

Russian Ambassador to China



Ambassador Andrey Denisov was born in 1952 and graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations with a PhD in economics. Since 1992, he has held various executive positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia both in the Central Office in Moscow and abroad: Counselor, Senior Counselor, and Minister-Counselor of the Embassy of Russia to China (1992-1997), Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (2001-2004), Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations and United Nations Security Council (2004-2006), First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (2006-2013), and he has served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the People's Republic of China since 2013. Ambassador Denisov speaks both Chinese and English fluently.

**Andrey Karlov**  
**(deceased, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2016)**  
Russian Ambassador to Turkey



Ambassador Karlov was born in 1954 in Moscow and graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1976. In 1992, he graduated from the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Karlov began his diplomatic career in 1976, and worked in different positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Russia, as well as in Russia's foreign missions. Previous positions included work at the Embassy of the USSR to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1979-1984 and 1986-1991), at the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Korea (1992-1997), as Ambassador to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (2001-2006), as Deputy Director General and Director General for Consular Affairs (2007-2013), and as Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Turkey from 2013-2016. On December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2016, Ambassador Karlov died in a terrorist attack in the line of duty. For the fortitude and courage that he displayed as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Turkey, and for his contribution to conducting Russian foreign policy, he was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Russian Federation.

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**Alexander Yakovenko**  
Russian Ambassador to the United Kingdom



Ambassador Yakovenko was born in 1954. Upon graduating from the Moscow State Institute of International relations, Yakovenko began his diplomatic career in 1976. He has since occupied a number of positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, including the Department of International Organizations, the Permanent Mission of the USSR to the United Nations in New York, the Foreign Policy Planning Department, the Department of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation, the Department of Security and Disarmament, the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to International Organizations in Vienna, and the Information and Press Department. Ambassador Yakovenko assumed the post of Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom in 2011. Before his appointment as Ambassador to the U.K., Yakovenko also served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in charge of multilateral diplomacy, which included activities with U.N., UNESCO, and other international organizations, as well as economic, humanitarian, human rights, and environmental cooperation. Ambassador Yakovenko speaks both English and French. He is married with one daughter.



## **Alexander Orlov**

### Russian Ambassador to France



Alexander Orlov was born in 1948, and speaks English, French, and Italian. In 1971, Orlov joined the diplomatic service after graduating from the Moscow State University of International Relations. Through the mid-1990s, Orlov worked as an advisor to the Russian Ambassador in France, before being appointed Director of the First European Department of the MFA in 1998. In 2001, he was appointed as Russia's Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe, and served in that capacity until 2007. Alexander Orlov was appointed French Ambassador on October 14, 2008, and was also appointed the Ambassador to Monaco later the same year.

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## **Vladimir Grinin**

### Russian Ambassador to Germany



Vladimir Grinin was born in Moscow in 1947, and is fluent in English and German. In 1971 he graduated from the Moscow State University of International Relations and then joined the foreign service. In 1982 he received a degree from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Diplomatic Academy. In 1973 he began working in the Soviet embassy in West Germany, and worked in that capacity until 1980. From 1982-1986 Grinin took part in Soviet-American negotiations on arms control in Geneva, after which he was stationed at the Russian embassy in East Germany until German unification. Following German unification in 1990, he remained at the Russian embassy in Germany until 1992. In 1994, he was appointed Director of the Fourth European Department of the MFA, and in 1996 was appointed the Russian Ambassador to Austria. After four years of serving as ambassador, Grinin became the Secretary General of the Russian MFA. He served in that post until 2003, at which time he was appointed Russian Ambassador to Finland. Four years later, he was appointed Russian Ambassador to Poland, and following four years in that post, was appointed Russian Ambassador to Germany in July 2010.

## **Sergei Akopov** Russian Ambassador to Brazil



Sergei Akopov graduated from the Moscow State University of International Relations in 1976 and entered the diplomatic service shortly thereafter. He is fluent in Portuguese, Spanish, and English. Through most of his career, Akopov worked in various posts in both the Central Office and in foreign missions. In 2005, he was appointed Deputy Director of the Latin American Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On February 15, 2010, he was appointed Russian Ambassador to Brazil, and three weeks later, on March 3, 2010, he was appointed Russian Ambassador to Suriname (part-time).

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## **Alexander Kadakin** (deceased, January 26, 2017) Russian Ambassador to India



Alexander Kadakin was born on July 22, 1949 and graduated from the Moscow State University of International Relations in 1972. He is fluent in English, French, Urdu, Hindi, and Romanian. After joining the diplomatic service, Kadakin served as the Third Secretary at the Embassy of the USSR in India from 1972-1978. In 1978 he returned to the Soviet Union and worked as the Second Secretary, First Secretary, Counselor, and eventually Chief of Cabinet of the Secretariat of the First Deputy Minister of the MFA. At this time, he also worked as a professor of Indian studies at the Moscow State University of International Relations. In 1989 he returned to the Soviet embassy in India as its Minister-Counselor, and served in that position (as well as its Russian counterpart) until 1993. From 1993-1997, Kadakin served as Russian Ambassador to Nepal, after which he was appointed Director of the Linguistic Support Department of the MFA. In 1999, he was appointed Ambassador to India, and served in the post for five years. After spending one year as Ambassador-at-Large, Kadakin was appointed Ambassador to Sweden in 2005. In 2009, he returned to his post as Russian Ambassador to India, and served in that post until his death in January 2017. Kadakin wrote several books in English and in Hindi in his lifetime, and routinely published articles in scientific journals in both Russia and India.

## **Turkey**

Zuli Nigeeryasin & Evan W. Burt

### **Executive Summary**

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is characterized by a strong decision-making apparatus in Ankara, with Prime Ministerial and Presidential involvement in decisions which affect the core national security issues of the country. The individual autonomy of officers in the MFA therefore varies according to the issue, with latitude frequently granted for input on lower priority concerns. Though historically entrance to the MFA was informally restricted through an educational pipeline centered on Ankara University and privileging the coastal elite, the MFA's membership has diversified considerably in recent years. Turkish diplomats are lauded for their firm negotiation skills, clarity and good preparation, qualities that are emphasized in their initial training. Language training and requirement for new officers reflects the services' Kemalist roots and Western orientation, with French, German, and English emphasized. Promotion is regulated through a meritocratic examination process as well as the development of professional networks, but progresses linearly at fixed time intervals for a successful candidate. As the service and its mission grow Turkey faces a challenge to supplement its traditionally generalist service with linguistic and regional expertise in countries and regions where the Republic has not historically had strong ties. Under the leadership of Ahmet Davutoğlu, the MFA's role in foreign policy making increased and Turkey accrued considerable soft power. However, as events continue to unfold in anticipation of major governmental reforms and in the aftermath of an attempted coup, it is likely that further changes and redefinition of the MFA's capabilities and role are in store.

## **History**

The MFA has its roots in the Reis ul-Kuttab (Chief of the Scribes) of the Ottoman Empire. Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu describes the MFA as having four generations of diplomats. The first, ushered in in the Ottoman Tanzimat period, brought about the beginnings of formal diplomacy; the second, with the founding of the Turkish Republic had to achieve recognition and manage relations in the context of the early wars faced by the Turkish state. Throughout the Cold War, the third generation of Turkish diplomats served as balancers in the context of bipolar superpower politics, and the fourth and latest generation of Turkish diplomats must now contend with issues raised by Turkey's emergence as a true regional power.<sup>1</sup>

The secular nationalist philosophy of Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, undergirds the modern Turkish State. "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" continues to inform the culture of the MFA, which frames the legacy of Atatürk as a firm commitment to rationalism, respect for sovereignty and peaceful negotiation.<sup>2</sup> Atatürk's vision of the Turkish Republic also centered on modernization and westernization of Turkey without losing its core Eastern values. This modernization was only made possible through establishing very close linkages with the West, and the foreign policy apparatus of the emerging Kemalist state was tightly crafted and proscribed around securing ties with Western Europe and America. The other plank of a Kemalist foreign policy, respect for sovereignty and a commitment to peace, was secured through treaty obligations reflected in the Balkan Entente and the Saadabad Pact, which secured peaceful relationships in Turkey's two major neighboring regions and prevented Turkish entry into World War II. At times Turkey's Armed Forces have intervened directly in Turkey's democratic politics to ensure the continuity of secular policy and political control, as in the coups of 1960, 1971, 1980. Military influence in Turkey's politics and foreign policy declined sharply following the election of the AKP Party in 2002.

In recent history the MFA has been fundamentally oriented around securing trade and security ties with the West, but the post-2000s government of the AKP party under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has dramatically expanded the country's ties to its eastern neighbors. This pivot has been accompanied by a new foreign policy, dubbed "Neo-Ottomanism" by some, which seeks to

<sup>1</sup> Çavuşoğlu, Mevlüt. "Message from the Minister." Accessed October 26, 2016.

<http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/en/about/message-from-the-minister/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Turkish Foreign Policy During Atatürk's Era." Accessed November 2, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-foreign-policy-during-ataturks-era.en.mfa>.

reassert the Turkish State's leading role in the politics of the Middle East. Some have called this new foreign policy "vision-oriented" because it attempts to anticipate crises and seeks to create innovative policy positions in regions where Turkey has not encountered problems or traditionally had much involvement.<sup>3</sup>

"Neo-Ottomanism" has roots in the liberal economic reforms of the 1980s and the corresponding social transformation of the country from a secular and fundamentally western-oriented political base to a more religious and more middle class makeup. Though its historical western orientation is still reflected in language requirements for foreign service officers and the incorporation of the biography and ideas of Atatürk in the Turkish MFA's public materials, Turkey's rapidly expanding non-Western economic and political ties as well as the restoration of full civilian control of its foreign policy have driven a fundamental re-envisioning of the role of Turkish diplomacy. The foreign policy goals of Turkey have evolved from seeking the recognition and support of the West to projecting soft power and attempting to influence neighbors more directly, although former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu has rejected the hegemonic implications of the term "Neo-Ottomanism."<sup>4</sup>

Turkey's expanded global reach has been fueled by continual economic expansion and a period of relative peace in the country's longstanding internal conflict with Kurdish militant groups such as the PKK. With Turkey's currency dropping sharply against the dollar, decreasing economic growth and renewed unrest in the southeast, future expansion of influence is an open question. Opinion polling in Turkey's near abroad shows the flip-side of deeper involvement in regional affairs, as public perception of Turkey's friendliness has fallen sharply in the Middle East in recent years, particularly in countries which have had a contentious relationship with Turkey, such as Syria and Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Though Turkish soft power may be at an inflection point, Turkey remains a much more influential presence abroad than it has been previously.

<sup>3</sup> Yeşiltaş, Murat, and Ali Balcı. "A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era: A Conceptual Map." Center for Strategic Research. May 2013. Accessed November 18, 2016. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM\\_Papers7.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM_Papers7.pdf). p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Falk, Richard. "Turkey's New Multilateralism: A Positive Diplomacy for the Twenty-First Century." *Global Governance* 19 (2013), p. 365.

<sup>5</sup> Uras, Umut. "Turkey's Popularity Dives in MENA Region Poll." Al-Jazeera, December 4, 2013. Accessed February 21, 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/12/turkey-popularity-dives-mena-region-poll-201312471328507508.html>.

## **Profile**

The Republic of Turkey had a total of 39 diplomatic and consular missions abroad in 1924. The number of missions has increased to 234 missions by 2016. These missions consist of 135 Embassies, 13 Permanent Representations to international organizations, 84 Consulate Generals, 1 Consular Agency and 1 Trade Office.<sup>6</sup>

The Turkish Foreign Service expanded dramatically in recent years. In 2002, Turkish Foreign Service consisted of 163 representations, 14 of which were in Africa.<sup>7</sup> In little over a decade, Turkey has expanded its total representations by around 43% globally, a massive increase which has propelled Turkish representation into close parity with that of the well established diplomatic titans of the P-5. In particular, Turkey added 29 new representations in Africa between the years 2002 and 2014. This massive growth has provided Turkey with a new set of opportunities and posed the MFA with a corresponding new set of challenges, as will be discussed in detail.

The Turkish Foreign Service consists of 1,202 Foreign Service Officers<sup>8</sup>, 948 Consular, Linguistic and Cultural Officers, 14 Foreign Policy Experts, and 4,330 other personnel<sup>9</sup>.<sup>10</sup> The total number of employees is 6,583 as of 2015 and among them 2,217 are career diplomats. In comparison to a 2013 report of the MFA, which suggests that there were 1199 Foreign Service Officers, 884 Consular, Linguistic and Cultural Officers and 21 Foreign Policy Experts,<sup>11</sup> we can see a slight increase in the number of career diplomats within two years. The average age of the Career diplomats is 39 and the ministry encourages people to apply to the MFA at a younger age. Approximately 25 percent of MFA employees are women and 37 of them are Ambassadors,<sup>12</sup> a

<sup>6</sup> "Brief History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey." Accessed October 20, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-cumhuriyeti-disisleri-bakanligi-tarihcesi.en.mfa>. Figures listed for 2016.

<sup>7</sup> "65 New Representations in 13 Years." Turkish Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy, Accessed February 20, 2017. <http://kdk.gov.tr/sayilarla/13-yilda-65-yeni-temsilcilik-turkiyenin-yurtdisindaki-temsilcilik-sayisi-228e-cikti/41>.

<sup>8</sup> The term Foreign Service Officer is used because the role of this track is broadly analogous with the work of American FSOs. The more direct translation of the Turkish career title is Career Civil Servant.

<sup>9</sup> This includes 2,858 contract personnel, 961 domestic civil servants, 17 advisors, 13 economic advisors, 9 legal advisors, 454 security personnel, 4 press and communication advisor, 14 administrative auditor and other staff members responsible for different tasks.

<sup>10</sup> "2015 Annual Report by Turkish Foreign Ministry." Accessed October 20, 2016. [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/BAKANLIK/2015-faaliyet-raporu\\_.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/BAKANLIK/2015-faaliyet-raporu_.pdf).

<sup>11</sup> "2013 Annual Report by Turkish Foreign Ministry." Accessed November 2, 2016. [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site\\_media/html/2014\\_mali\\_rapor.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/2014_mali_rapor.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> Yüzbaşıoğlu, Nazlı. "Turkey's New Africa Strategy and Women's Progress," Anadolu Ajansı, March 7, 2016. Accessed February 20, 2016. <http://aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/turkiyenin-afrika-aciliminda-kadin-atilimi/532810>.

large increase from just over 20 in 2013.<sup>13</sup> Historically, a number of highly skilled Ambassadors have been women.<sup>14</sup>

The rapid increase in women’s representation at top diplomatic levels in the Turkish MFA shows a serious effort towards achieving gender diversity on the part of the Turkish diplomatic service. Though very far from achieving an equitable representation of 50% woman ambassadors, Turkey’s current 16% representation represents significant progress in this area. We have been unable to find data on the ethnic makeup of the Turkish MFA.

The MFA budget increased from 2.080.968.000 Turkish Lira in 2015 to nearly 2.7 million Turkish Lira (approximately 900 million US dollars) by 2016. Compared to the budget of the Ministry of National Defense (22 billion lira) or even the Ministry of Religious Affairs (5 billion lira), the budget of the MFA is miniscule. 0.004711% of government expenditures are devoted to the MFA Budget. The allocation of the budgetary spending can be seen in the table below:

<b>Spending<sup>15</sup></b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Personnel Expenditure</b>	568.119.000	633.775.000	716.127.000
<b>Social Security Spendings</b>	52.608.000	54.153.000	60.508.000
<b>Goods and Services Purchase</b>	288.699.000	313.900.000	335.428.000
<b>Current expenditures</b>	405.108.000	513.484.000	593.587.000
<b>Capital Spendings</b>	300.000.000	353.000.000	375.000.000
<b>Loans</b>	450.000	300.000	318.000
<b>Total</b>	1.614.984.000	1.868.612.000	2.080.968.000

<sup>13</sup> “The Turkish MFA is 93 Years Old...” Accessed January 31, 2017. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakanligi-93-yasinda.tr.mfa>.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with a former American Ambassador to Turkey, 12/16/2016

<sup>15</sup> “2015 Annual Budget Report.” Accessed October 25, 2016. [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site\\_media/html/2015\\_mali\\_rapor\\_2.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/2015_mali_rapor_2.pdf).

## **Recruitment and Selection**

The MFA recruits by career track, with four broad “cones” available to aspiring candidates sorted through three exam processes. These are the Foreign Policy Expert (FPE), Foreign Service Officer (FSO), Consular Officer (CO) and Cultural and Linguistic Specialist (CLS) tracks. Foreign Policy Experts research regions, countries and thematic issues and work in Ankara formulating the strategic foreign policy approach to be executed abroad by Foreign Service Officers, who constitute the regular diplomatic track of the MFA. Cultural and Linguistic Specialists aid FSOs in their work by providing translation and expert subject knowledge while Consular Officers serve Turkish nationals abroad. A good education and deep linguistic skill are clear preferences for the Ministry’s hiring practices.

Turkey recruits through selection by examination. The CLS and CO tracks are recruited through the same examination, while there are separate examinations for FSOs and FPEs. FSO candidates are tested on their broad foreign policy knowledge as well as their knowledge of three major foreign languages, French, English and German. Advanced knowledge is required of English, or of the other two languages plus a minimum of English, but fluency beyond these levels helps to advance a candidacy.<sup>16</sup> For FPEs, all candidates must pass the standard KPSS Civil Servant Selection Examination (which tests for math, geography, history and basic knowledge of Turkish national institutions, as well as Turkish language and literature) followed by a Supplementary Language Examination and then finally a Foreign Ministry Adequacy Exam, which is both written and oral and covers law, economics, international relations and political science. Written examination passes four times as many candidates as there are available positions ranked by testing scores, and oral examination then selects Assistant FPEs from this pool.<sup>17</sup>

Most candidates to enter the service will have degrees in international relations, law, economics, or public administration.<sup>18</sup> Historically, Ankara University was a major educational pipeline for entrance to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>19</sup>, but it is now common for officers to

<sup>16</sup> “Turkish Constitutional Law no. 657.” Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bakanliktaki-temel-memuriyet-kategorileri.tr.mfa> Articles 48, 59 and 60.

<sup>17</sup> “Dışişleri Uzmanlığı Yönetmeliği.” Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-uzmanligi-yonetmeliği.tr.mfa>.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>19</sup> Interview with a former American Ambassador to Turkey, 12/16/2016



have different educational backgrounds.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, it was historically common that many officers of the MFA had never been east of Ankara, though this is no longer the case.<sup>21</sup>

There is a maximum age of entry established for these cones, which is 31 for the FSO, CO and CLS tracks, and 35 for FPEs possessing the equivalent of a Master's degree or 37 for FPEs possessing PhD's. Also notable is that all men entering the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must have served the full term of their mandatory military conscription service in order to be considered for selection. Between 1998 and 2006, nearly 42% of MFA employees had a family background in public service, with only 7% having a family background in the MFA itself.<sup>22</sup>

Foreign Policy Experts appear to represent an in-house academic team of chief policy strategists that researches and coordinates policy from Ankara. This feature is somewhat distinct from other services which we have surveyed and may further reflect the centralization and cohesion of foreign policy decision-making in the MFA. Assistant FPEs are promoted to the elite pool of Foreign Policy Experts via a thesis-writing and defense process which typically takes two years to complete.<sup>23</sup>

### **Professional Development**

Most professional development is centralized in the Diplomacy Academy of Turkey. One of the most important duties of the Diplomacy Academy is training new diplomats. Newly recruited employees from the FSO, CLS and CO tracks go through Basic Training as well as Preparatory Training, which separately last between 2 weeks and 3 months and are completed via examination.<sup>24</sup> Basic Training covers administrative procedure as well as an orientation to the mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>25</sup> Preparatory Training includes theoretical and practical coursework covering international relations, economics, history, law and public administration as well as more professional concerns such as internal organization, diplomatic protocol, negotiation techniques, information technology, consular issues, and continued foreign language training. Attention is also paid to personal development in literature, arts, cinema and

<sup>20</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>21</sup> Interview with a former American Ambassador to Turkey, 12/16/2016

<sup>22</sup> "Meslek Memurluğu." Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/meslek-memurlari.tr.mfa>.

<sup>23</sup> "Dışişleri Uzmanlığı Yönetmeliği." Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-uzmanligi-yonetmeliği.tr.mfa>.

<sup>24</sup> "Career Diplomat Promotion Act." Accessed November 3, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/diplomatik-kariyer-memurlari-gorevde-yukselme-yonetmeliği.tr.mfa>.

<sup>25</sup> "Basic Training Program." Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/en/education-programs-2/diplomatic-studies-program/basic-training-program/>

public speaking.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, the remainder of a year-long candidacy period for these officers is spent in an internship requirement where new employees intern at government agencies in capacities related to their field.<sup>27</sup> Through a combination of rigorous training and early learning experiences new Turkish diplomats are well prepared when they take on their first assignment.

Meritocratic examination is used for promotion as well as selection. Career diplomats (excluding FPEs) must pass a Progress and Consular Adequacy Exam 6 to 9 years (6 for FSO, 9 for CLS and CO) into their service which determines their eligibility for higher promotion. Failure to pass results in retention of rank but an inability to progress further up the hierarchy.<sup>28</sup> Pre-existing academic achievement is used to regulate advancement through the ranks. For instance, to advance from the position of 3rd Secretary normally requires 3 years of service, but requires only 2 years with a Master's degree and 1 year with a PhD.<sup>29</sup> Additional considerations for promotion within the Turkish MFA include a demonstrable mastery of policy issues, oral presentation, negotiation skills, and solid internal relationships within the MFA.<sup>30</sup>

Assignment order is tightly regulated. FSOs must spend at least 2 years and may spend no more than 5 years abroad in any given country, as well as spending 2 years at the MFA in Ankara.<sup>31</sup> Preference for posting selection is requested with the candidate ranking 10 postings in order of preference but assignment is based on the Ministry's needs and individual skills of FSOs.<sup>32</sup> There is no "hardship pay" for difficult or dangerous postings, although there has been a limited implementation of a year reduction in promotion time for postings considered to be more difficult for aspiring officers.<sup>33</sup> FPEs may not be posted abroad unless appointed for a special mission and spend the majority of their careers in Ankara. FSOs, on the other hand, are encouraged to work outside of the MFA in international organizations up until 6 years (previously, 9 years were permitted). They retain insurance and financial assistance and are promoted on regular schedule

<sup>26</sup> "Preparatory Training Program." Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/en/education-programs-2/diplomatic-studies-program/preparatory-training-program/>

<sup>27</sup> "Career Diplomat Promotion Act." Accessed November 3, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/diplomatik-kariyer-memurlari-gorevde-yukselme-yonetmeli.tr.mfa>

<sup>28</sup> "Turkish Constitutional Law no. 6004." Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k6004.html>. Articles 10 and 11.

<sup>29</sup> "Career Diplomat Promotion Act." Accessed November 3, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/diplomatik-kariyer-memurlari-gorevde-yukselme-yonetmeli.tr.mfa>

<sup>30</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>31</sup> "Meslek Memurluğu." Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/meslek-memurlari.tr.mfa>

<sup>32</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>33</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

while working outside. Currently, it is estimated that 10 percent of FSOs pursue this option.<sup>34</sup> External analysis would suggest that the absence of hardship pay and rigidity in assignment allocation would produce morale problems for the Turkish MFA, but the position of FSO is still a highly prestigious one in Turkish society and this may serve as a counterbalance towards such issues.

There is not much mid-career training for the typical Turkish diplomat. Sources at the Turkish Embassy cited the tough near abroad of Turkey as a natural incentive for quickly acquiring a depth of historical, cultural and policy knowledge in the place of a mid-career training program.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, the meritocratic examination process which determines advancement incentivizes constant study. Nonetheless, as Turkey expands its reach globally, greater regional and linguistic specialization beyond the horizons of the Turkish near abroad is becoming more sought after.<sup>36</sup> The current Turkish diplomatic service is considered to be more generalist in its orientation, but the MFA is actively developing its specialist capacity. Between 2013 and 2014, the ministry sent 40 diplomats to complete master's level coursework in regional studies, and the ministry estimated that it annually sends 30 new diplomats to complete coursework in linguistic and regional studies according to its current distributional needs.<sup>37</sup>

The Turkish MFA also uses its state Diplomacy Academy to provide training to foreign diplomats. The Academy teaches these foreign diplomats on subjects such as Economics, Foreign Politics, Political Science, Society, History, Art and Literature with a special focus on the Turkish perspective. They also provide courses on specific international issues, with special attention paid to Turkey's position. The Diplomacy Academy has trained around 800 foreign diplomats from Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe in this way. More research is needed to determine the strategic aim of this foreign diplomat training program.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>35</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>36</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>37</sup> "65 New Representations in 13 Years." Turkish Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy, Accessed February 20, 2017. <http://kdk.gov.tr/sayilarla/13-yilda-65-yeni-temsilcilik-turkiyenin-yurtdisindaki-temsilcilik-sayisi-228e-cikti/41>.

## **Leadership**

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not historically had high levels of political appointment, although a law allowing political appointments across government was adopted in 1965.<sup>38</sup> In 2002, 9 Ambassadors had been appointed from outside the MFA, out of a total of 135 embassies,<sup>39</sup> and the number of political appointees has not exceeded 10.<sup>40</sup> Political appointment is discouraged within the MFA due to the small size of most Turkish embassies and the service in general, which means that many Deputy Chiefs of Mission will not have the rank or experience to act as a full functional manager for a politically appointed Ambassador should they lack relevant experience with the country of management of a bureaucratic agency such as the MFA.<sup>41</sup> A highly controversial reform passed in 2010 allows these political appointees to the MFA to secure high-level internal positions at the MFA after serving their initial terms.<sup>42</sup> Ambassadors are given a two-week training program at the Diplomacy Academy aiming at preparing them for their new leadership and management responsibilities as Chief of Mission.<sup>43</sup> Leadership roles assigned in the MFA include positions roughly equivalent to Ambassador, Constant Representative, Deputy Chief of Mission, Deputy Chief of Advisors, Consul-General, First Deputy Chief, Deputy Chief, First Secretary, Second Secretary, and Third Secretary (Attache). Constant Representatives serve as the highest Turkish official representative to international organizations. CLS track diplomats are capable of achieving Consul-General rank but no further, whereas FSOs may be promoted to Ambassadorial rank.<sup>44</sup>

Beyond the transition to 3rd Secretary and the mid-career Progress and Consular Adequacy Examinations, leadership advancement proceeds as shown in Appendix A. The Turkish MFA

<sup>38</sup> “Turkish Constitutional Law no. 657.” Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.657.pdf>.

<sup>39</sup> Gürcanlı, Zeynep. “Dışişleri’nde yeni dönem.” Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/disislerinde-yeni-donem-24450429>.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>41</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>42</sup> “Turkish Constitutional Law no. 6004.” Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k6004.html>.

<sup>43</sup> “In Service Training Program.” Accessed October 25, 2016. <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/en/education-programs-2/in-service-training-programs/ambassadors/>.

<sup>44</sup> “Career Diplomat Promotion Act.” Accessed November 2, 2016. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/diplomatik-kariyer-memurlari-gorevde-yukselme-yonetmeligi.tr.mfa>

divides its career diplomats into 6 ranks, with the 6th and lowest being un-promoted FSOs through 3rd Secretaries. There is a minimum length of service at positions within each rank in order to advance to higher ranks. 6th to 5th requires 3 years, 5th to 4th requires 3 years, 4th to 3rd requires 2 years, 3rd to 2nd requires 4 years, and rising from the 2nd rank to the 1st requires 6 years of service at the 2nd rank. Promotion to the highest 1st rank positions requires recommendation by the MFA commission and the approval of the Foreign Minister. In addition to the minimum amount of time the 5th and 6th rank FSOs need to spend in their rank, they are also required to take a midcareer adequacy exam to advance to higher ranks. 5th rank consular officers, language and cultural specialists who are successful in the adequacy exam are given a title with the recommendation by the MFA commission and the approval of the Foreign Minister (see Appendix A).

Track change is possible with an adequacy exam. Officers from one track may switch to another if they succeed at that track's adequacy exam. For those who pass the adequacy exam, the MFA commission recommends a title according to the years in service in the MFA. The appropriate titles are given with the approval of the Foreign Minister.

The average age of Ambassadors sampled in our research is about 56, with the youngest born in 1968 and the oldest born in 1954. Most of them graduated from Ankara University at some point in their education, reflecting the University's role as a pipeline to the MFA. Two of them were educated abroad, both in France. All of them hold Bachelor's degrees in political science, economics or international relations. 3 hold Master's degrees, and 2 have Ph.D.'s. Most began their service in the MFA in the 1980s, although Çavuşoğlu began his appointment as Foreign Minister by merit of his political career. All of them for whom we have data speak some combination of English, French and German and all of these speak English, reflecting the strong Kemalist roots of the service which have placed a premium on these three dominant Western languages. The only official among them who speaks additional languages that we know of is Çavuşoğlu himself, who speaks Japanese in addition to English and German. Most are lifelong diplomats, although Serdar Kiliç began his service in the Ministry of Tourism and Ismail Hakkı Musa has career linkages with Turkish intelligence services. From the Ambassadorial profiles assembled, it seems a common practice to serve in the Ministry itself on a specific policy area before being appointed to ambassadorial positions. Nearly half of them have served in NATO or the UN in some capacity, and the Foreign Minister served in the Parliamentary Assembly of the

Council of Europe, reflecting the value the Turkish MFA places on multilateral work for its careerists. The broad trajectory of their careers does not seem to have been affected by changes in political leadership in Turkey, given that experienced Ambassadors have served under many different administrations with no noticeable reduction or change in their rank.

### **Role in Foreign Policy**

Historically, the Turkish military has had a strong influence in foreign policy decision-making. Previous military leaders viewed themselves as guardians of the Turkish Republic's secularism, and prior to the 21st century the Turkish military engaged in 3 coups against civilian governments, although power was ultimately restored to civilian hands in each instance. This began to change with Turgut Özal's liberalization project in the 1980s but the pace of civilian assumption of control accelerated rapidly under the AKP government of the 2000s. In 2010, a major criminal investigation called Balyoz was initiated against senior military officials by the government. Under this investigation 365 suspects including journalists, military and civilian leaders were arrested and put to trial for charges of conspiracy.<sup>45</sup> A recent attempted coup in the summer of 2016 prompted a further curtailment of military influence in Turkey and jeopardized the military's image. Purges resulting from this attempted coup have affected various levels of government, and as of writing the long-term effects for this event on the MFA cannot be determined. It would appear that as of writing the Turkish military is no longer a significant player in foreign policy decision-making. Always a powerful determinant of Turkish foreign policy, the Turkish executive has in recent years exerted high-profile influence on Turkey's direct foreign policy, as in the meetings between Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan after the downing of a Russian warplane over Turkish airspace in 2015.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry has been very influential in forming Turkey's modern foreign policy especially under former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. As in many parliamentary systems, ultimately the Foreign Minister serves by appointment of the Prime Minister, and all top-level ministerial positions in the MFA require approval of the Foreign Minister. The influence that individual posts have in the foreign policy making process and the method by which reports and policy proposals are filtered through the ranks of the MFA has much to do with whether the posting or policy issue is of critical importance to the current Turkish

<sup>45</sup> Peker, Emre. "Hundreds Convicted in Turkish Coup Trial." Wall Street Journal, September, 2012. Accessed February 20, 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10000872396390444032404578010383839076610#articleTabs%3Darticle>.

administration. Issues of great importance such as the unfolding crisis in Syria, the Cyprus issue, and Iraqi policy are more tightly managed and controlled from the center.<sup>46</sup> Other MFA postings appear to have broad latitude to participate in the policy-making process with Ankara and there appear to be less bureaucratic hurdles in the way of junior officers communicating policy recommendations than in the American system.<sup>47</sup>

Due to the lack of proliferation of agencies concerning international issues in the broader Turkish government, the Turkish MFA occupies a slightly larger role in foreign policy making in certain regions today than we might expect from the American Department of State. Turkey's soft power among certain cultures is a major aid to the ability of the Turkish MFA to maneuver successfully, for example in Afghanistan. An agency for international development, TIKA, has in recent decades taken on some roles traditionally associated with the Turkish MFA.<sup>48</sup> Notably, TIKA is now run by a political appointee as opposed to an Ambassador, as was previously the case.

The recent referendum in Turkey has changed a great many things about the Turkish political system and the relationships and power structure of Turkish Administration, some of which have bearing on the MFA's future role in foreign-policy decision-making. Previously, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (GNA) had the ability through majority decision to supervise and even issue orders to the Council of Ministers regarding specific policy matters.<sup>49</sup> By way of example, during the Second Iraq War the legislature severely curtailed the ability of American forces to be based in Turkey and prohibited the entry of Turkish troops into the conflict. With the constitutional change, no such power is provided to the GNA, necessarily increasing the power of the executive branch over the supervision and direction of the MFA. During the Prime Ministry of Ahmet Mesut Yılmaz (Motherland Party), the Minister of Foreign Affairs İsmail Cem (Democratic Left Party) was from a different political party and answerable to different constituents than the Prime Minister. Coalition politics in Turkey produced the opportunity for a more independent Foreign Ministry, although it did not guarantee it. Turkey has moved from a model where the MFA was accountable to the executive first and the legislature second to a model where the MFA is

<sup>46</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>47</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>48</sup> Interview with the Turkish Embassy, 12/15/2016

<sup>49</sup> Amendment to Article 87. Feyzioğlu, Metin. "Turkish Constitutional Changes." Turkish Bar Association. Accessed May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017. [http://anayasadegisikligi.barobirlik.org.tr/Anayasa\\_Degisikligi.aspx](http://anayasadegisikligi.barobirlik.org.tr/Anayasa_Degisikligi.aspx)

accountable to the executive alone. Whether this enhances or curtails the independence of the MFA and its role in policy-making will largely be determined by the relationship of the Turkish President with the Turkish FM in the future.

### **Prepared for the Future**

The AKP Party of Turkey has put forth a new vision of foreign policy strategy which has guided Turkey's foreign policy development since the early 2000s. Murat Yeşiltaşve and Ali Balcı explain that the new vision of foreign policy emphasizes a radical redefinition of Turkish self-conception as a mixed Eastern-Western Power.<sup>50</sup> This redefinition highlights soft power, public diplomacy, international institution building and proactive diplomatic maneuvering to achieve Turkish core interests. Crucial to this redefinition of Turkish foreign policy is the concept of "Center State" which breaks with the traditional view of Turkey as a bridge between the West and the East, representing the best values of the former and minimizing the static and presumed negative identity of the latter.<sup>51</sup> Turkey's ability to maneuver on a cross-cultural level is instead viewed as a springboard from which to build its own multilateral institutions and with which to accrue greater influence in existing international systems.<sup>52</sup>

In a world order that is increasingly characterized by transnational issues such as migration, environmental issues and terrorism, Turkey intends to use its position as "Center State" to proactively create a new and stable regional order which draws on cultural and historical ties. This "Neo-Ottomanist" multi-lateral stance is reflected in increasing participation in organizations such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Economic Cooperation Organization, the African Union (as a Member Observer), the European Council, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations Security Council and the G20.

Turkey has taken advantage of the new multilateral and institution-focused stance of the MFA to establish strong bilateral economic relationships with other countries via membership in international institutions. Turkish accession to Member Observer status with the African Union has enabled it to access African Development Bank funds for its companies to use in infrastructure

<sup>50</sup> Yeşiltaş, Murat, and Ali Balcı. "A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era: A Conceptual Map." Center for Strategic Research. May 2013. Accessed November 18, 2016. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM\\_Papers7.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM_Papers7.pdf). p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. "Türk Dış Politikası Ve Kamu Diplomasisi." Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy. 2010. Accessed November 18, 2016. <http://kdk.gov.tr/sag/turk-dis-politikasi-ve-kamu-diplomasisi/20>.



projects on the continent, which has been a major driver of Turkish-Kenyan trade and has burnished Turkey's image as a player in African development alongside the United States and China.<sup>53</sup>

Turkey's public diplomacy has been guided by a hyper conscious internal evaluation of Turkey's public image, which has produced a fair amount of academic material. Various explanations have been offered for a perceived public relations problem, such as centuries of warfare with European nations and a difficult recent history with minority populations in the Turkish near abroad.<sup>54</sup> Turkey's Foreign Minister and the MFA itself maintain Twitter accounts and tweet frequently in both Turkish and English to document high level visits as well as engage in cultural diplomacy. For instance, as of writing this report, the Turkish MFA had recently produced a series of tweets for Holocaust Remembrance Day using the hashtags #NeverAgain and #WeRemember displaying Turkish diplomatic attendance at commemorative events.

<sup>53</sup> Brendon, J. Cannon. "Turkey in Kenya and Kenya in Turkey: Alternatives to the East/West Paradigm in Diplomacy, Trade and Security." *Afr. J. Pol. Sci. Int. Relat. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 10, no. 5 (2016): 56-65. Accessed November 18, 2016. p. 57.

<sup>54</sup> Kalın, Ibrahim. "Türk Dış Politikası Ve Kamu Diplomasisi." Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy. 2010. Accessed November 18, 2016.  
<http://kdk.gov.tr/sag/turk-dis-politikasi-ve-kamu-diplomasisi/20>.

## APPENDIX A - PROMOTION CHART, TURKISH MFA

Translated by Zuli Nigeeryasin

<b>MESLEK MEMURLARI</b> Foreign Service Officers		
<b>POSITIONS</b>		<b>Minimum Time Before Promotion</b>
<b>1st Degree Titles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ambassador</li> <li>- Head of the Strategic Research Center</li> <li>- Deputy General</li> <li>- First Degree Consulate General</li> </ul>	<b>Highest Degree Titles</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chargé D'affaires</li> <li>- Consulate General</li> <li>- Assistant Permanent representative</li> <li>- First Under Secretary of Embassy</li> <li>- First Permanent Representative Undersecretary</li> <li>- Private Undersecretary of the Minister</li> <li>- Private Adviser to Undersecretary</li> <li>- Ministry Undersecretary</li> <li>- Media and Public Relations Undersecretary</li> <li>- Foreign Policy Advisory Council Member</li> <li>- Head of Department</li> <li>- Director Private Secretary</li> <li>- Internal Auditor</li> </ul>	
<b>2nd Degree Titles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Charges D'affaires</li> <li>- Consulate General</li> <li>- Under Secretary of Embassy</li> <li>- Permanent Representative Undersecretary</li> <li>- Assistant Consulate general</li> <li>- Head of Department</li> <li>- Director Private Secretary</li> <li>- Internal Auditor</li> </ul>	6 years
<b>3rd Degree Titles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Charges D'affaires</li> <li>- Under Secretary of Embassy</li> <li>- Permanent Representative Undersecretary</li> <li>- Assistant Consulate General</li> <li>- Departmental Manager</li> </ul>	4 years

	- Director Private Secretary - Internal Auditor	
<b>4 Degree Titles</b>	- Deputy Secretary - Consul - Internal Affairs Supervisor	2 years
<b>5th Degree Titles</b>	- Second Secretary - Assistant Consul	3 years
<b>6th Degree Titles</b>	- Third Secretary - Assistant Consul	2 years
	- Candidate FSO	1 years

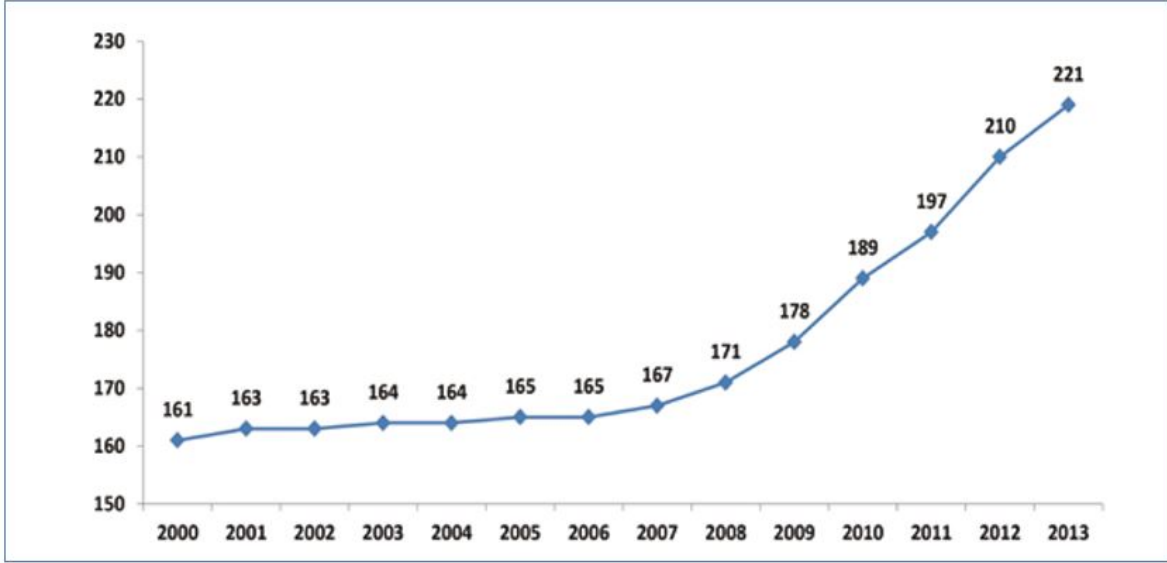
<b>KONSOLUSLUK VE İHTİSAS MEMURLARI</b> Consular Officers, Cultural and Linguistic Specialists			
<b>POSITIONS</b>			<b>Minimum Time Before Promotion</b>
<b>1st Degree Titles</b>	- Head of the Strategic Research Center	<b>Highest Degree Titles</b>	
	- First Degree Consulate General - Under Secretary of Embassy - Permanent Representative Undersecretary - Media and Public Relations Undersecretary - Head of Department		
<b>2nd Degree Titles</b>	- Consulate General - Under Secretary of Embassy - Permanent Representative Undersecretary - Media and Public Relations Undersecretary - Director Private Secretary - Internal Auditor		6 years
<b>3rd Degree Titles</b>	- Under Secretary of Embassy - Permanent Representative Undersecretary - Deputy Consulate General - Head of Department		6 years

	- Internal Auditor	
<b>4th Degree Titles</b>	-Deputy Secretary - Consul - Director Private Secretary	6 years
<b>5th Degree Titles</b>	- Second Secretary - Assistant Consul	3 years
<b>6th Degree Titles</b>	- Third Secretary - Assistant Consul	4 years
	- Attache	1 years
	- Candidate Consular Officers, Cultural and Linguistic Specialists	1 years

## APPENDIX B: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS, GROWTH OF THE TURKISH MFA<sup>55</sup>

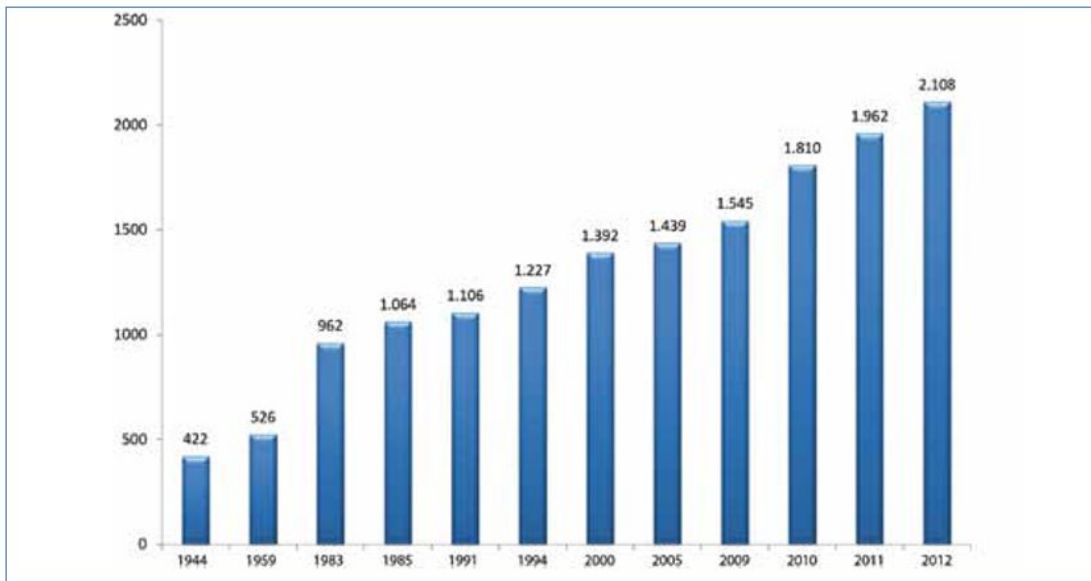
### Total Representations Over Time

*Türkiye'nin Yurtdışındaki Temsilcilik Sayısı 2000-2013 Yılları Arasında % 37 Artmıştır*



### Total Career Diplomats

*Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nda Görev Yapan Kariyer Diplomat Sayısı*



<sup>55</sup> "Sorumluluk ve Vizyon 2014 Yılına Giren Türk Dış Politikası." Strategic Research Center. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/sorumlulukvevizyon-2014.pdf>

## African Representations, 2002



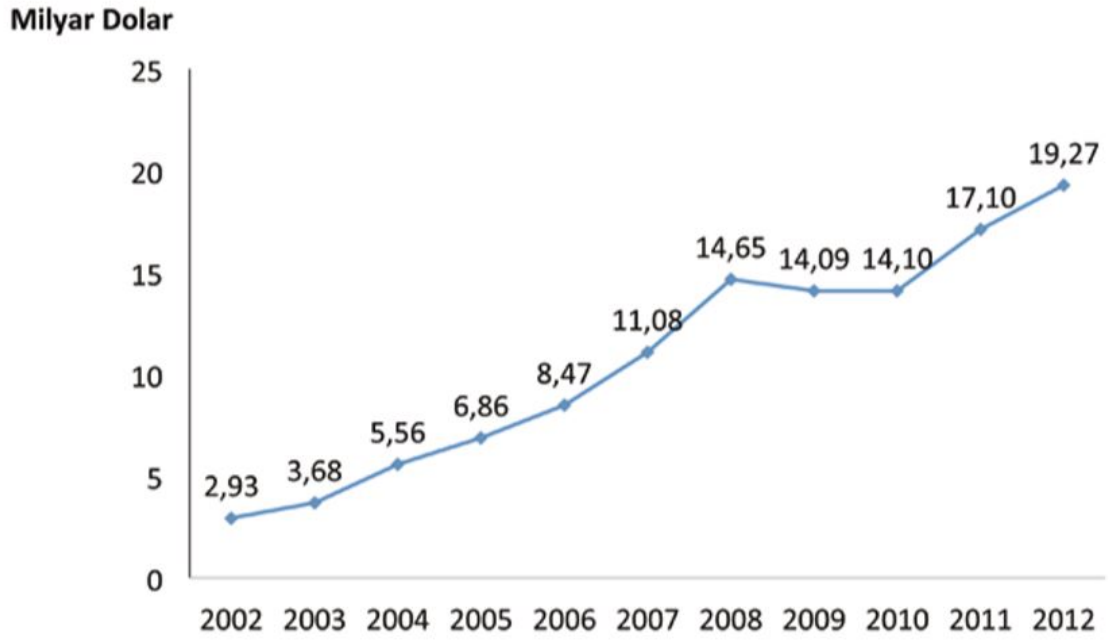
2002

## African Representations 2013



2013

### Turkish Trade Investment in Africa, Billions



## **Mevlüt Çavuşođlu**

### **Minister of Foreign Affairs**



Mevlüt Çavuşođlu was born on 5 February 1968 in Alanya, Turkey. He holds a B.A. in International Relations from Ankara University and an M.A. in Economics from Long Island University. He has also received academic training through the London School of Economics, Bilkent University, and Ankara University. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for the 62<sup>nd</sup> Government of the Republic of Turkey between 29 August 2014 and 30 August 2015. He was reappointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the 64<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> Government of the Republic of Turkey. Mr. Çavuşođlu is a founding member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). He has served in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) as President and in various other roles, and is the first Turkish parliamentarian to have served as President of the body. He speaks English, German and Japanese. He is married and has one child.

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## **Feridun Sinirliođlu**

### **Turkish Ambassador to the UN**



Born in 1956, Mr. Sinirliođlu holds a B.A. in Political Science from Ankara University as well as doctoral and master's degrees from Bođaziçi University. From 2015 until his latest appointment, Mr. Sinirliođlu served as Under Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Interim Government. From 2009 to 2015, he was Under Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, having been Deputy Under Secretary for Bilateral Political Affairs from 2007 to 2009. Between 2002 and 2007, Mr. Sinirliođlu served as Turkey's Ambassador to Israel, having previously been Deputy Director General in charge of the Middle East and North Africa from 2000 to 2002. He was Chief Foreign Policy Adviser to President Süleyman Demirel from 1996 until 2000. Mr. Sinirliođlu's foreign assignments included a period as Political Counsellor at his country's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York between 1992 and 1996. He was Special Adviser to the Deputy Under Secretary for Bilateral Political Affairs from 1991 to 1992, and First Secretary in the Department responsible for Greece in 1990. Beginning his diplomatic career as First Secretary at Turkey's Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1988, Mr. Sinirliođlu also served a stint as Second Secretary and then First Secretary at the Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands, in 1985. Mr. Sinirliođlu speaks German and English. He is married and has two children.



## **Serdar Kılıç**

Turkish Ambassador to the US



Ambassador Serdar Kılıç was born in 1958 in Samsun. He is a graduate of Ankara University's prestigious Faculty of Political Sciences. Within the MFA, Ambassador Kılıç has served in the Embassy of Kuwait, the Permanent Delegation of Turkey to NATO, at various positions in Ankara such as the Deputy General Directorate of NATO as well as that of the Balkans and Eastern Europe. He has served as Ambassador to Lebanon and Japan. Prior to his MFA service, the Ambassador served the Ministry of Tourism and worked on Ekşioğlu Holding's Board of Directors. He is married and has one child.

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## **Abdurrahman Bilgiç**

Turkish Ambassador to the UK



Ambassador Abdurrahman Bilgiç was born in 1963 in Adıyaman. He graduated from Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Department of International Relations in 1985. Ambassador Bilgiç entered the Foreign Service in 1986. He served in the Turkish Embassies in Tripoli and Canberra and in the Turkish Consulate in Deventer. He acted as Director General at the Directorate General for Press and Information of the Prime Ministry between 2003 and 2005. He was Consul General at the Turkish Consulate General in Munich between 2005 and 2007. He has also worked in different political departments in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was promoted to the rank of Ambassador in 2011 and served as Ambassador of Turkey to Japan. Between 2011 and 2014, Ambassador Bilgiç held the position of Deputy Undersecretary in the Prime Ministry. On 1 July, 2014 he became the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Ambassador Bilgiç is married and is the father of two children. He speaks English.

## **Ismail Hakkı Musa**

### Turkish Ambassador to France



Ismail Hakkı Musa was born in 1960 in Trabzon. He graduated from the Department of Political Economics of the Faculty of Law, Economics and Business at Nancy II University in 1987. In 1988, he started his Master's degree at the same University. Between 2001 and 2008 he did his Ph.D. in Public Law / Community Law in Nancy II. He has held the following duties in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Consul General of Kazan between 8 January 2004 and 29 September 2005, Consul General of Lyon between October 15, 2007 and September 12, 2009 and Ambassador to Brussels from 1 November 2011 to 15 October 2012. He was appointed as an assistant to MIT (Turkish National Intelligence Service) Undersecretary in 2012. He briefly served as the Secretary to MIT from February to March 2015. As of November 11, 2016, he is the Ambassador to Paris. He is married, has two children and speaks French and English.

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## **Ali Kemal Aydın**

### Turkish Ambassador to Germany



Ambassador Ali Kemal Aydın was born in 1965 in Erzincan. In 1986, he graduated from Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences, International Relations Department. He started to work in Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the same year. Between 1986 and 2005 he worked at the Embassy of Tirana, the Consulate General of Mainz, the Consulate General of Nuremberg, the Embassy of Bonn and the Embassy of Pretoria. During this period he also served in various political and administrative offices in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After working as a Consul General in Aleppo in 2005-2009, he served as Assistant General Manager responsible for economic affairs for two years at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was appointed Ambassador to the Embassy of Tripoli in 2011 and continued to serve until 2013. Ambassador Aydın served as Deputy Undersecretary for Political Relations and Culture and Promotion Affairs with Eurasia and Africa in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 2013 and 2016. He began work as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany on 15 November 2016. Ambassador Aydın is married and has one child. He speaks English and German.

## **Ali Murat Ersoy**

### Turkish Ambassador to China



Ambassador Ersoy was born in Bursa in 1968. He graduated from the Faculty of the Political Science at Ankara University. He has a master's degree in the field of International Studies from Reading University. In 1991, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served at the relevant departments of the General Directorates of the North Eastern Mediterranean and Policy Planning at the Ministry in Ankara. He also served with different capacities in various capitals such as Manama, London, Athens and Washington D.C. He was the Deputy Director General of the Department of Americas of the Ministry in Ankara between 2011 and 2013. He is the current Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Republic of China. He is married and has one child.

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## **Hüseyin Diriöz**

### Turkish Ambassador to Russia



Ambassador Hüseyin Diriöz was born in 1956 in Istanbul. He graduated from the faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University. He completed his Master's degree in International Relations at the University of Virginia. Ambassador Diriöz began his diplomatic career in 1978. During his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has held various posts in the Office of the International Political Affairs, Multilateral Political Affairs Department, Counselor of the Undersecretary, NATO Military Affairs Office, Kabul and Washington Embassies, Council of Europe and NATO Permanent Representations. He has also served as the Director-General of the Middle East and as the Chief Advisor to the 11th President of Turkey, Abdullah Gül, including the Secretary of State for NATO Defense Policy and Planning, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hüseyin Dirioz, who served as Ambassador to Jordan between 2004-2008 and Brazil between 2013-2016, was appointed Ambassador in the Russian Federation in 2016. Ambassador Diriöz is married and father of two children.

## **Şakir Özkan Torunlar**

### Turkish Ambassador to India



Şakir Özkan Torunlar was born in Aydın in 1960. He graduated from faculty of political Sciences at the Ankara University in 1982. He started to work in Ministry of Foreign Affairs a year later. He served as Deputy Undersecretary of Middle East and Deputy Undersecretary of Security Affairs. He was appointed as ambassador to Bangladesh from 2008 to 2010 ambassador to Jerusalem from 2010-2014. In 2014, he became the deputy secretary of political relations to South Asia. As February 2017, he started his new post as the Ambassador to India. He speaks English and French. He is married and has one child.

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## **Ali Kaya Savut**

### Turkish Ambassador to Brazil



Ambassador Ali Kaya Savut was born in Istanbul in 1954. After graduating from the prestigious St. Joseph French High School, he studied in the Faculty of Economics at Bordeaux University. He began working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. Subsequently, He served at the Embassy of Algeria, the Consulate General of New York, the Permanent Mission to the United Nations, the NATO Permanent Representative, Ottawa and in the Paris Embassy. He also worked on specific issue areas such as Cyprus, NATO, Disarmament and Human Rights at the ministry headquarters in Ankara. He was appointed as the Executive Vice President of Northern Europe and Baltics Affairs in 2004. He served as Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Senegal between 2008 and 2010, and Ambassador to Portugal between 2010 and 2012. Ambassador Savut served as the General Directorate of the United States between the years of 2012-2016. He was appointed Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Brazil in November 2016. Ambassador Savut is married and has two children.

## **United Kingdom**

Adam Crawford & Annika Rettstadt

### **Executive Summary**

As a former imperial power, the British government has maintained a strong global perspective in its diplomatic relations worldwide. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office is an elite, highly regarded, diplomatic service with rigorous standards for recruitment, training, and employee conduct both at home and abroad.

An organization led primarily by career civil servants, the FCO and its organizational culture are viewed internally as honest, meritocratic, and open to creative thinking. The FCO has also emphasized empowering lower level staff to engage in more significant policy work at earlier stages of their careers, such as drafting policy memoranda, and exercising greater autonomy while in post abroad, particularly in social media communications.

Traditionally, the FCO's recruitment efforts have relied on the steady stream of highly qualified applicants from elite British universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. However, in the last few decades, the FCO has made several changes to diversify their workforce, such as establishing a recruitment roadshow that focused its efforts on universities with higher proportions of black and ethnic minority candidates.

Over the last several decades the FCO's initial training program had focused on developing strong managerial skillsets in an effort to produce agile policy generalists. Recent training reforms aim to strengthen the FCO's regional and linguistic expertise, such as the opening of the Diplomatic Academy in 2015. Currently, completion of Diplomatic Academy training modules is not compulsory for FCO staff, however, as the program undergoes further refinements, the FCO plans to utilize the Diplomatic Academy as the main tool for delivering both early and mid-career training. The FCO promotes staff through a somewhat *laissez-faire* bidding process whereby FCO employees bid for jobs, and if selected, submit to a rigorous review process that includes interview panels, role-playing, and a mix of written and interactive exercises that focus on core competencies such as judgment, communication, and influence.

The FCO has also expressed a desire to expand both its technological capabilities and its utilization of technology in its work. The FCO has granted significant autonomy to its diplomats abroad to utilize social media in creative ways with little oversight from London. Additionally, in response to a department wide review in 2015, the FCO has made a significant investment in a technology overhaul program that seeks to update embassy communications technology as well as personal mobile technology that can deliver real-time information and communications to FCO's diplomats around the globe.

Currently the FCO faces several challenges, such as budget cuts and the recent Brexit vote. The Brexit vote, in addition to steering the FCO's policy focus away from Europe, has created the additional challenge of adding new layers of foreign affairs related bureaucracy to an already crowded field of departments. The government formed two new departments to oversee the UK's exit from the European Union, and many FCO employees have been asked to transfer to these departments, eliminating many of the resources that the FCO worked so diligently to acquire over the years.

While the future remains uncertain, and despite the FCO's lingering reputation as a stuffy or outdated organization, a great number of foreign policy professionals around the globe continue to hold the FCO and its diplomats in high esteem.

## **History**

As an island nation with a vast empire for much of its modern history, the UK depended on conciliatory and agile diplomacy to maintain a European balance of power and maritime supremacy. The UK continues to assume major roles in former imperial areas, such as the Middle East, South Asia, and East Africa. In this way, the UK still perceives itself as a world power, which may affect the FCO's internal culture and how they practice diplomacy with foreign communities and governments. Traditionally, British diplomats are known for their professionalism and objectivity, but also for caution and extreme pragmatism.

The story of modern British diplomacy traces its roots back to the 18th century and the appointment of the first Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Charles James Fox, just one year prior to the signing of the Treaty of Paris that brought the American Revolutionary War to its conclusion. Foreign Secretary Fox would be the only British Foreign Secretary to preside over a diminution of the British Empire until the turn of the 20th Century. The Foreign Office of the 19th century oversaw what historians have called Britain's "imperial century." Britain's imperial project placed enormous strain on the ministries of State, particularly the Foreign Office, precipitating a sizable increase in the number of Foreign Office personnel and leading eventually to the commissioning of new office space to the south of 10 Downing Street. The Foreign Office, along with the India Office, opened the doors to their new building in 1868, a building that subsequently housed both the Colonial and Home offices. That opulent and grandiose building that represented the nerve center of the British Empire continues to serve as the base of operations for the modern Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). It should therefore come as no surprise that Britain's imperial legacy permeates the culture of the modern FCO; indeed, the "Commonwealth" component of the FCO's name is, itself, a reference to the UK's imperial past.

The current iteration of the FCO has existed in a similar form since the Crowe Reforms of 1906 that molded the Foreign Office into a truly modern vehicle for the exercise of diplomacy. Later reforms in the 1920's combined the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service, excluding the Consular Service that remained independent. The UK also established the Commercial Diplomatic Service under the Department of Overseas Trade that fell under the purview of the Foreign Office. In the early 1940s, the Foreign Office underwent an additional

internal reform process that consolidated the Diplomatic, Consular, and Commercial Diplomatic Services, creating the present-day Foreign and Commonwealth Office.<sup>1</sup>

## **Profile**

### *Mission and Culture*

The FCO aims to promote the UK's national security and economic interests, and provide support to British citizens and businesses abroad.<sup>2</sup> According to the FCO's new "Priority Outcomes" from 2015 to 2016, their main diplomatic priorities are protecting their citizens, expanding their soft power, and promoting prosperity.<sup>3</sup> As part of their emphasis on measuring outcomes, the FCO conducts an annual internal review, which analyzes its performance with regard to its efficacy in achieving the Priority Outcomes.<sup>4</sup>

An internal FCO report that was publicly released in recent years claimed that the diplomatic service is too hierarchical and generally under-informed on linguistic and regional expertise. The report cited internal concerns over poor language skills, outdated technology, and paralyzing risk aversion. Additionally, the report claimed that some British diplomats use social media platforms, such as WhatsApp, to discuss sensitive subjects while abroad.<sup>5</sup> Other reports alleged that today's FCO is a timid organization partially due to a department-wide perception that failure is not an option.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashton-Gwatkin, F. "Foreign Service Reorganization in the United Kingdom." *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944) 22, no. 1 (1946): 57-74.

<sup>2</sup> "About Us." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/foreign-commonwealth-office/about>.

<sup>3</sup> "FCO Public Diplomacy: The Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012." House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. January 26, 2011. Accessed October 24, 2016.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmffaff/581/58102.htm>.

According to a report released by the FCO, soft power is used to "describe governments' ability 'to get what [they] want through attraction rather than coercion or payments.' Soft power 'arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When [its] policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, [its] soft power is enhanced."

<sup>4</sup> "Foreign and Commonwealth Office Annual Report and Accounts 2015-2016." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. July 20, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2016.

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/539413/FCO\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2016\\_ONLINE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539413/FCO_Annual_Report_2016_ONLINE.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Wintour, Patrick. "Internal report slams culture in UK Foreign Office." *The Guardian*. May 9, 2016. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/09/internal-report-slams-culture-in-uk-foreign-office>.

<sup>6</sup> Brady, Brian. "Foreign Office is beset by culture of timidity, say staff." *Independent*. March 21, 2009. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/foreign-office-is-beset-by-culture-of-timidity-say-staff-1651331.html>.



Conversely, sources within the FCO have described the FCO in far more favorable terms. One source described the organizational culture as “honest, creative, and open,” and as a place where diplomats are actively encouraged to express their views, particularly when such views are contrary to the prevailing viewpoint among the senior management. The FCO does not maintain a dissent channel similar to that of the U.S. State Department, but our source indicated that such a mechanism is largely unnecessary because the FCO is managed predominantly by career civil servants who are far less likely to retaliate against dissenters than their politically appointed counterparts in the United States.

Our sources at the FCO also highlighted another positive feature of the FCO’s organizational culture: the delegation of higher-level responsibilities to junior level policy officers. All of our contacts noted that it is not uncommon for junior staff at the FCO to draft policy memoranda that are likely to be seen by the senior management, and in some cases, by the Foreign Secretary himself. The empowerment of junior staff is likely the result of a confluence of factors, such as the FCO’s open and honest culture, restraints imposed by budget cuts and limited human resources, and the proliferation of issue areas as a result of globalization.

### *Budget*

The FCO budget for FY 2014/2015 of 1.23 billion USD, which comprises the FCO’s direct spending, represented less than one-tenth of one percent of the UK’s gross domestic product.<sup>7</sup> Comparatively, the UK allocated a little over two percent of its GDP to national security and defense spending.<sup>8</sup> For a historical comparison, the FCO budget for FY 2003/2004<sup>9</sup> was more than double the current FCO budget relative to the UK’s GDP.<sup>10</sup> The FCO has argued that the budget cuts imposed upon them have moved beyond “trimming fat,” and instead, the cuts have begun to threaten operational capabilities.<sup>11</sup> The most recent parliamentary review of

<sup>7</sup> Includes staff costs and expenditures on programs and consular services

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> For the FCO budget during FY 2003/2004, we used currency rates reported from 2003.

<sup>10</sup> “Chapter 3: Comparative Data.” Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2003. Accessed October 24, 2016. <http://www.esteri.it/MAE/doc/chapter3.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Government Response to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Report HC 605 of Session 2014-15.” Foreign and Commonwealth Office. June 2015. Accessed November 15, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/435544/50038\\_Cm\\_9058\\_Gov\\_to\\_HC\\_Accessible\\_v0.2.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/435544/50038_Cm_9058_Gov_to_HC_Accessible_v0.2.pdf).

the FCO's budget suggests that the government has not funded the FCO properly, particularly in light of the growing responsibilities of the FCO post-Brexit.<sup>12</sup>

### *Human Resources and Diplomatic Network*

For a nation with a population just under 65 million (23rd largest in the world), the size of the UK's diplomatic network is notable at the fifth largest in the world. The UK's self identity as a global power and its imperial history are the likeliest explanation for the disparity in the overall size of the UK population and the size of its diplomatic reach worldwide.

As of March 2016, the FCO employed just over 12,000 total staff, of which a third are posted abroad, and the remaining two-thirds are based in the UK. Budget austerity has led the FCO to rely heavily on the recruitment of foreign nationals to staff its overseas posts. Approximately two-thirds of the total FCO staff are locally engaged (LE) foreign nationals and the remaining one-third of the FCO staff are UK-nationals. As of FY 2015-2016, the FCO operates in 236 postings abroad, including 149 embassies, 60 consulates, and 9 permanent missions.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike the US State Department, the FCO does not use a cone or track system to classify employees. The FCO maintains five employment "bands"—A, B, C, and D, and the SMS (Senior Management Structure).<sup>14</sup> Bands A and B are restricted to administrative and clerical staff, and bands C and D include the policy and diplomacy employees, although it is not unheard of for some B band employees to serve some policy or diplomatic functions.<sup>15</sup> The FCO recruits generalists or specialists based on existing organizational needs; however, as of a 2010 budgetary spending freeze, the FCO restricted recruitment to specialists only (C band or above) until 2016 when it resumed A and B band recruitment.<sup>16</sup> C+ band recruitment is limited to the Civil Service

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "Annual Report and Accounts." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. March, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/539413/FCO\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2016\\_ONLINE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539413/FCO_Annual_Report_2016_ONLINE.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> "FCO staff and salary data." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. July 21, 2016. Accessed September 17, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/foreign-office-staff-and-salary-data>.

<sup>15</sup> "Further written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office." UK Parliament. November 25, 2010. Accessed October 10, 2016. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaaff/665/665we03.htm>.

<sup>16</sup> The FCO defines generalists as "staff who rotate through a variety of roles" vs. specialists who "take up a specific role requiring specialist skills, i.e. research analyst or lawyer." Due to the 2010 spending freeze, recruitment has been limited to specialist recruitment only through the Civil Service Fast Stream, however, recently the FCO has begun recruiting generalists at the A and B bands, in part due to criticisms that the Fast Stream system was too elitist.

Fast Stream recruitment system, which requires thematic or regional expertise and a university degree (equivalent to a bachelor's degree in the US).<sup>17</sup> Despite the resumption of recruitment at the A and B bands, our sources at the FCO have suggested that they continue to struggle in filling some of the low level domestic positions. Relatively low starting salaries and the high cost of living in metropolitan London are the most likely culprits for the difficulty in recruitment. The salary structure for the employment bands is as follows: A band (22-26 thousand USD/annum), B band (27-33 thousand USD/annum), C band (34-49 thousand USD/annum), and D band (52-68 thousand USD/annum).<sup>18</sup>

### *Organizational Structure*

The head of the UK's diplomatic service is the Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (currently Simon McDonald).<sup>19</sup> Just beneath the Permanent Under-Secretary a number of individual directorates exist, which include, "Operations, Economic and Consular, Central Group, Political, Defense and Intelligence, Europe and Globalization, Finance, and UK Trade and Investment."<sup>20</sup> Each directorate includes a number of units that work on thematic, regional, or crosscutting issue areas. The FCO is led at the ministerial level by three Ministers of State. The ministerial level includes the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs ("the Foreign Secretary"), followed by two Ministers of State (one for Europe and the Americas, and the other for the Commonwealth and the UN).

### **Recruitment and Selection**

The FCO aims to hire applicants with excellent communication skills, willingness to travel, and a strong understanding of other cultures.<sup>21</sup> According to a report by the UK's Civil

"Working for FCO." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Accessed September 17, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/foreign-commonwealth-office/about/recruitment>.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "FCO staff and salary data." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. July 21, 2016. Accessed September 17, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/foreign-office-staff-and-salary-data>.

<sup>19</sup> "Foreign & Commonwealth Office." Our Governance - Foreign & Commonwealth Office. Accessed March 05, 2017. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/foreign-commonwealth-office/about/our-governance>.

<sup>20</sup> "Annual Report and Accounts." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. March, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/539413/FCO\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2016\\_ONLINE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539413/FCO_Annual_Report_2016_ONLINE.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> "Diplomatic Service Officer Job Information | National Careers Service." Skills Funding Agency. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://nationalcareersservice.direct.gov.uk/advice/planning/jobprofiles/Pages/DiplomaticServiceOfficer.aspx>.

Service, the FCO seeks recruits who exhibit ten specific characteristics.<sup>22</sup> The Civil Service application process may also include online aptitude tests, a competency questionnaire, a personality test, and an in-person assessment and interview.<sup>23</sup>

An article from The Times ranked the FCO as one of the top five graduate employers in the UK.<sup>24</sup> Most recent graduates apply through the Civil Service Fast Stream, which expedites careers for newly hired diplomats who possess specific expertise. The Fast Stream caters to recent graduates looking for a lifetime career in diplomacy, and allows candidates to enter at a higher career band.<sup>25</sup> In addition to recent graduates, FCO recruiters seek to hire retired police officers to serve in certain foreign posts that require additional security (currently: Afghanistan, Georgia, Iraq, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Balkans, and the Caucasus).<sup>26</sup>

A report from the UK's National Audit Office stated that the FCO is not meeting its diversity goals for senior management positions in terms of gender, ethnicity, and disability.<sup>27</sup> The FCO attributes the gender gap in senior management positions in part to domestic family obligations, however they aim to appoint an unspecified number of women to high-level

<sup>22</sup> "Civil Service Competency Framework: 2012-2017." Civil Service Human Resources. Accessed October 11, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/436073/cscf\\_fulla4potrait\\_2013-2017\\_v2d.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/436073/cscf_fulla4potrait_2013-2017_v2d.pdf); The "Competency Framework" provides ten key characteristics of a successful Civil Service employee: seeing the big picture, making effective decisions, changing and improving, leading and communicating, building capability for all, collaborating and partnering, achieving commercial outcomes, delivering value for money, managing a quality service, and delivering at pace. According to the report, this framework is used for recruitment and promotion considerations.

<sup>23</sup> "Prepare for Civil Service Online Test." Job Test Prep. Accessed October 24, 2016. <https://www.jobtestprep.co.uk/civil-service-online-test#e-tray-exercise>; The Civil Service's online testing consists of numerical and verbal reasoning, an abstract reasoning test, a situational judgment test (which tests the applicant's potential responses to certain work scenarios), a personality exam, a Watson Glaser test (a multi-faceted exam that tests the applicant's critical thinking skills), and an in-person assessment and interview at the Civil Service Assessment Centre. At the Centre, applicants spend a day completing a number of exercises, including a writing exam, further aptitude tests, presentations, role-playing work scenarios, and team building activities. Applicants may be asked to participate in several interviews, which include questions regarding their applications, qualifications, and the Civil Service Competency Framework.

<sup>24</sup> "Britain's Top Graduate Employers." The Times. 2016. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.top100graduateemployers.com/>.

<sup>25</sup> "Civil Service Fast Stream." Civil Service Fast Stream. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.faststream.gov.uk/>.

<sup>26</sup> "International secondments for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/international-secondments-for-the-foreign-and-commonwealth-office>.

<sup>27</sup> "A Short Guide to the Foreign & Commonwealth Office." National Audit Office. July, 2015. Accessed September 17, 2016. <https://www.nao.org.uk/report/a-short-guide-to-the-foreign-commonwealth-office/>.

appointments between 2014 and 2018.<sup>28</sup> Internal sources from the FCO claim that they greatly value diversity, yet its employees remain, as one FCO employee described, “too pale, male, and stale.” The source stated that concerted efforts are being made to create a more diverse workforce in order to accurately represent the UK abroad. There is a strong belief that current attempts to improve diversity will increase efficacy as well. Having been criticized for what some perceive as its elitist, narrow minded, and “Oxbridge” mentality, the FCO views increased diversity as a step to break free of those notions.<sup>29</sup>

In recent years, the FCO distributed a report detailing their hiring practices and diversity among employees. In the A-D employment bands, the FCO has made considerable progress in achieving gender diversity. The gender breakdown for the A-D bands is 53% male and 47% female.<sup>30</sup> The report also found that the FCO continues to lag behind its diversity targets in terms of ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and religion.<sup>31</sup> Overall, employees in the A-D bands are 88% white, 12% black and other ethnic minorities, and 6% disabled. The senior management structure continues to trail in all diversity targets. The SMS is 30.1% female, 4.1% black and other ethnic minority, and 9.9% disabled.<sup>32</sup> One bright spot is in the Fast Stream recruitment for 2015-2016 where 42% of entrants were female and 35% of entrants were of an ethnic minority background.

### **Professional Development**

Historically, the FCO has taken a somewhat *laissez-faire* approach to the development of its diplomats. The organization has traditionally relied on recruiting highly educated candidates from elite academic institutions, i.e. Oxford and Cambridge, providing modest entry-level

<sup>28</sup> Natalie Gil, "The Foreign Office Has Traditionally Been a Place for Eccentric Males." The Guardian, 2014, accessed October 11, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2014/jun/18/foreign-office-eccentric-males-women-pay-gap>.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with FCO employee.

<sup>30</sup> “Annual Report and Accounts.” Foreign and Commonwealth Office. March, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/539413/FCO\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2016\\_ONLINE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539413/FCO_Annual_Report_2016_ONLINE.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> “Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO Diversity and Equality Report 2014-15).” Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Accessed September 17, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/450587/FFFCO827\\_Equality\\_Report\\_2015\\_v5.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/450587/FFFCO827_Equality_Report_2015_v5.pdf).

<sup>32</sup> “Annual Report and Accounts.” Foreign and Commonwealth Office. March, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2016. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/539413/FCO\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2016\\_ONLINE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539413/FCO_Annual_Report_2016_ONLINE.pdf).

training and acculturation to those candidates, and subsequently leaving them to navigate the rest of their careers with relatively little direction from management.

Upon entry, all new staff are required to attend a two week training process that helps the recruits understand their role in the FCO, the FCO's role in the UK government, and the requirements of the Civil Service Code, which "sets out the standards of [behavior] expected" of all UK civil servants "based on the core values which are set out in legislation."<sup>33</sup> The FCO also utilizes the initial training period to acculturate its new staff to the mission and values of the organization. Additionally, new recruits are required to undertake courses on security, conduct, information management, diversity at work, health and safety, and finance. Policy recruits have additional requirements, such as attending an international policy skills course, as well as intensive language instruction, depending on the results of the candidate's language aptitude test.<sup>34</sup>

Until recently, the FCO lacked a major diplomatic training program, which necessitated recruiting candidates with higher levels of educational attainment. In 2015, the FCO established the Diplomatic Academy to address the lack of a universal and systematized training and development program.<sup>35</sup> As of now the FCO does not require that its employees go through the Academy's programs, however, the program offers three different levels of training to assist employees in all employment bands. Much of the Academy's training program takes place on a digital platform (including a mobile app) rather than face-to-face and the pace of training is largely self-directed.<sup>36</sup> According to sources within the FCO, staff members seeking promotion are now required to have completed various diplomatic academy modules before they apply for a more senior position.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to its internal training mechanisms, the FCO maintains a partnership with King's College in London that delivers training courses to FCO staff working on or in the South

<sup>33</sup> "Further written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office." UK Parliament. November 25, 2010. Accessed October 10, 2016.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/665/665we03.htm>.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> "Opening of New Diplomatic Academy." Accessed October 11, 2016.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/opening-of-new-diplomatic-academy>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with FCO employee.

Asia region and Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup> The one to five day program at King's includes plenary and group discussions which address "the modern history of states in the region and their interrelations, domestic politics and culture, the role of extra-regional powers, business and economic opportunities, and key policy issues affecting the region." Similarly, the London School of Economics offers an "Economics for Foreign Policy Program" tailored for members of the UK Foreign Service.<sup>39</sup> The LSE program provides participants with "well-rounded knowledge of economic and political issues...[the] ability to converse easily using economic terminology with a high degree of accuracy and a reasonable level of sophistication." According to the LSE, over 1,400 FCO staff have participated in the program. Beyond its academic ties with King's College and the London School of Economics, the FCO also conducts an annual joint diplomatic training conference with its French counterpart, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The aim of the conference is not only to expand the knowledge base of the participating diplomats, but also to develop "institutional and personal ties" between members of the two organizations.<sup>40</sup>

In 1999, the FCO established Assessment and Development Centres (ADCs) as the means of promoting staff to the Senior Management Structure. The FCO now uses the ADC mechanism for the promotion of all staff at and above B-band.<sup>41</sup> In order to apply for a slot in the ADC, the applicant must have served a minimum of two years in their current employment band. Applicants with a minimum of two years but less than five years experience in their current employment band must also procure a letter of recommendation from his or her senior manager which assesses whether or not the candidate possesses the required competencies to sit for the ADC. Those candidates with at least five years of experience in their current employment band do not require a letter of recommendation.

<sup>38</sup> "Foreign and Commonwealth Office Training." King's College London. Accessed October 12, 2016. <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/sga/kii/ExecutiveEducation/FCO-Training.aspx>.

<sup>39</sup> "Economics for Foreign Policy: a programme for the FCO." The London School of Economics and Political Science. 2016. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/study/executiveEducation/customisedExecutiveEducation/publicSectorExecutiveEducation/FCO/home.aspx>.

<sup>40</sup> "Joint training for French and British Diplomats." Accessed November 16, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/world-location-news/joint-training-for-french-and-british-diplomats>.

<sup>41</sup> "Role of the FCO in UK Government." UK Parliament. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/inquiries1/the-role-of-the-fco-in-uk-government/>.

The ADC process is a mix of written and interactive exercises (including role-playing) that tests candidates' core competencies "such as problem solving and judgment, managing external relationships, and communicating and influencing."<sup>42</sup> The FCO has argued that the ADC's have proven quite effective in "improving the quality of leaders and managers" throughout the organization.<sup>43</sup> However, concerns remain over the lack of emphasis on regional and linguistic expertise in the ADC system; the worry among several observers is that the ADC mechanism is tailored to rewarding managerial skillsets rather than traditional diplomatic skillsets. If a candidate is successful in the ADC and transitions to a new role, he or she is expected to produce a personal development plan with their manager within six weeks of taking on a new role. These personal development plans detail what skills and knowledge the employee will need to cultivate to be successful in their role.

Typically, new FCO recruits spend their first 12 to 18 months on a home tour based at one of the FCO offices in the UK before being sent on their first overseas posting. FCO staff bidding for an overseas posting must submit to an interview before a three-person panel made up of senior level staff members (at least one of which must be a woman and/or an ethnic minority). If the employee is unsuccessful in securing the post, the review panel offers feedback to the employee in order to assist them with their professional development. Overseas postings vary in their lengths depending on location (some hardship posts can be as short as 6 months, i.e. Afghanistan), but the majority of overseas tours last three to four years. Heads of Mission overseas maintain the authority to grant a one-year extension to the tour of any of the staff in their post. There appears to be some discussion within the FCO about the need to have more flexibility in tour lengths, particularly with regard to hardship postings, in order to attract qualified candidates.<sup>44</sup>

## **Leadership**

Currently, the FCO maintains no systematized training program for Senior Level Diplomats. However, in order to be considered for promotion, FCO employees must spend at least five years in their current grade and subsequently receive a letter of recommendation from

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> "Role of the FCO in UK Government." UK Parliament. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/inquiries1/the-role-of-the-fco-in-uk-government/>.



their senior manager. The letter must include clear indication of the employee's potential and the strength of their established skill-set. In the promotion process, a review board consisting of five to six senior-level FCO employees assesses the candidate's performance. Throughout the assessment, the candidate completes several interactive exercises, such as interviews and role-playing, in order to determine their overall performance and eligibility for promotion. If the employee is not promoted after their initial request, they must wait a period of one to three years to further develop their skills and become better prepared for promotion.<sup>45</sup>

The UK's Diplomatic Service appears to hold strict standards with regard to political appointees. Most political appointees have had previous experience in other government positions, such as Edward Llewellyn, the UK's Ambassador to France, who served as Prime Minister David Cameron's Chief of Staff from 2010 to 2016. Even so, between 2008 and 2010, the FCO did not make any political appointments for heads of mission. They collectively agreed to hire outside the department only in instances where they are in critical need of certain positions, and only after attempts to hire from within have already been made.<sup>46</sup>

The majority of high-ranking diplomats have spent their entire career working for the FCO. Most entered as junior level officers either immediately after graduation from university, or after a few years of working at a think tank or policy research organization. The majority of ambassadors listed at the end of this report have served under several administrations and political parties. Many of the ambassadors below were appointed during David Cameron's prime ministry, and have continued to serve under Theresa May's new administration. A few of the ambassadors have also had previous outside experience working for the government. For instance, Barbara Woodward, the current British Ambassador to China, worked at the Department for International Development and served as the Director of the UK Border Agency prior to her appointment as Ambassador. Additionally, Kim Darroch, British Ambassador to the United States, formerly worked as the Prime Minister's National Security Advisor and the Secretary of the National Security Council. On the other hand, other diplomats' junior level careers at the FCO have not translated into their present-day positions. For instance, Sebastian Wood, the British Ambassador to Germany, spent much of his career focusing on Asia, learning

<sup>45</sup> "Further written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office." UK Parliament. November 25, 2010. Accessed October 10, 2016.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/665/665we03.htm>.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Mandarin and becoming an Asia advisor to several American organizations. Additionally, Dominic Asquith, British High Commissioner to India, spent the majority of his junior level career in Middle East postings and learning Arabic. Ultimately, this indicates the large variety of career paths and the ability for employees to be flexible within the FCO.

Most foreign services outside the UK perceive the FCO as an elitist organization due to their particular focus on hiring and training diplomats educated at leading universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. While FCO's internal hiring processes are changing, most employees in senior leadership positions are former Oxford and Cambridge graduates. For instance, a number of ambassadors from high-level foreign posts such as Turkey, France, Germany, the UN, and Russia are all white, male, and Oxford or Cambridge educated. However, the FCO now aims to recruit junior level officers outside of prominent universities as a means to diversify their foreign service and dissolve the negative elitist perception from other services.<sup>47</sup>

### **Role in Foreign Policymaking**

The role of the FCO in the United Kingdom's foreign policy decision-making process varies widely with each new government and Prime Minister. Whether or not the Foreign Secretary operates as the chief foreign policy adviser in the UK government depends a great deal on the Prime Minister's desire or lack thereof to delegate foreign policy strategy and decision-making to the Foreign Secretary and the FCO. Furthermore, it is the Cabinet Office, not the FCO that coordinates and brokers agreements between the various governmental departments and establishes joint governmental units to prevent duplication of tasks.<sup>48</sup>

Under Prime Minister Tony Blair and the New Labour government of the early 2000s, the FCO saw its role in foreign policy decision-making severely sidelined. Blair continued the precedent established by a number of his predecessors of "[working] in small ad hoc committees of his most trusted civil servants" rather than with the entire Cabinet.<sup>49</sup> During the Iraq War deliberations, Blair had cut out a number of ministers, including Foreign Secretary Jack Straw from his Defence and Overseas Policy Committee, as he found the committee "too unwieldy."<sup>50</sup> While the FCO had traditionally played "a lead role in multilateral fora" it saw its influence

<sup>47</sup> Interview with FCO employee.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Williams, Paul. "Who's Making UK Foreign Policy?" *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 80, no. 5 (2004): 911-29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3569478>

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

limited with regard to relations with Europe.<sup>51</sup> The UK's Europe policy under the New Labour government was shaped by a complex web of policy actors including the Prime Minister's Office, the UK Permanent Representation in Brussels, the European Secretariat from the Cabinet Office, the FCO, and two separate Cabinet sub-committees.

A further complicating factor for the FCO's role in the foreign policy making machinery was the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) in May of 2010. Unlike its counterpart in the United States, the UK's NSC was established through an administrative rather than statutory act meaning that the council derives its power solely from ministerial prerogative.<sup>52</sup> The NSC is comprised of the Prime Minister (who serves as chairperson) and a number of senior ministers from departments with national security related portfolios, such as the Ministry of Defence, the Department for International Development, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, among others. The national security secretariat, led by the Prime Minister's National Security Advisor, after consultation with the Prime Minister and other relevant departmental ministers, sets the agenda for the meetings of the NSC. According the UK's Cabinet Office, the UK NSC acts solely as a forum for advisory activity rather than as a distinct executive body with intrinsic decision-making authority.

A recent government reports suggest the establishment of the NSC has marginalized the FCO's role in UK foreign policy decision-making.<sup>53</sup> Former Foreign Secretary William Hague suggested that the NSC has, in some ways, supplanted the Foreign Secretary as "the principal adviser to the Prime Minister on foreign affairs."<sup>54</sup> However, Kim Darroch, British ambassador to the United States, has expressed an alternative view of the NSC-FCO relationship. He argues that the NSC gives the FCO a platform to project its foreign policy priorities and an environment more likely to generate "cross-Whitehall support."<sup>55</sup> Similarly, a parliamentary review of the FCO's role in foreign policy making hailed the creation of the NSC as a means of "binding the

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> United Kingdom. House of Commons Library. *The UK National Security Council*. By Jon Lunn and Louisa Brooke-Holland. Vol. 7456.

<sup>53</sup> "Role of the FCO in UK Government." UK Parliament. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/inquiries1/the-role-of-the-fco-in-uk-government/>.

<sup>54</sup> United Kingdom. House of Commons. House of Commons Library. *The UK National Security Council*. By Jon Lunn and Louisa Brooke-Holland. Vol. 7456.

<sup>55</sup> "The National Security Council: National Security at the Centre of Government." Accessed November 16, 2016. <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/NSC%20final%202.pdf>.

Prime Minister to a collective decision-making forum, of which the Foreign Secretary is a principal member.”<sup>56</sup>

The Department for International Development (DFID), the UK department responsible for the administration of foreign assistance and development funds, continues to operate independently of the FCO. The Foreign Affairs Committee review of the FCO’s role suggests some difficulty among high-level ministers of “[reconciling] DFID’s separate existence.”<sup>57</sup> Some witnesses suggested that, at times, DFID has operated as an “alternative overseas representative” of the UK government, at the expense of the FCO, particularly with regard to UK foreign policy in Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>58</sup> The budget disparity between the two departments has also created an imbalance; while the FCO’s budget has been continually cut in recent years, DFID’s budget has been shielded from cuts.<sup>59</sup> There appears to be a growing consensus that the organizational missions of the FCO and DFID must be more closely aligned. Ultimately it is the UK’s Cabinet Office that is responsible for the harmonization of departmental missions, and despite the challenges of Brexit and the proliferation of new external facing bureaucracies, one of our sources at the FCO suggested that the Cabinet Office is doing a remarkable job at coordinating the interagency process despite the massive increase in the number of players involved.

Budget cuts have clearly contributed to some of the FCO’s marginalization within the government. The former Permanent Under-Secretary to the FCO, Simon Fraser, recently testified that budget cuts have severely limited the FCO’s ability to staff its embassies with “the right people with the right training.”<sup>60</sup> As a point of reference, the FCO’s latest budget was only about twice as large as the UK’s annual foreign aid to Ethiopia.<sup>61</sup> Despite these fiscal restraints, FCO leadership is hopeful that the recent establishment of the Diplomatic Academy and its shift in emphasis from management to policy and regional/linguistic expertise will help re-establish the

<sup>56</sup> "Role of the FCO in UK Government." UK Parliament. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/inquiries1/the-role-of-the-fco-in-uk-government/>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Williams, Paul. "Who's Making UK Foreign Policy?" *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 80, no. 5 (2004): 911-29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3569478>

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> "Equipping the Government for Brexit." House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. July 19, 2016. Accessed November 15, 2016. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmfaaff/431/431.pdf>.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

FCO's traditional role in the UK foreign policy decision-making apparatus.<sup>62</sup>

### **Prepared for the Future?**

Advances in technology in the last two decades have forced the British diplomatic service to adapt in order to offer more public transparency. In recent years, the FCO began using various social media platforms to establish a new form of public outreach, but their success thus far is unclear.<sup>63</sup> A number of FCO diplomats have noted the importance of using social media and new technologies to create a better public understanding of FCO's mission.<sup>64</sup> FCO's leadership actively encourages their employees to use social media freely. Domestically, they ask officers to use specific hash-tags that support British campaigns. With regard to foreign postings, there is not a clear process or set of guidelines for officers, and they have the ability to speak freely to a certain extent.<sup>65</sup> Besides the FCO's social media presence, it is unclear what steps the department has taken to adapt to this new age of technology.

Aside from technology, FCO has also taken steps to eliminate administrative duties for junior-level officers, ultimately allowing them to advance and acquire relevant expertise earlier in their careers. For example, all visa work abroad is exported to local support staff, giving junior foreign officers an opportunity to work elsewhere in the embassies. This recent change not only removes an aspect of busy work away from younger diplomats, but also offers them a chance to make an impactful contribution to UK foreign policy while working in their initial posting abroad.

Hugo Swire, a former FCO Minister of State, claimed that a poll from "YouGov" affirmed the UK's strong reputation abroad, and emphasized the importance in maintaining a

<sup>62</sup> "Role of the FCO in UK Government." UK Parliament. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/inquiries/1/the-role-of-the-fco-in-uk-government/>.

<sup>63</sup> Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Twitter Page. Accessed October 6, 2016. <https://twitter.com/foreignoffice>.; Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Facebook Page. Accessed October 6, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/foreignoffice/>.

<sup>64</sup> "British Diplomacy in the Information Age." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. 2014. Accessed September 19, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/british-diplomacy-in-the-information-age>.; "The best diplomatic service in the world: strengthening the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as an Institution." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. 2011. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-best-diplomatic-service-in-the-world-strengthening-the-foreign-and-commonwealth-office-as-an-institution>.; "Austerity, Reform and Leadership: The View from the Foreign Office." Institute for Government. Accessed October 12, 2016. <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/12151/austerity-reform-and-leadership-the-view-from-the-foreign-office/>.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with FCO employee.

positive image abroad.<sup>66</sup> Several blog posts from foreign diplomatic officers offer further insight on the FCO's reputation abroad, but appear to be relatively biased.<sup>67</sup> With regard to the FCO's role in public diplomacy, one FCO report emphasized the importance of "nation branding" in order to promote travel to the UK. The report included research that explained how the international community perceives the UK's diplomatic service. According to the 2010 Anholt Nation Brand Index, the FCO is viewed as "fair, innovative, diverse, confident, and stylish," but also "arrogant, stuffy, old-fashioned and cold."<sup>68</sup> A separate report from the FCO encouraged further engagement with foreign communities as a way to debunk those assumptions. The report stated that the FCO must deal with policy issues at a global level, and it has become increasingly important to engage with foreign communities *and* foreign governments to progress both politically and socially.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, while FCO encourages engagement with locals while posted abroad, they state that the safety of diplomats is their top priority. Therefore, risk management courses are provided to those applying for foreign postings. However, FCO continues to promote an "outward facing" mentality to foreign officers.<sup>70</sup>

Lastly, the UK must adapt to several upcoming challenges after the Brexit vote in mid-2016. As a result of the vote, two new government departments, the Department for Exiting the European Union (DExEU) and Department for International Trade (DIT), were created in preparation for the UK's departure from the EU. Many FCO employees have been asked to transfer to both DExEU and DIT, eliminating many resources at FCO. Although some have suggested that the roles of these department conflict with each other, sources claim the Cabinet Office will harmonize the duties of each department. In addition to the creation of two new departments and reorganization of several others, the FCO and the British government now faces the challenge of the de-Europeanization of its foreign policy strategy. Once an independent, imperialist nation, the UK has adapted to fit the EU mold. Now they find themselves in

<sup>66</sup> "Foreign Office Minister speaks about Britain's reputation in the world." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. September 18, 2012. Accessed October 11, 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/foreign-office-minister-speaks-about-britain-s-reputation-in-the-world>.

<sup>67</sup> "Foreign Office Blogs." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Accessed October 11, 2016. <http://blogs.fco.gov.uk/>.

<sup>68</sup> "FCO Public Diplomacy: The Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012." House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. January 26, 2011. Accessed October 24, 2016. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmfaff/581/58102.htm>.

<sup>69</sup> "Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World." Foreign and Commonwealth Office. 2008. Accessed October 31, 2016.

[http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u26739/Engagement\\_FCO.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u26739/Engagement_FCO.pdf).

<sup>70</sup> Interview with FCO employee.

completely uncharted territory, without an empire and unmoored from the European system that dominated its foreign policy for several decades. The FCO must now rethink its approach and craft a foreign policy strategy that will help secure a more prosperous UK for its citizens. Many believe that the FCO will struggle to rebuild post-Brexit, however our sources at FCO have expressed confidence that government departments are working very closely to ensure a smooth transition and develop a more cohesive government.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

**Sir Dominic Asquith**  
British High Commissioner to India



Sir Dominic Asquith, 60, has served as the UK's High Commissioner to India since 2016. He graduated from Ampleforth College, and began his career working as a researcher for a variety of organizations in the Middle East. After joining the FCO in 1983, he dedicated much of his time to learning French, Arabic, and Spanish. He spent time abroad in a variety of postings such as Syria, Oman, the United States, Argentina, and Saudi Arabia. Prior to his most recent posting in India, he was the UK's ambassador to Iraq, Egypt, and Libya. He currently serves as a senior adviser to several British research agencies outside of his work at the FCO.

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**Dr. Laurie Bristow**  
British Ambassador to Russia



Dr. Laurie Bristow, 56, has served as the British Ambassador to Russia since 2015. He graduated from Trinity College and Cambridge, and joined the FCO in 1990. He has spent most of his career working on matters related to Eastern Europe and Asia. Past foreign postings include Romania, Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Russia. From 2010 to 2012, he served as the FCO's Director of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Afterward, he became the FCO's National Security Director from 2012 until 2015.



## **Matthew Rycroft**

**British Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations**



Matthew Rycroft, 48, has served as the British Ambassador to the United Nations since 2015. He graduated from Oxford with degrees in Mathematics and Philosophy, and immediately joined the FCO after graduation in 1989. Initially, he spent a few months at the UN in Geneva, and then became a NATO desk officer in London. Previous foreign postings include France, the United States, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2008, he became the FCO's Europe Director, and from 2011 to 2015, he served as the FCO's Chief Operating Officer.

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## **Sir Kim Darroch**

**British Ambassador to the United States**



Sir Kim Darroch, 62, has served as the UK's Ambassador to the United States since 2015. He graduated from Durham University with a degree in Zoology, and joined the FCO in 1977. Throughout his career, he spent time abroad in Japan and Italy. He also spent much of his time domestically, working in the FCO's Middle East, EU, and Media departments. He became the UK's Permanent Representative to the European Union in 2007. From 2012 to 2015, he served as the Prime Minister's National Security Advisor and the Secretary of the National Security Council.

**Sir Sebastian Wood**  
British Ambassador to Germany



Sir Sebastian Wood, 51, has served as the UK's Ambassador to Germany since September 2015. He graduated from Magdalen College of Oxford with degrees in Mathematics and Philosophy. Immediately after graduating, he joined the FCO in 1983. His Ambassador posting in Germany deviates from his earlier career interests at the FCO, originally having a particular focus on Asia. He spent two years of his career entirely devoted to Mandarin language training. From 2001 to 2005, he worked as a political counselor to several US clients on US foreign policy in Asia, and became the FCO's Asia-Pacific Director from 2005 to 2008.

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**Edward Llewellyn**  
British Ambassador to France



Edward Llewellyn, 51, has served as the UK's Ambassador to France since 2016. He graduated from Eton College and Oxford, and began his career at a conservative research agency in London. Much of his early career was spent in Asia and Eastern Europe, holding the position of Personal Adviser to the Governor of Hong Kong from 1992 until 1997. Additionally, he spent two years working for the Office of the High Representative in Sarajevo, and then returned to Sarajevo to serve as Chief of Staff to Lord Ashdown. From 2005 until 2010, Llewellyn was Chief of Staff to the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, and then from 2010 until 2016, he was Chief of Staff to Prime Minister David Cameron.

**Richard Moore**  
British Ambassador to Turkey



Richard Moore has served as the UK's Ambassador to Turkey since 2014. He graduated from Oxford, Harvard, and Stanford with degrees in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics. After graduating, he immediately joined the FCO, and was posted in Turkey from 1990 until 1992. While he currently serves as Ambassador to Turkey, his career has provided him with a wide array of postings, such as Vietnam, Pakistan, and Malaysia. From 2010 until 2012, he served as Director for Europe, Latin America, and Globalisation, which also departs from his primary interest in Turkey. He speaks Turkish almost fluently.

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**Dame Barbara Woodward**  
British Ambassador to China



Dame Barbara Woodward, 55, has served as the UK's Ambassador to China since February 2015. She graduated from the University of St. Andrews, and then Yale University with a degree in International Relations. Immediately after graduating, she began her career at DFID in 1990, and then joined the FCO in 1994. She has spent most of her career in Asia, with tours in Moscow and Beijing. However, she also has worked in the EU and the UN as well. Her only outside experience was with the UK Border Agency, where she served as their International Director from 2009 to 2011.

**Dr. Vijay Rangarajan**  
British Ambassador to Brazil



Dr. Vijay Rangarajan will begin his role as the UK's Ambassador to Brazil in Spring 2017. He will replace former Ambassador, Alexander Ellis, who was recently asked to serve as Director General of the Department for Exiting the European Union, a department created in response to the Brexit vote. Dr. Rangarajan joined the FCO in 1995, and spent most of his career focusing on Europe and Central America. His previous foreign postings include Belgium and Mexico, and he became the FCO's Europe Director in 2013. Prior to his foreign postings, he was the FCO's Head of European Defense from 2001 to 2003.

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**The Honourable Boris Johnson**  
British Foreign Secretary



The Honourable Boris Johnson, 52, spent the majority of his career in journalism and politics, and became the Foreign Secretary in 2016. He attended Balliol College of Oxford, graduating with a degree in Classics. Afterward, he became a journalist and worked for various media outlets for over two decades. From 2001 to 2008, he became a Member of Parliament for Henley, and was also a Member of Parliament for Uxbridge and South Ruislip from 2015 to 2016. Continuing in a career of politics, he served as mayor of London from 2008 to 2016.

## Conclusion

Robert Hutchings

One of the most striking things about our survey of diplomatic services in eight key countries is how different their histories and cultures are, despite the many structural and procedural similarities among them. With the exception of China's, all of them drew their structure and organization from a shared European tradition, Brazil's and India's having been transmitted during the colonial periods and Turkey's having come from the Westernizing reforms of the Kemalist era. Yet each of these diplomatic cultures grew out of a unique historical experience.

More than a century after his death, the Baron of Rio Branco still hovers over the *Itamaraty*, Brazil's foreign ministry, just as the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, continues to stand over the German foreign office. Contemporary French diplomacy reflects the nationalist aspirations of Charles de Gaulle, and in India, the complicated legacies of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi continue to be a source of internal diplomatic tension. These cultural differences have made for a fascinating study, but they make comparisons and generalizations challenging.

### **The Ideal Diplomat**

From these extensive surveys of eight very different services, is it possible to construct the Ideal Diplomat? Surely not: skilled diplomats come in various shapes and sizes. Some are master strategists, others are gifted linguists with deep regional expertise, and still others are experienced administrators and leaders. Diplomatic services need officers with these varied talents: the attributes one seeks for the head of the planning staff are not the same as those sought for the director of a regional bureau or a UN ambassador. *Vive la difference!*

There are, nonetheless, certain important features gleaned from our surveys that can be said to constitute the best of diplomatic selection and professional development. What are they?

To start with, our Ideal Diplomat comes out of a rigorous selection process that identifies and selects for excellence, yet is open to a broader pool of applicants than those coming through traditional pipelines like Oxbridge or ENA (the *École Nationale d'Administration*). In most cases, the Ideal Diplomat had academic training in a field directly related to international affairs. After

being selected, our Ideal Diplomat receives substantial, rigorous training in the arts of diplomacy and in the culture and operations of the foreign ministry and other government departments, so that before she takes up her first posting she is already a trained diplomat, prepared to represent her government competently. In cases where an entry level officer does not have an appropriate academic background, she would be given additional academic training to bring her up to a professional level. She does not begin her career by adjudicating visas, because in her ministry visa work is either outsourced or performed by those in a separate career track. Important as visa work is, having professional diplomats take on these tasks entails a high opportunity – as well as financial – cost.

Our Ideal Diplomat would receive periodic training throughout her career. Often these are short courses in key aspects of diplomacy: negotiation, cross-cultural communication, commercial diplomacy, management, strategy, coercive diplomacy, ethics, and others. These may be academic, experiential (“on the job”), or a combination of the two; some would be mandatory, others would be elective, with the requirement that a certain number of electives be completed before she is eligible for promotion to higher levels. Additionally, she would routinely receive language and regional training before taking up a new post. At least twice in her career, our Ideal Diplomat would be afforded a full year away, to pursue advanced academic work, have a stint in another government department, be seconded to the staff of an international organization, or spend time in a think tank, foundation, or commercial enterprise. She would spend at least one year back in her home country for every two years abroad, and would be expected during these home stays to engage in public diplomacy at home so that she better understands her own country and so that her fellow citizens better understand her and her work.

Our Ideal Diplomat would be a member of a diplomatic service that enjoys a strong *esprit de corps*, a reputation for excellence among other parts of government (rivaled only by the finance ministry and office of the president, prime minister, or chancellor), and a general level of trust within the legislature and public at large. Mindful of the special stresses of a transient profession, her service would provide generous accommodation of tandem assignments and family leaves. The personnel or human resources department would be modern and mission-driven, led by career officers who put the needs of the service and its officers above adherence to standards. Rising diplomats would be given a sequence of early postings to afford them exposure to all aspects of

the ministry's work, and they would engage with senior diplomats through a formal mentoring program as part of their career development.

Our Ideal Diplomat's rise might well have been quite rapid, because her ministry's promotion boards, led by senior diplomats, prize excellence over time in grade. Also, she would not be competing with political appointees, because her ministry has none – only a handful of staff appointees in the minister's office and some select subject matter experts in the functional bureaus.

The ministry would be characterized by a culture of creativity rather than of conformity, in which officers are encouraged to exercise responsibility even at junior levels – and entrusted to do so, because they had been well versed in the culture and mission of the ministry starting at entry level and continuing throughout. Although the ministry's organizational chart might look hierarchical, its operating style would be characterized by “subsidiarity,” the devolution of decision making to the lowest level feasible. Officers are not only permitted to act independently; they are expected to do so, and those who do not show themselves capable of exercising sound independent judgment would be winnowed out early on.

Through careful selection, mentorship, screening for promotion, and above all by socialization in the very culture of the service, our Ideal Diplomat would have developed the critical personality traits of humility, patience, emotional intelligence, empathy, and grace under pressure. Although such traits may have to be nurtured rather than taught, the service would have built into its training and mentoring programs innovative modules in role playing, resiliency training, psychological awareness, and crisis management.

The foreign minister would be a senior political figure, with experience in party affairs as well as in at least one other ministry, and would have a national reputation. The minister would be recognized as the principal voice on foreign policy beneath the head of state or government, and would have the stature to be an effective defender of the professional foreign service within government and before the public. The minister might not be a foreign policy expert, but she or he would have had considerable direct experience abroad in either a party capacity or as a member of senior delegations. The minister would be supported by a small number of political appointees, but below that level the ministry would be staffed by career diplomats, career civil servants, or other professionals.

By the time our Ideal Diplomat is ready for promotion to the highest levels, she would have received an advanced degree (if she did not have one when she entered the ministry), acquired real

expertise in one region and secondary expertise in another, developed competency in two functional areas (such as security, development, foreign trade, or public diplomacy), held senior leadership positions within the ministry, and gained broad experience with policy making at the inter-agency and political levels. She would speak multiple languages and have acquired expertise in negotiation, strategy, and other key elements of diplomacy. She would combine specialized knowledge with a strategic worldview and sense of national mission.

Above all, our Ideal Diplomat would have become a global citizen and leader, in keeping with the ethos and mission of her ministry. Recognizing that her country's interests cannot successfully be pursued from a narrow, nationalistic perspective, she would have become a representative and advocate not only of her own country but of an international community of diplomats who share a commitment to diplomacy, empathy, and principled compromise as the irreducible elements of a cooperative global order.

### **The Real and the Ideal**

Obviously, we have described an ideal type, but the traits described above are not fanciful or unrealistic. One encounters real world diplomats, past and present, who exhibit these attributes. Such individuals are rare, but they do exist. How well do the eight services nurture these qualities in their diplomats and in their diplomatic services? The record is mixed. None of them do all of these things associated with our ideal foreign service, but all of them perform well in at least some of them.

All are elite services, and proudly so. Once the preserve of those of means and title, they have gradually traded the privileges of aristocracy for the more democratic but no less exclusive ones of meritocracy. They recruit from leading universities, many of them, like ENA in France and MGIMO in Russia, specifically geared for the preparation of public servants. In most services, entry level officers have strong academic training in history, politics, economics, or law, as well as fluency in at least two languages. The elite character of the services is of course a tremendous strength, because they are populated by officers of high academic achievement and great skill.

Yet there is a growing recognition in many countries that their elite diplomatic services are out of step with their egalitarian political cultures. Many have made public commitments to diversity, and most – Russia being an extreme outlier – have made strides in gender diversity. Ethnic diversity is another matter, and most services have made only scant progress. India is



clearly the leader in this respect, though Brazil and the U.K. also have made serious attempts to improve ethnic diversity. The main impulse seems to be to promote equity and representativeness, so that public institutions better reflect the diversity of the populations they purport to represent, but this focus on diversity may also reflect an effort to build public understanding and trust by narrowing the distance between diplomats and the wider public. Interestingly, none of the services has stressed the rationale that a more diverse diplomatic corps would improve diplomatic effectiveness by strengthening cross-cultural familiarity and competency.

Most services do well in providing appropriate entry-level training designed to familiarize officers with the ministry as well as acquire diplomatic skills. While there is a diverse assortment of coursework and training lengths among countries, most require that entry-level employees take courses in foreign languages, history of the country's foreign service, and diplomatic language and protocol. The Brazilian, German, and Indian services have the most extensive initial training, ranging from three semesters in the Brazilian case to as long as three years in the German. The German training period includes an internship and final examination before new officers are assigned to their first posting. France, Russia, and the U.K. do not provide the same level of initial training, relying instead on their rigorous selection process from elite institutions and the professional education entering officers received there before they joined the service. Russian diplomats in particular are known for their strong language and regional expertise.

India's practice is unique among those we studied. New Indian diplomats are drawn from the highly selective Indian Civil Service examination process, which means that the Indian Foreign Service recruits candidates alongside domestic counterparts such as the Indian Administrative Service and even begins their training with civil servants from across ministries and levels of government. IFS officers subsequently undertake almost two additional years of training on top of the induction they received as civil service recruits, including extensive rotations throughout the central government's ministries including military attachments. This training also includes innovative features meant to ensure that Indian diplomats are well connected to their country at the grass roots: a ten-day trek in the Himalayas followed by a 12-day visit to a remote village, and the *Bharat Darshan*, a tour of major cultural, commercial, and historical sites. Brazil has an analogous but less extensive practice whereby officers spend time in various states to experience something of the diversity of their country.

Several services offer short and focused training courses at various points throughout a career. As noted in the introduction, Brazil and China link mandatory mid-career training courses to eligibility for promotion, and France requires mid-career management training after 15 years of service. China selects a large number of mid-career officers for a full year's academic training, often at American or European institutions. In other services, such opportunities for mid-career "sabbaticals" are more limited. Cost and staffing constraints are the reasons usually cited for not doing more, but it is worth noting that many other institutions, notably the armed services but also a growing number of private companies, build mid-career training or sabbatical opportunities into their professional development.

Penetrating the organizational cultures of ministries is difficult, but our surveys allow a few general conclusions. The German and French services seem to be the most advanced in promoting a "work-life balance" through generous family leave policies, flex-time work arrangements, and job placement help for partners. France seems to be the leader in cultivating a climate of creativity and innovation, and in nurturing in their officers the habits of strategic thinking. To regularize promotion procedures and make them more transparent, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office has Assessment and Development Centers (ADCs), which administer a mix of written and interactive exercises, focused mainly on management and leadership. Similarly, Turkey requires meritocratic examinations between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> years of service.

As the leadership profiles appended to each country chapter show, ambassadorial posts in all eight countries are almost entirely reserved for career diplomats. Most ambassadors to key posts have been ambassadors already (usually at lesser posts), have served before in the country, speak the language fluently, and have served in senior levels back in their home ministries. In Brazil, officers must complete a dissertation-like process before becoming an ambassador. The contrast between the professional standards of these countries and the U.S. practice of assigning political appointees to key posts is conspicuous.

### **Lessons for the United States?**

As noted in the introduction, we deliberately chose not to include the United States Foreign Service in our survey, fearing that doing so might lead us to judge everything against the U.S. experience. We admire the U.S. Foreign Service, but we did not enter into the study with the

preconception that ours is the standard by which others should be measured. Nor, on the other hand, did we presume that the U.S. diplomatic corps should necessarily follow the examples of other services. Indeed, we are hesitant to draw sweeping conclusions about which practices are most relevant, or most deserving of emulation by the United States. A “best practice” in one country is not necessarily best for another. We leave it to others to offer specific policy recommendations and confine our conclusions to those that are clearly demonstrated by the evidence we have presented.

The most obvious conclusions are that compared to these other services, America’s diplomatic corps is disadvantaged at the junior level and again at the senior level. At entry level, the selection process in the U.S. Foreign Service is much more egalitarian than those of other services and much more focused on achieving diversity. These are good and admirable qualities, but it has meant that some entry level officers lack the expert qualifications of those from other countries, and they are chosen from among a wide and indiscriminate array of academic backgrounds. These entry level officers are then given a mere five weeks of orientation in the A-100 course, involving no serious substantive training. More rigorous initial training of much longer duration would pay dividends in the strengthening the competency and confidence of junior officers as they start their careers. Deepening this shared experience at entry level would also strengthen the sense of belonging to an A-100 cohort, much as Indian Foreign Service officers identify with their “batch” throughout their careers.

After entry level training, rather than embarking on an early posting to begin honing their diplomatic skills, most U.S. officers are sent abroad to do visa work, often for multiple years. One risk with this practice is that junior officers begin to lose some of the enthusiasm they had when they entered, especially in that these early postings are followed by what can be a painfully slow rise through the ranks before they are entrusted with the same level of responsibility as counterparts in other professions.

At mid-career, officers often find that the Foreign Service does not offer sufficient career flexibility, time off to pursue advanced academic training, or opportunities for lateral mobility. Contrast this with their military counterparts, who routinely receive year-long training at least twice in a career, along with mandatory details to other services or government agencies. The armed services consider that they have made a large investment in a career officer, and that it is important – for professional development as well as retention – to continue to protect and nurture

their investment throughout a career. A growing number of American companies are also embracing the idea of a mid-year “sabbatical” or “gap year” as important to retaining millennial generation talent whose career expectations are very different from their predecessors. The rapid growth of mid-career master’s programs attests to the growing insistence of the rising generation of young professionals for continued career development. Yet these opportunities hardly exist for American diplomats. The very few Foreign Service officers who are afforded mid-career academic opportunities most often receive their strategic training at the War College, with the result that diplomats learn strategy from the military rather than the other way around.

The lack of training opportunities for diplomats is exacerbated by the presence at senior working level of many “irregulars” who come in from academia, the think tanks, or law firms to take up staff positions at the National Security Council, National Economic Council, the policy planning staff, and elsewhere. The ability of the U.S. government to bring in such skilled outsiders is an otherwise positive feature, often mentioned by foreign diplomats with admiration and envy, but it has the damaging side effect of disadvantaging the foreign service professionals, who do not have the same opportunities for lateral movement and often find that the strategic and policy making positions they have been striving toward are taken up by outsiders. And those who see an ambassadorship as the appropriate culmination of a distinguished career are often in for another disappointment.

At the senior level, the United States is an extreme outlier among foreign services in the number of political appointees as ambassadors, even in key posts, and the growing politicization of the Department of State, with political appointees dominating the senior ranks (Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Under Secretary levels) and extending all the way down to the Deputy Assistant Secretary level. Of course, there have been highly accomplished political appointees who have been superb ambassadors, but there have been many more patronage appointees with no relevant qualifications, having been chosen principally for their support in presidential election campaigns. Contrast these U.S. ambassadors with their counterparts from other countries, who typically speak several languages, are well versed in the country to which they are assigned, and are career professionals with extensive knowledge of their home ministries. It must be underscored that the United States pays a heavy price for being so disadvantaged at the top level of many of their critical missions abroad.

None of this is to denigrate the U.S. Foreign Service, whose officers are often among the most skilled and dedicated of any diplomatic service. Rather, it is to suggest that there are lessons to be learned from other services that could better empower the U.S. Foreign Service to field the strongest officers at entry level, prepare them to be both experts and strategic thinkers, and ensure that only the most qualified individuals represent the United States at the highest levels.

# # #

Country	Foreign Service Budget (USD)	Budget Year	# of Personnel	Personnel Year	GDP (USD)	Budget as % of GDP	# of Missions	Cone, Trade or Other	% Women	Advanced Degree Required?
Brazil	\$0.60 billion	FY 2015	3,352	2014	\$1.78 trillion	0.06%	225 (139 embassies, 63 consulates, 12 permanent missions, 11 other)	4 cone equivalents	22%	Yes
China	\$1.49 billion	FY 2016	7,500	2015	\$10.86 trillion	0.01%	258 (162 embassies, 87 consulates, 9 other)	No technical specializations	31%	No
France	\$3.03 billion	FY 2017	9,745	2012	\$2.42 trillion	0.14%	226 (153 embassies, 61 consulates, 12 permanent missions)	No, three categories or cadres, diplomatic, primary consular and primarily support personnel	53%	No
Germany	\$2.36 billion	FY 2016	6,051	2016	\$3.35 trillion	0.04%	227(153 embassies, 61 consulates, 12 permanent missions, 1 other)	No, they are generalists until consular level	48%	Yes
India	\$0.90 billion	FY 2016	4,086	2014	\$2.07 trillion	0.03%	172 (119 embassies, 47 consulates, 3 permanent missions, 3 other)	Generalist batches	19%	Undergraduate Degree
Russia	\$1.50 billion	FY 2016	10,000	N/A	\$1.33 trillion	0.11%	243 (142 embassies, 89 consulates, 11 permanent missions, 1 other)	No, geographic depts broken down by region and separate domestic depts	N/A	Yes
Turkey	\$0.55 billion	FY 2016	6,583	2016	\$0.72 trillion	0.14%	234 (135 embassies, 84 consulates, 13 permanent missions, 2 other)	4 cone equivalents	25%	No
UK	\$1.37 billion	FY 2015	4,295	2016	\$2.62 trillion	0.06%	236 (149 embassies, 60 consulates, 9 permanent missions, 18 other)	Five employment "bands" -- A, B, C, D, and SMS (Senior Management Structure)	47%	Undergraduate Degree Preferred (2:2)

Country	Length of First Training before Assignment	Mid-Career Training	# of Languages beyond Native Tongue	Maximum Age of Entry (Cutoff)	Length of Term per Post	Political Appointees
Brazil	18 months	Mid-Level and Upper-Level training coursework required for advancement	3 (French, Spanish, English)	No known maximum age of entry (retirement at 70)	2-3 years	No
China	Minimum of 6 months	Year-long academic leave available for mid-career officers; 2-month training course for senior-level appointments	1 (English)	No known maximum age of entry	1-3 Years	No
France	14 weeks	3 year training course upon return to Mid-level management	2 (English and other)	No known maximum age of entry	2-4 years	No, possible under constitution
Germany	15 months - 3 years	Short leadership courses	2 (English, and French/other UN language)	50 years old	3-5 Years	No
India	15 months	3 phases, each lasting from 3-4 weeks	0	32 years old	3-5 Years	Tradition of 10 appointments by PM (generally retired IFS)
Russia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1-3 years	No
Turkey	2 weeks followed by additional training	Academic thesis required for advancement in the Foreign Policy Expert track, Mandatory training for new ambassadors	1-2 (English, French, German. If not high-level English, must be high-level fluent in the other two and passable in English)	31 (FSO) 35 (Foreign Policy Expert w/Masters) 37 (Foreign Policy Expert w/PhD)	Minimum 2, Maximum 5	No
UK	2 weeks followed by specialized training	Individual professional development plans	0	No known maximum age of entry	2-4 years	No, last resort option

<b>General Diplomatic Statistics</b>	Diplomatic/Consular Network	Diplomatic Service Staff	Budget without ODA (in million USD)
Brazil	225	3,352	600
China	258	7,500*	1,490
France	275	9,745	3,028
Germany	227	6,051	2,355
India	172	4,086	900
Russia	243	10,000*	1,500
Turkey	234	6,583	550
United Kingdom	236	4,295	1,370

<b>Staff by Category</b>	Total Staff	Diplomatic Service Staff	Diplomats	Other Personnel	Locally Engaged
Brazil	3,419†	3,352	1,561	1,791	n/a
China	7,500*†	7,500*	7,500*	n/a	n/a
France	14,798	9,745	6,004	3,741	5,053
Germany	11,782	6,051	3,497	2,554	5,731
India	6,317	4,086	982	3,104	2,231
Russia	10,000*†	10,000*	n/a	n/a	n/a
Turkey	6,583†	6,583	2,164	4,419	n/a
United Kingdom	12,563	4,295	n/a	n/a	8,268

<b>Service Location</b>	Total Staff	Headquarters	At Post
Brazil	3,352	1,325	2,027
China	7,500*	3,000*	4,500*
France	14,798	6,840	7,958
Germany	11,782	2,983	8,799
India	6,317	n/a	n/a
Russia	10,000*	7,500*	2,500*
Turkey	6,583	n/a	n/a
United Kingdom	12,563	3,933	8,630

<b>Staff Categories at Post</b>	Total Staff At Post	Permanent Staff At Post	Locally Engaged At Post
Brazil	2,027†	n/a	n/a
China	4,500*†	4,500*	n/a
France	7,958	2,905	5,053
Germany	8,799	3,068	5,731
India	n/a	n/a	2,231
Russia	2,500*†	2,500*	n/a
Turkey	n/a	n/a	n/a
United Kingdom	8,630	1,546	7,084

\* Estimated number

† Sum total includes missing values in “other personnel” or “locally engaged”

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