



Crafting National Interests: How Diplomatic Training Impacts Sovereignty

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Introduction

Despite the ongoing discussion about the declining role of the state in international relations, the importance of diplomacy has never been questioned in research papers. The founder of classical realism, Hans Morgenthau, described diplomacy as the core element of power¹ and a way of converting all types of public resources into influence. A well-known theorist of international relations, Adam Watson, saw diplomacy as a tool of interaction between independent states that exist in a common international environment and as a means of protecting the internal environment of states from external impulses². Norwegian researcher Iver Neumann identified three main profiles in forming the diplomat's professional qualities: "a bureaucrat," "a hero," and "a mediator³."

The study of diplomatic practices is crucial as the international order transitions from hegemony to polycentricity, intensifying rivalry between states. This paper represents a preliminary exploration of the training of international analysts and diplomatic personnel worldwide, conducted by MGIMO University. The contributors assert that the quality of diplomatic training holds significant importance in enabling nation-states to attain autonomy and agency in the evolving polycentric world order.

The report is grounded in the examination of diplomatic training practices within countries experiencing significant shifts in their global standing. Among the Western states scrutinized are the **United States**, witnessing a decline in global hegemony; the **Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Finland**, – European nations undergoing changes in their once distinctive foreign policy traditions; and **Poland**, aspiring to emerge as a new EU power center. The analysis also encompasses Global Majority countries, such as **India and Brazil**, positioning themselves as leaders in the emerging multipolar order; **Nigeria and Saudi Arabia**, aspiring to lead regional subsystems; and **South Korea and Turkey**.

Methodologically, countries are grouped depending on the specifics of their diplomatic training. We identify two axes of variables to put countries into different groups: functional/fundamental training and global/national epistemology.

¹ Morgenthau H. *Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Alfred A, Knopf, Inc. 1948.

² Watson A. *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States* (1st ed.). Routledge, 1982.

³ Neumann I. *At Home with the Diplomats. Inside a European Foreign Ministry*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 2012.

Functional training is designed to equip diplomats with applied competencies and skills (project management, management, communication, protocol, paperwork, etc.). The teaching of classical disciplines focusing on the history of international relations and regional studies is drastically reduced or cut down to case studies; little attention is paid to the teaching of foreign languages. The substantive part is often replaced with training courses focusing on values and ideology. The functional type is aimed at training versatile civil servants, often in the form of additional professional training, without focusing on specialisation in international relations.

Fundamental training places an emphasis on special disciplines in the international relations sphere, such as foreign languages and cultural and language studies, regional studies, law and economics, as well as the history of international relations and foreign policy of the country of interest which is taught in a systematic chronology-based manner. High priority is given to mastering a theory of knowledge of the country of interest and developing negotiating skills. In most cases, fundamental training involves five to six years of study as part of a full-fledged bachelor's/specialist's degree-master's degree programme.

Global epistemology relies on the prism of international relations analysis, a perspective common in mainstream Western political science that is devoid of national specifics. This approach does not incorporate nation-specific experiences of foreign policy in diplomatic personnel training, opting instead for universal ideas and concepts.

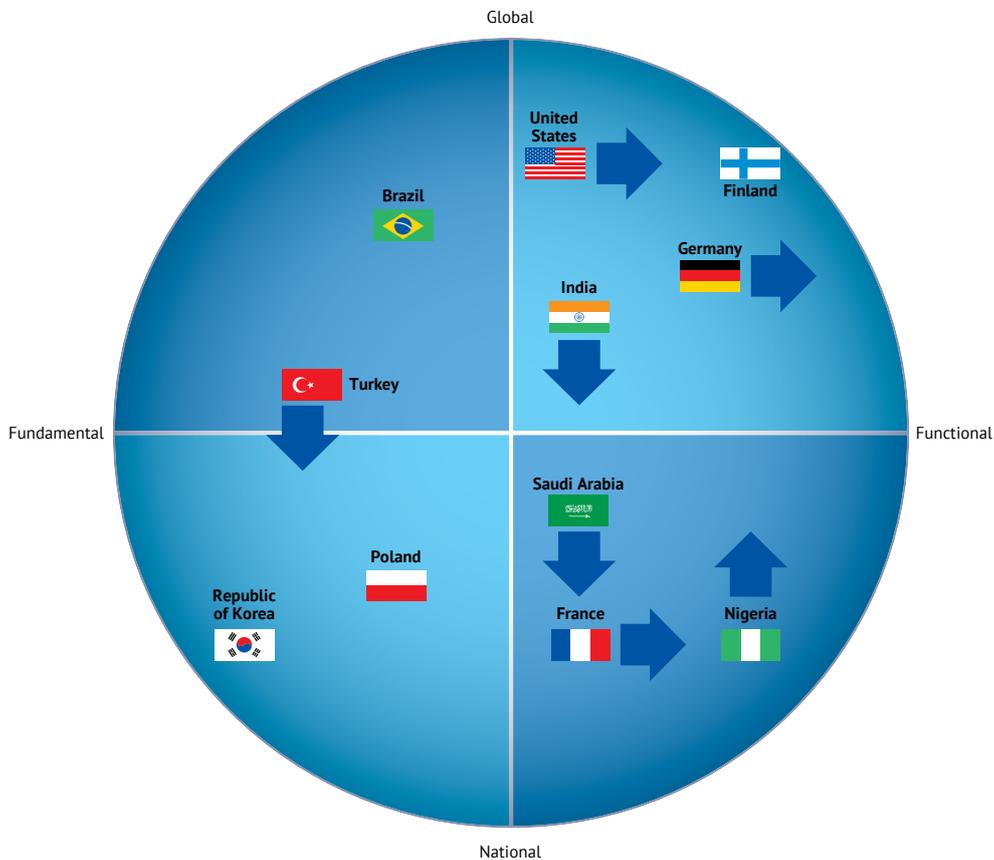
National epistemology aims to conceptualize one's own national experience of foreign policy as the foundation for shaping foreign policy strategy and identity. International experiences and popular mainstream ideas undergo scrutiny for alignment with national interests before being integrated into the diplomatic training process.

The grouping of countries by variables was based on the analysis of diplomatic training practices according to the criteria provided in the table (*Table 1*) below:

THE GROUPING OF COUNTRIES BY VARIABLES BASED ON THE ANALYSIS OF DIPLOMATIC TRAINING PRACTICES

	United States	Germany	France	Poland	Finland	Turkey	India	Republic of Korea	Brazil	Saudi Arabia	Nigeria
Major "International Relations"	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
Major "Regional Studies"	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Working language of the MFA (national/English)	N	N	N	N	E	N	NE	N	N	N	NE
Method of teaching international relations history: chronological, cases, none	C	C	CCH	CH	C	CH	CCH	CH	CCH	C	n
International relations history textbook: imported/domestic/none	D	DI	DI	DI	I	DI	I	D	DI	D	n
Teaching of foreign languages	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Availability of career enhancement institutions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The criteria-based correlation of countries:



“History has not yet begun:” countries with a global epistemology and a functional approach to diplomatic training

The global and functional approach is characterised by training programmes that focus on the development of general managerial competencies in future diplomats, an absence of full-fledged international relations training programmes or their reliance on general Western-centric narratives about the development of the international system (“the end of history,” “the world is flat,” and the like).

In the United States, despite the availability of diverse training programmes, the global international political approach prevails, with methods involving the examination of individual cases and international development issues. Usually, US diplomats have a legal rather than a specialised background. In Germany and India, the specifics of training diplomats include advanced professional training at diplomatic academies. The educational curve of future diplomats in Finland is aimed at developing general managerial competencies without specific international political specialisation.

The United States

The US foreign policy community is one of the world’s largest. The lack of emphasis on career advancement for diplomats and the high proportion of political appointees in embassies is the outcome of two mixed trends.

First, regardless of the administration in the White House, US foreign policy does not undergo any fundamental shifts and develops as part of a single strategic course to maintain foreign policy dominance. As the US historian John Lewis Gaddis formulated in his classic work “Strategies of

Containment,⁴ the perception of the foreign policy threat posed by the Soviet Union, Russia, and China, as well as the internal strife between the political institutions, and the strategy of building global economic institutions form robust pillars of the US foreign policy consensus. No less important in this regard are innovative theories that point to the leading role of the foreign policy establishment (*The Blob*) and affiliated “special interest” groups⁵, which include political pundits who are more hawkish than academic professors. The establishment has “a selection mechanism whereby advocates of more interventionist policies abroad are more likely to be hired into positions where they can influence public opinion and policy⁶.”

Second, there is no single diplomatic training centre in the United States. University graduates, mostly Ivy League graduates, can join the State Department. In particular, five of the most recent Secretaries of State, including Hillary Clinton, John Kerry, Rex Tillerson, Michael Pompeo and Antony Blinken, are Ivy League graduates⁷. The elitism of the State Department amid discussions about social schism in the United States, caused by socioeconomic inequality, systematically causes attempts, however unsuccessful, to carry out large-scale programmes to reform the diplomatic department⁸. The main trend in the training of diplomatic staff in the United States is the elitism of higher education and the absence of a specific university to train diplomats. In the United States, an Ivy League diploma is more important than specialised diplomatic education.

All these institutions are carriers of business culture and disseminators of what French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu called “social capital,” i.e., the sum of connections and hierarchy⁹. Interestingly, when

⁴ Gaddis J. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁵ Walt S. *The Hell of Good Intentions: America’s Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy*. Macmillan, 2018.

⁶ Hanania R., Abrahms M. *What Do Think Tanks Think? Proximity to Power and Foreign Policy Preferences*. APSA Preprints, 2018.

⁷ In 2012, the *Foreign Policy* magazine polled a number of senior diplomats and research community officials to identify universities that train personnel for the US national security apparatus.

⁸ Сушенцов А., Павлов В. «Кризис призвания» в Государственном департаменте: проблемы конвертации внешнеполитического потенциала США во влияние // Полис. Политические исследования. № 2. 2021. Pp. 76–98.

⁹ Bourdieu P. *The Forms of Capital* // *Readings in Economic Sociology*. v. 3, No. 5. 2002.

analysing the practices of individuals competing for “social capital,” Bourdieu paid special attention to studying the processes involved in forming and maintaining institutional inequality¹⁰. These observations are confirmed by the reality of America’s culture of bureaucracy. An analysis conducted by the US Court of Accounts notes that State Department employees who are Ivy League graduates and who wish to move up the diplomatic career ladder are 22.5 percent more likely to be promoted than State Department employees without such a degree. Journalists point out that graduates of elite educational institutions have better starting positions¹¹. The closed nature of the US foreign policy establishment is also linked to the “revolving door” phenomenon, where former State Department employees go into business and, conversely, people from business organisations with a prestigious education enter the diplomatic profession¹².

In the training programmes for future diplomats, the education process tends to centre around case studies that are designed to illustrate general trends inherent in the international liberal order. The disciplines encompassing grand strategy, great power politics, and globalization are aligning with this trajectory.

Recently, specialized journals have been publishing a growing number of articles discussing a crisis in US diplomacy¹³. Representatives of the camp favouring a more restrained foreign policy argue that US diplomacy is underfunded, resulting in the White House opting for more militarised ways of promoting national interests¹⁴. Nevertheless, the significant deterioration in the fundamental training quality for US diplomats has largely gone unnoticed. They exhibit a lack of systematic knowledge in the history of international relations and possess limited understanding of epistemology concerning their adversaries, contributing

¹⁰ Bourdieu P. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010.

¹¹ Ivy League Grads Have a Leg up in State Department Promotions, Stats Show // Politico, 14.06.2020. URL: <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/14/ivy-league-grads-state-department-promotions-316531>

¹² Personnel Map // Revolving Door Project. URL: <https://therevolvingdoorproject.org/personnel/>

¹³ Burns W.J. *The Demolition of U.S. Diplomacy* // Foreign Affairs, 14.10.2019. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/demolition-us-diplomacy>

¹⁴ Underfunded diplomacy is feature (not a bug) of US foreign policy // Responsible Statecraft, 31.10.2022. URL: <https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/10/31/underfunding-diplomacy-is-a-feature-of-us-foreign-policy/?highlight=diplomacy>

to foreign policy mistakes. And the notorious emphasis on the policy of “diversity” in the State Department’s HR work is hardly capable of improving the quality of US foreign policy¹⁵.

India

India initiated the training of its diplomats prior to gaining independence in 1947. Following the model of various government institutions, India’s foreign policy agency inherited its structure, organization, and foundational principles from the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, a department in British India.

The Indian diplomatic service selects new personnel through the national civil service employment process, which entails successfully completing a specific examination. In contrast, joining the administrative service requires submitting a recommendation from the Union Public Service Commission, accessible to any Indian citizen with an MA upon passing an examination.

Senior civil servants determine the focal points of India’s foreign policy and perform representative functions, but are not involved in the Foreign Ministry’s routine operations, as those are managed by secretaries responsible for general administrative matters. There are also additional secretaries responsible for individual regions.

There are specific limitations on entering the administrative service in India: a candidate should be between 21 and 32 years of age, but there are exceptions to this rule for “designated castes”¹⁶ and tribes. After being accepted into the diplomatic service, employees undergo retraining. The first six months at the Lal Bahadur Shastri

¹⁵ Элитный консенсус в США. РСМД, 22.06.2023. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/columns/political-life-of-usa/elitnyy-konsensus-v-ssha/>

¹⁶ Like Korea and Nigeria, India has a system of quotas, in fact a form of positive discrimination to advance formerly oppressed social groups known as designated castes. They are called “designated” because there is a government list of castes, tribes, and other groups that faced discrimination in the past, whose members now enjoy certain leeway in the process. For example, they can be allowed a higher upper age limit or no limit at all. Thus, officials from these categories must be older than 21 but do not have to retire after turning 32. They also have the right to take the exam more than six times, which is the maximum for everyone else (after which they are not eligible for civil service under any circumstances).

National Academy of Administration are devoted to the study of the Indian Constitution, civil service laws, and so on. The next six months are spent at the Sushma Swaraj Institute of Foreign Service, where students concentrate on international relations and diplomacy. This course is divided into three parts: 1) structure of the Ministry of External Affairs and its functions; 2) theory of international relations, politics, geopolitics (a general rundown without regional specialisation); 3) economic and consular ties with other countries.

After a course at the Sushma Swaraj Institute, new employees are sent to one of the Departments of the Ministry of External Affairs, where they spend several weeks gaining insights into the ministry's mode of operation. Subsequently, they are assigned as attachés to one of India's embassies overseas, where they undergo language training. The training program is rigorous, requiring young diplomats to acquire language proficiency on the job, without the aid of introductory courses.

All in all, the Indian school of diplomatic training has certain distinctive national features. In India, diplomatic service does not hold a special status relative to other types of civil service. Very often Indian internet users ask what service, administrative or diplomatic, they should choose, and a frequent reply is that the administrative service is a better option because there is no need to leave the country. Moreover, those who get decent marks on the entrance exam can choose the type of service they prefer.

Germany

In Germany, pursuing a diplomatic career requires undergoing retraining at the Diplomatic Service Academy (*Akademie Auswärtiger Dienst*) created in 1950.

Applicants have to meet various requirements but holding a specific kind of degree is not mandatory. For example, Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock's academic background is only indirectly related to international relations. Between 2000 and 2005, she earned a bachelor's degree in political science (University of Hamburg) and a master's in public international law (London School of Economics and Political Science). In

2008 and 2009, she worked as an adviser on foreign and security policy for the parliamentary group of Alliance 90/The Greens in the Bundestag. During her first Bundestag term, she was a member of the Committee on European Affairs and served as a speaker for climate policy (2013–2017)¹⁷. As the government coalition was formed, the choice of Baerbock was made for reasons of political expedience, while professionally trained candidates, like current German Ambassador to Russia Alexander Lambsdorff (FDP), were passed over.

The German foreign policy tradition includes three civil service levels at the Federal Foreign Office. The Diplomatic Service Academy practices different approaches to training in these three categories. Candidates for *middle service* positions (technical staff and low-level employees) are required to have a high school education. The *first-class civil service* is for the mid-level professionals (lawyers, administrators and functionaries) employed at the Federal Foreign Office and German diplomatic missions abroad. They are also expected to have at least a high-school education. Officials in this category do consular work and promote German businesses. Their training lasts for three years, of which four months are a probationary period at the Federal Foreign Office and seven months are spent at missions abroad. Candidates for the *high civil service* (career diplomats devoting their entire life to diplomatic service¹⁸) face the most rigorous requirements, including a master's degree at a minimum. They are trained for one year with a focus on international relations, personnel management, crisis management, and rhetoric. Each academy student studies three foreign languages.

Germany does not offer a bachelor's degree in international relations. International relations is just a component of the political science major. Conversely, a number of leading German universities offer courses in regional studies (*Regionalstudien*) without considering foreign policy. For example, the Free University of Berlin (a leading German university specialising in international relations and diplomacy) offers a programme on Italian regions that completely ignores Italy's foreign policy and instead emphasises history, sociology, and culture.

¹⁷ Außenministerin Annalena Baerbock // Auswärtiges Amt, 21.02.2022. URL: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aamt/leitung/bm-lebenslauf-seite>

¹⁸ Berufsbild des höheren Auswärtigen Dienstes // Auswärtiges Amt, 26.06.2023. URL: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/karriere/diplomat-hoeherer-dienst/berufsbild-hoeherer-dienst-auswaertiges-amt>

Programmes of this kind cover a wide range of countries, such as France, Greece, countries in North America, China, Korea, and Japan, plus a corresponding number of foreign languages. As for the teaching of history, although there are German-language textbooks, Germany makes a wide use of English-language alternatives.

Since there is no bachelor's programme, international relations are not taught in a systematic manner, as confirmed by an analysis of the curricula offered by many leading German universities. The Academy, the next level of training for diplomats after higher education, focuses on honing functional skills like organising events or interacting with the media. Nevertheless, the entrance exam to the Academy presumes that applicants already possess an in-depth knowledge of international relations down to geographical and economic specifics.

All things considered, Germany is closer to the Atlantic school of personnel training. Combining political appointment and competitive selection practices creates a complex system where installing a new government and foreign minister is balanced by the rigorous selection of personnel assigned to three non-interchangeable categories. The lack of comprehensive programmes on international relations and the requirement to know English make it clear that assessing the foreign policy environment from the point of view of Germany's national interests is giving way to an emphasis on reaching Transatlantic consensus.

Finland

Finland, being a small country with no distinctive foreign policy tradition, reflects this in trends at both the university level and in the recruitment process for the diplomatic service. It lacks a specialized school for training diplomats. Experts in political science and international relations are trained by the University of Helsinki¹⁹, Tampere University²⁰, University of Turku²¹, University of Lapland²², and others. There are no

¹⁹ University of Helsinki. URL: <https://www.helsinki.fi/en>

²⁰ Tampere University. URL: <https://www.tuni.fi/en/about-us/politics#switcher-trigger-studies>

²¹ University of Turku. URL: <https://www.utu.fi/en>

²² University of Lapland. URL: <https://www.ulapland.fi/en>

specialized bachelor's degree programmes for international relations. Instead, there are political science and history specialisations like Political Science, Political Science and Sociology, Politics, Media and Communications, and History²³. Students working toward a master's degree are offered both regional and thematic specialisations like European and Global Politics, Inter-Cultural Management and Communications, East Asia Studies, and others. However, the majority of universities confine regional specialisation to European and Nordic studies.

Leading Finnish universities teach about ten foreign languages on average (University of Helsinki – 16; University of Turku – 9; University of Lapland – 10). There are no comprehensive courses on the history of international relations in the curricula. The history courses on offer are usually narrowly specialised (European Integration, Environment, Gender Studies, and so on).

The majority of high-ranking Finnish diplomats hold either a technical degree or one in the humanities and social sciences (law and economics)²⁴. Former Foreign Minister Pekka Haavisto (2019–2023), for one, had no university training at all²⁵.

The diplomatic service hires new staff from among participants in an open contest on the Valtiolle.fi website, the websites and social media of Finnish diplomatic missions, and based on the results of a short-term special training programme in international relations²⁶. Often the Foreign Ministry accepts employees from other government agencies.

²³ Politics // Tampere University. URL: <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/degree-programmes/global-politics-and-communication-masters-programme/studying/structure-content-and-study-tracks>; Bachelor's Degree Programme in Social Sciences // University of Eastern Finland. URL: <https://www.uef.fi/en/degree-programme/bachelors-degree-programme-in-social-sciences>; European and Nordic Studies Master's Program // University of Helsinki. URL: <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/degree-programmes/european-and-nordic-studies-masters-programme/studying/structure-content-and-study-tracks>; Global Politics and Communication Master's Program // University of Helsinki. URL: <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/degree-programmes/global-politics-and-communication-masters-programme/studying/structure-content-and-study-tracks>.

²⁴ Johanna Sumuvuori // LinkedIn. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/johanna-sumuvuori-8b60664/?originalSubdomain=fi>; Joel Linnainmäki // LinkedIn. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/linnainmaki/?originalSubdomain=fi>; Tomi Nyström // LinkedIn. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/tominystr%C3%B6m/?originalSubdomain=fi>.

²⁵ Pekka Haavisto // Valtiolle.fi. URL: <https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/marin/minister-for-foreign-affairs>.

²⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs // Valtiolle.fi. URL: https://www.valtiolle.fi/en-US/Employers_and_employees/Ministry_for_Foreign_Affairs.

Finland's decision to renounce its foreign policy autonomy, which was so helpful during the Cold War period, and adopt the Trans-Atlantic foreign policy platform is the direct consequence of a diplomatic training system that is deficient in the fundamentals. In a world increasingly defined by rivalry, Finland has no foreign policy tools other than reliance on the United States. But recent years show that excessive closeness with the US turns countries into its proxies chained to US foreign policy. To avoid this fate, Helsinki ought to carefully consider where Finland's national interests diverge from US objectives. But that would be a tall order, given the weak fundamental training of Finnish diplomats. It is telling that the working language of Finnish diplomacy is English.

“History is at the root of everything:” countries with a national epistemology and a fundamental approach to training diplomats

A nationally oriented fundamental approach closely aligns with the practice observed in Russia. It is distinguished by native curricula, which is aimed at inculcating universal, substantive²⁷ diplomatic skills based on required knowledge of the national approach to the study of international relations. South Korean and Polish curricula bear the closest resemblance to the Russian standard of training international experts.

Polish students have the opportunity to pursue bachelor's and master's degrees in international relations, using original Polish textbooks that provide unique interpretations of international processes. Polish students also receive thorough linguistic training: the number of languages on offer is comparable to what is provided in Russia.

²⁷ Байков А. «Золотой стандарт» подготовки международника и эффективность внешней политики // Вестник МГИМО-Университета. № 1. Vol. 46. Pp. 70–83.

The same fundamental approach to instruction in foreign relations is characteristic of South Korea. International relations programmes at prestigious South Korean universities are built around studying the national approach to international relations, or what is known as “fostering a sense of a calling to serve,” as well as over 50 foreign languages for students to choose from.

Poland

Since the 1990s, Poland has been promoting its own foreign policy identity that rejects the communist past and embraces its new role as devoted ally of the United States in Europe. This feature of Poland’s foreign policy reflects on how it trains diplomats. It is clear that there is a corresponding tradition at the level of universities and institutions of advanced professional education.

Poland has no specialised school for diplomats, but all of its major universities – Warsaw, Vistula, Wrocław, and Jagiellonian University – train experts in international relations, with diverse curricula both at the bachelor’s²⁸ and master’s²⁹ degree level. There is also regional and thematic specialisation. In addition, Polish universities offer training in as many as 50 foreign languages³⁰.

Along with Western materials, students use original Polish textbooks on the history of international relations³¹. However, comprehensive courses on the history of international relations have been supplanted in recent years by courses on specific historical periods and combined courses on the history and theory of international relations. It is mainly

²⁸ Bachelors in International Relations, Poland. // StudyPortals. Bachelors. URL:<https://www.bachelorsportal.com/study-options/268763214/international-relations-poland.html>

²⁹ Master’s degrees in International Relations in Poland // StudyPortals. Masters. URL: <https://www.mastersportal.com/search/master/international-relations/poland/page-2>

³⁰ Linguistics. Faculty of Philology // Jagiellonian University in Krakow. URL:https://studia.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/kierunki/wfilg/lingwistyka#:~:text=The%20Faculty%20offers%20over%20,as%20many%20as%2050%20languages

³¹ Dobrzycki W. Historia stosunków międzynarodowych 1815–1945. Wydanie Nowe. 2007; Gałganek A. Historia stosunków międzynarodowych Tom 1–2. Warszawa, 2015.

the 20th century history that is taught, with earlier periods ignored, and so the training lacks fundamentals³². Nevertheless, even this much exceeds what is taught in other EU countries.

Despite the university tradition of training international relations experts, most high-ranking civil servants in the Polish Foreign Ministry are graduates of economic or legal departments. They often lack specialized skills, including language proficiency³³.

The Polish Foreign Ministry's working languages are Polish and English, both of which are used by top officials in official remarks. But there is a clear trend towards transitioning to English. The Foreign Ministry recruits new employees through open contests, including contests launched on the ministry website and LinkedIn. There is also the revolving door principle between academia and government service.

The Republic of Korea

The admissions process for the diplomatic service in the Republic of Korea has evolved historically, but fundamental changes occurred only recently. Applicants for government service must take rather difficult exams. Now, to be employed by the Foreign Ministry, candidates must complete a course of study at the Korean State Diplomatic Academy, which is an educational department of the Foreign Ministry performing expert, analytical and educational functions.

During three-stage exams, applicants must demonstrate their proficiency in foreign languages, including English, German, French, Russian, Chinese, Japanese and Spanish. They are also evaluated for fitness

³² International Relations and Area Studies. Program structure // Jagiellonian University in Krakow. URL: http://www.iras.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/the-programme/programme-structure; Institute of International and Security Studies. Courses // Uniwersytet Wroclawski. URL: [https://wnpism.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/ENG-UPIR-2223-Academic-Programme.pdf](https://www.ism.uni.wroc.pl/en/Students-1/Courses-; Undergraduate Programme in International Relations. Academic Program // University of Warsaw. URL: <a href=).

³³ Senior officials // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. URL: <https://www.gov.pl/web/diplomacy/senior-officials>.

for public service and knowledge of political disciplines, regional studies and history, including the history of Korea. After successfully completing tests, applicants matriculate in the Korean State Diplomatic Academy where they study for a year. Each year, from 40 to 50 students are enrolled on average.

The main suppliers of personnel for the Foreign Ministry are the three most prestigious universities of the Republic of Korea where students must receive degrees before they apply to the Korean State Diplomatic Academy. These are Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University. It is possible to add to this list a small but very important university – Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, a major centre of regional and linguistic studies. Almost as many foreign languages as at the MGIMO University are taught there. It claims to be included in the Guinness Book of Records.

The following educational profile is typical for a career diplomat – bachelor’s degree from a prestigious Korean university plus a master’s degree from a foreign university and sometimes even a doctorate. As a rule, students complete their master’s and doctor’s degree programmes while working. Sometimes, ten years pass between starting to work at the Foreign Ministry and receiving a degree. At the prestigious Korean universities (Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University), future diplomats usually earn a humanities degree and not necessarily in the field of politics and diplomacy which was introduced only in the 1940s. They may study law, economics or political science, to name a few. Graduates of these prestigious universities who major in politics and diplomacy go to work in the Foreign Ministry relatively rarely, in fact. Educational programmes for this specialty emphasise the study of history. In most large universities, students can pursue regional studies. The most opportunities exist at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, where students can study virtually any language and region.

Coursework for diplomats in the Korean State Diplomatic Academy includes three sets of disciplines: 1) developing a sense of service; 2) teaching diplomatic competencies and skills; and 3) learning foreign languages.

The first set includes such disciplines as ethics for diplomats, law-based mentality, legal systems, comparison of Eastern and Western civilisations, history of international relations in Northeast Asia (that is, the region to which Korea belongs) and modern history of South Korean diplomacy.

The second set – teaching diplomatic competences and skills – embraces the following disciplines: geopolitics and understanding of individual regions, international law, international negotiations, history of diplomatic strategy, multilateral diplomacy, preparation of papers, consular service, formulating policy, foundations of public diplomacy, international economics and trade diplomacy, as well as a separate set on the so-called “North Korean problem.”

The third set involves learning two foreign languages, one being English. As a rule, the choice of the second foreign language coincides with the choice of regional specialisation by new employees of the Foreign Ministry, especially if they are going to work in its regional rather than functional department.

The Republic of Korea can rightly take pride in having one of the oldest diplomatic schools. It is comparable to the Russian and American schools in accumulated experience, the number of languages taught and the rigor of the historical education. South Korean elites believe in the need to defend national interests by strengthening the educational system in relevant fields to produce more such specialists.

“In pursuit of the national interest:” countries with a national epistemology and functional approach to diplomatic training

The national/functional approach is typical of Saudi Arabia, France, and Nigeria. Currently, they are undergoing a transition to establish dedicated schools for the academic pursuit of international relations.

Nigeria continues to adopt curricula from Western universities and to encourage graduates to seek employment with international companies. However, it possesses one of the oldest departments of international relations on the continent dating back to 1977 and is well-positioned to develop an independent vision of international processes. Saudi Arabia is trying to create its own school of international relations. However, most of its diplomats have been trained at foreign specialised institutions, and the kingdom’s curriculum offers a scattered array of specialised disciplines.

France, on the end of the spectrum, has a deep tradition of teaching international relations, but the diplomatic profession is experiencing a crisis in France amid reforms introduced by the Élysée Palace. There is a possibility that this shift could lead the French school towards a more global functional approach, potentially diminishing the national tradition in the study of international relations.

Saudi Arabia

After World War II, Saudi Arabia gradually entered the international arena by supplying oil to Europe and the United States, as well as opening its first foreign embassies. The kingdom’s heightened activity in international politics necessitated the training of diplomats. Saudi Arabia had close relations with the United States which is why many specialists in the diplomatic, technical, and humanitarian spheres received education at US universities.

Unlike in the 20th century, only Saudi Arabia citizens holding a degree from a Saudi university can be employed as junior diplomatic officers in the kingdom now. Additionally, not only diplomats, but also the spouses of diplomats are required to hold Saudi citizenship, which is reflective of a process of localising (توطين) diplomatic personnel.

Saudi Arabia does not have a national school of international relations in the European sense. The kingdom operates the Institute for Diplomatic Studies, an institution providing career enhancement programmes. To enrol, an applicant must be a Foreign Ministry employee, hold a degree from a Saudi university, and pass written and oral exams. Proficiency in a foreign language, primarily English, is essential for the diplomatic service. The institute offers an opportunity to study a wide range of subjects, including international politics, international relations, regional studies, political analysis, international law, economics, and more. The institute also offers courses in European languages, including English, French, and Spanish.

King Saud University in Riyadh, the largest university in the country, is the alma mater of most Saudi Arabian diplomats. The university has the Department of Foreign Languages offering studies of numerous Asian and European languages, including Russian. There are separate regional studies courses with a focus on history and contemporary studies, although there is no specific course on the history of international relations. Saudi Arabia uses its own textbook on the history of the country's foreign policy. This textbook was compiled by professors from the Institute for Diplomatic Studies. It outlines the specifics of the kingdom's foreign policy concerning various regions of the world in historical context.

Most of the active Saudi diplomats obtained their master's degrees in the United Kingdom or the United States, which means the trend of importing specialised training persists. Most of high-ranking Saudi diplomats received training at American universities, often at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy or George Washington University. Notably, the Saudi Arabian ambassadors to the United States and the United Kingdom are siblings, both of whom studied at British and American universities.

Importantly, Arab countries divide the world into the Arab world and the rest of the world. This approach to differentiating the global space reflects on the diplomatic training. There are separate disciplines focusing on the Arab world, the Persian Gulf, the Palestinian issue, and Arab affairs, such as at the Institute for Diplomatic Studies. Additionally, there are separate courses on Asia, Europe, and other countries.

One can say that the process of forming its own diplomatic school in the kingdom is drawing to a close. Previous generations of diplomats graduated from Western universities, whereas the contemporary generation is studying at Saudi universities, where they are taught the national Saudi understanding and perception of foreign policy.

Nigeria

Nigeria is the post-colonial country with the largest number of languages and ethnicities in Africa. This diversity has a significant impact on social processes, including the distinctive features of the emerging diplomatic school.

Nigeria doesn't have a dedicated diplomatic school that can be described as a diplomat factory. The country has around 120 universities, with only 31 offering programmes in international relations³⁴. Most of them are privately-run institutions training specialists for major international companies. However, the first department of international relations south of the Sahara was opened at the University of Ife in 1977. In 1982, the first bachelor's programme in international relations became available in African countries³⁵.

Nigeria's Foreign Ministry relies heavily on a quota system for personnel recruitment, where each state has a specific quota for positions in the civil service, including the Foreign Ministry. With 36 states in Nigeria,

³⁴ Motunrayo A., Marvin B. International relations as a field of study in Nigeria // Международные отношения. №1. 2019. P. 130.

³⁵ Ibid. P. 131.

this creates a challenge in terms of staff with inadequate skills. There is a persistent risk that highly skilled specialists may face obstacles in entering government service due to a shortage of quotas. This situation is further complicated by elevated levels of corruption, impacting both the central office and diplomatic missions abroad, including those in major countries³⁶.

Training in international relations in Nigeria has a number of country specific. Emphasis is placed on conflict resolution, security issues, especially in Africa, due primarily to the challenging regional situation and the intensification of great power rivalry for influence in Africa.

English is the working language at the Nigerian Foreign Ministry, but not all diplomats are adept enough to effectively represent the country on the international stage. The proficiency in other foreign languages used for international communication does not meet recognised standards either. The data show that over 80 percent of Nigerian diplomats speak only English³⁷. The priority in learning foreign languages is given to French due to the regional specifics of Africa. Spanish and Arabic have gained popularity, and Chinese has become a popular choice since the 2010s.

Teaching history is contextualized within either African history or European political thought³⁸. The curriculum lacks a specific discipline dedicated to the history of international relations. The Nigerian universities' online libraries do not have textbooks on the history of international relations, either national or international. Lagos University, however, offers a course in Russian politics and diplomacy up to 1991 in the second semester³⁹.

Most of the Foreign Ministry's top officials graduated from local universities, such as Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Jos. Yet, as regards the country's foreign policy elite, the educational background

³⁶ Euka C., Ojukwu E. Challenges of Nigeria's Foreign Policy // International Journal of Arts and Humanities. Vol. 5. No. 2. 2016. P. 54.

³⁷ In this particular case, we do not take into account the languages of the peoples and ethnic groups residing exclusively in Nigeria or contiguous territories.

³⁸ Social Sciences // Abu. URL: <https://socialsciences.abu.edu.ng/departments/politicalscience-and-internationalstudies/programmes/ug/>; Irs // Department of International Relations. URL: <https://irs.oauife.edu.ng/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/DEPARTMENT-OF-INTERNATIONAL-RELATIONS.docx>.

³⁹ Lagos University. URL: https://lasu.edu.ng/lasu_consult/home/curriculum/DIASS.pdf

may include studies abroad. Education may be imported for the country's foreign policy elite. Former Foreign Minister Geoffrey Onyeama (2015–2023) obtained his bachelor's degree from Columbia University, and his successor, Yusuf Maitama Tuggar, also studied in the United States. Several ambassadors, particularly to the United Kingdom, the United States, and France, studied at foreign universities.

Nigeria's diplomatic school faces challenges typical of post-colonial countries, such as the absence of specialised diplomatic training, widespread corruption, and political appointments to elected Foreign Ministry offices. Proficiency in foreign languages remains low, and the teaching of history at national universities is not systematic.

Despite the challenges in its diplomatic training system, Nigeria has emerged as a pioneer in teaching international relations in Africa over the past few decades, successfully upholding diverse state and ethnic representation in public administration.

The choice of specialisations dealing with international politics is a separate issue – one that is important for the entire region. Even though Nigeria's diplomatic school is not without fundamental flaws rooted in the country's colonial past, this “microcosm of Africa” also shows certain optimistic trends that may serve as an example for other African countries.

France

Paris was one of the first to embark on the path of creating a professional diplomatic service and has been a model for other countries for centuries⁴⁰. However, today the national system for training diplomatic staff in France is undergoing a reverse process.

On April 16, 2022, President Emmanuel Macron signed an executive order whereby two categories of senior officials in the French diplomatic service⁴¹ – the corps of plenipotentiary ministers (envoys) and the corps of advisors on foreign affairs – were abolished on January 1, 2023. The transformation initiated by the head of state affects the entire top echelon

⁴⁰ De Villepin D. Histoire de la diplomatie française. Paris. 2005.

⁴¹ Lois et Décrets // Legit France. 17.04.2022. URL: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/jo/2022/04/17/0091>

of the diplomatic service, both at the Foreign Ministry and in foreign missions. The specialised corps of top officials from other ministries, 14 in all, was abolished as well. The authorities justify such innovations by arguing that the public bureaucracy needs to become more flexible, open, and manageable⁴². In terms of the diplomatic service, the goal is to facilitate access to it for a broader number of civil servants. Supporters of the reform among deputies emphasise the hyper-elite nature of the top-level diplomatic staff⁴³.

The consequences of the reform are particularly painful for the French diplomatic professionals who adhere to the Gaullist tradition of preserving France's image in the international arena and exerting influence on all significant international events.

The mere fact of instituting these reforms gives grounds to speak of the decline of French diplomacy and foreign policy. One of the main reasons for this process is the gradual loss of foreign policy independence by the Fifth Republic within the Western bloc, which it has always claimed since the time of Charles de Gaulle. The deteriorating quality of the diplomatic service may exacerbate this trend, despite the fact that diplomacy was among the strengths of Paris for centuries.

Despite the painful reforms in the diplomatic corps, the Foreign Ministry's admissions process remain extremely selective. Applicants for diplomatic positions must take exams on international relations, regional specialisation, and foreign languages. The French Foreign Ministry publishes examples from past exams, which provide a fair idea of the questions asked and the required level of knowledge. In particular, Russian language assignments⁴⁴ demonstrate that candidates must possess a professional level of proficiency.

Regarding the training of diplomats, the French school has retained its status as one of Europe's strongest. Students receive instruction in international relations with a focus on specific regions and a wide choice

⁴² Réforme du corps diplomatique : que prévoit le décret du 16 avril 2022 ? // Vie Publique. 22.07.2022. URL: <https://www.vie-publique.fr/en-bref/284884-haute-fonction-publique-la-reforme-du-corps-diplomatique>.

⁴³ La réforme du corps diplomatique divise les députés // Les Echos. 12.01.2023. URL: <https://www.lesechos.fr/politique-societe/politique/la-reforme-du-corps-diplomatique-divise-les-deputes-1896634>

⁴⁴ The exam papers are listed on the Foreign Ministry's website. France Diplomatie. URL: <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/emplois-stages-concours/concours/>

of languages, including Russian. The Institute of Oriental Languages offers courses in rare languages such as Uyghur, Tatar, Kurdish, and many others⁴⁵. The same applies to the Institute of Political Studies⁴⁶. While the language instruction is fairly high quality, the number of hours significantly lags behind the language courses offered in Russia, for example, at MGIMO University.

The history of international relations is studied in detail from 1871 to 1945 and then from 1945 to the present, which corresponds to periods of national history. Notably, the focus is not always on the history of international relations the way it is understood in Russia. More often, this discipline is presented as part of the broader context of general political history.

Overall, the diplomatic training curriculum at the bachelor's level represents an organised system of disciplines, which gives students, and future Foreign Ministry employees comprehensive knowledge of the history, theory, and law of international relations.

A review of the universities attended by the top officials of the French Foreign Ministry shows that almost all of them graduated from the National School of Administration. Career diplomats account for 80 percent of the French Foreign Ministry employees⁴⁷.

The reform of the diplomatic corps revealed a decline in the quality of France's diplomatic service. On the one hand, detractors of the reform believe that the unique nature of the diplomatic service does not align well with interagency rotation of personnel. Predicting the long-term consequences of the impending reform is a challenging task. On the other hand, the training of diplomatic personnel has been largely unaffected by the reform. The rich academic history of the country makes it possible to blend innovations with traditional approaches as seen in the presentation of historical material and the study of foreign languages. However, it cannot be ruled out that in the future the education market will be geared towards training officials in general rather than diplomatic personnel specifically.

⁴⁵ Langues et civilisations // INALCO. URL: <http://www.inalco.fr/formations/langues-civilisations>

⁴⁶ Languages // Sciences Po. URL: <https://www.sciencespo.fr/students/fr/etudier/langues>

⁴⁷ Quel avenir pour le corps diplomatique ? // Senat. Rapport d'information. 13.07.2022. URL :<https://www.senat.fr/notice-rapport/2021/r21-777-notice.html>

“Creating the foundations of leadership:” countries with a global epistemology and a fundamental approach to the training of diplomats

Turkey and Brazil stand out for their global, fundamental approach to the training of diplomats. Oriented toward the global discourse on international politics and Western-centric models in developing academic programmes, both countries are distinguished by the presence of national manuals, detailed and long courses on the history and theory of international relations, as well as national peculiarities that influence the teaching of international relations.

For example, in its academic programmes, Turkey draws on its unique geopolitical status as a bridge between Asia and Europe. One of the subjects is the Ottoman Turkish language. The Rio Branco Institute has been functioning in Brazil since 1945. It offers expert analysis of international relations at the national level. Owing to the institute’s long-standing traditions, the academic paths of future Brazilian diplomats are comparable in their diversity to their counterparts in France, Russia and the US despite borrowing from Western universities in some problematic areas.

Turkey

Universities in Turkey offer training in four areas: international relations, African studies, Asian studies and relations between Turkey, Europe and the Middle East. The latter formula is a bow to the idea that Turkey is a link between Europe and the Middle East.

The international relations programme covers three areas – international relations, international relations with an emphasis on economic ties and international relations in the context of political development. The African and Asian studies programmes offer training in relevant languages.

Young diplomats receive instruction in Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Farsi, Spanish, Korean, Italian and, notably, Ottoman Turkish. The latter is a variety of the Turkish language before the alphabet reform of the 1920s.

Educational programmes include both subject matter and regional specialisation. Each specific area has its own distinctive features. For example, the programme for international relations with an emphasis on economics consists of the in-depth study of economic development problems. In Turkey, professors and lecturers use manuals written by Turkish authors on both the history of international relations⁴⁸ and national history⁴⁹. Turkish universities use the translated version of the History of International Relations issued by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the History of International Relations in the edition put out by Severine Pacteau and Francois-Charles Mougel⁵⁰.

There are several ways to join the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon graduation from university. The main one is competitive selection. The start of the process is traditionally announced on the ministry's website.

Patron-client relationships typical of Asian countries play a big role in this respect. Relatives or close friends of influential people are hired for the most part. Turkey has a revolving door system whereby employees are transferred between ministries, the Foreign Ministry in this case. For example, the recently appointed Foreign Minister, Hakan Fidan, previously headed the National Intelligence Organisation.

Political appointments are common in the diplomatic service. The appointment of Hakan Fidan is an example of this tradition since, like previous Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, he is also a member of the ruling party. Overall, according to available estimates, about 85 percent of top positions in the Turkish Foreign Ministry are occupied by members of the ruling Justice and Development Party.

⁴⁸ Balta, E. Küresel Siyasete Giriş. URL: <https://iletisim.com.tr/Images/UserFiles/Documents/Gallery/kuresel.pdf>

⁴⁹ Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş: Tarih, Teori, Kavram ve Konular // Academia. 2014. URL: https://www.academia.edu/12300833/Uluslararası%C4%B1_%C4%B0li%C5%9Fkilere_Giri%C5%9F_Tarih_Teori_Kavram_ve_Konular

⁵⁰ Uluslararası İlişkiler Tarihi // Kitantik. URL: https://www.kitantik.com/product/ULUSLARARASI-ILISKILER-TARIHI_0z8kgltjw2c33m1hze

Brazil

Brazil is a country with a fundamental national diplomatic tradition. This is reflected in its established approaches to foreign policy and in the institutional framework of its foreign policy activities. Since gaining independence, the functions of implementing foreign policy have been performed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also known as Itamarati.

Professional training of diplomats is an integral part of the national diplomatic school. Graduation from the Rio Branco Institute is a mandatory condition for joining the diplomatic service. The institute was established in 1945 as a research centre but was later transformed into a diplomatic academy for educating highly qualified personnel. With time, the work regulations approved by the Foreign Ministry have made admission to it a universal and transparent process open to all citizens.

The institute conducts a federal competition for admission to the diplomatic service⁵¹. Its first stage takes place in the capitals of 26 Brazilian states, and the second and third stages are held in the national capital from among the already selected candidates⁵². In case of success, a candidate is enrolled in the Rio Branco Institute's professional training programme with a title of Third Secretary and a salary while studying.

The curriculum for diplomats⁵³ is divided into two cycles. The first one consists of two semesters for the study of mandatory subjects: courses on international politics, law, economics, world history and the national history of Brazil. The second cycle may consist of two or one academic semester for the study of professional disciplines (courses on the diplomatic service). Students are sent for practical training to the Foreign Ministry of Brazil and its embassies abroad. Completion of the educational programme at Rio Branco is a non-negotiable condition for joining the diplomatic service regardless of age. The majority of

⁵¹ O Concurso de Admissão à Carreira de Diplomata (CACD).

⁵² Diário Oficial Da União // University of Branco. URL: <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/instituto-rio-branco/arquivos/EDITALN1DE15DEFEVEREIRODE2022DOUImprensaNacional.pdf>

⁵³ O Curso de Formação de Diplomatas.

high-ranking Brazilian diplomats heading Itamarati secretariats have several higher degrees, one of which they received at the Rio Branco Institute⁵⁴.

After several decades of this centralised approach to selecting candidates for the diplomatic service, the Rio Branco Institute has turned into a rather closed system. It is separated from public and private universities that train specialists on international relations in general. At present, these two educational tracks do not overlap much. The criteria for admission to the Rio Branco Institute are clearly regulated as well as its academic plans (the statute on the institute is signed by the Foreign Minister⁵⁵), whereas federal (public) universities have been significantly influenced by the Bologna System and American approaches to developing curricula.

Brazil has several large and famous universities with international relations programmes, for instance, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and the University of Brasilia. The country has no educational programme for regional studies.

A quarter of the courses in the bachelor's degree programme of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro are mandatory and three quarters are optional. Mandatory disciplines include law, economics, geopolitics and foreign policy of Brazil, international relations theory, general history and the history of the Global South⁵⁶. Optional disciplines vary. Asia, America, the Middle East and Africa are optional subjects of regional studies. The optional part of the curriculum also includes general humanities disciplines (cultural anthropology and philosophy) and subjects concerning applied issues of international relations.

⁵⁴ Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry of Brazil Maria Laura da Rocha graduated from the Rio Branco Institute in 1976 (she is a lawyer by her first education). Head of the Secretariat on Multilateral Ties Carlos Marcio Cozendey finished it in 1986 (his first education is in economics), Secretary of Brazilian Communities and Consular and Legal Affairs Leonardo Luis Gorgulho Nogueira Fernandes graduated from it in 1994 (he is a lawyer by his first education) and former Secretary for the Middle East and current Ambassador of Brazil to India Kenneth Felix Haczynski da Nobrega finished it in 1993 (his first education is in music).

⁵⁵ Portaria No 344, De 18 De Março De 2021 // University of Branco. URL: <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/instituto-rio-branco/arquivos/legislacao-1/portaria-344-2021-regulamento-do-instituto-rio-branco.pdf>

⁵⁶ SIGA // UFRJ. URL: <https://www.siga.ufrj.br/sira/temas/zire/frameConsultas.jsp?mainPage=/repositorio-curriculo/0C6E909C-0A2A-0354-5CFF-ACB29C76F2F1.html>

The master's degree programme of the University of Brasilia in international relations is structurally equivalent to the one described before. Its mandatory disciplines include chronological courses on Brazil within the system of international relations, as well as in the theory, methodology and history of international relations, whereas the vast selection of optional courses includes functional disciplines (international political economy, practicum on international law, international security and the like). A great many optional courses cover regional issues (the history of the European Union, regional integration in Africa and Latin America in international relations). This approach allows students to develop their academic plans themselves. They may specialise in a specific region and focus on receiving a general humanitarian education with an emphasis on political science.

To sum up, in Brazil, the system of training international relations experts is legally separate from the training of diplomatic personnel. A university degree in international relations is not sufficient for admission to the diplomatic service, and candidates selected to take diplomatic training courses do not necessarily have specialised knowledge of international relations.

The variable outcomes of diplomatic training

The effectiveness of a country's diplomatic corps, influenced by diplomatic personnel training, manifests itself differently based on its position in the international relations system. The reviewed countries can be categorized into three groups:

- Fully autonomous nations capable of shaping policies across various spheres of influence;
- Nations losing autonomy due to external pressures in foreign policy;
- Nations actively pursuing autonomy but facing institutional constraints in their endeavors.

CURRENT FOREIGN MINISTERS AND THEIR ALMA MATERS

					
Mauro Vieira	Subrahmanyam Jaishankar	Antony Blinken	Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud	Hakan Fidan	Cho Tae-yul
Brazil 	India 	United States 	Saudi Arabia 	Turkey 	Republic of Korea 
Rio Branco Institute (Brasilia)	Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi)	Columbia University (New York)	King Saud University (Riyadh)	Bilkent University (Ankara)	Seoul National University (Seoul), University of Oxford
					
Radosław Sikorski	Stéphane Séjourné	Yusuf Maitama Tuggar	Annalena Baerbock	Elina Valtonen	
Poland 	France 	Nigeria 	Germany 	Finland 	
University of Oxford (Oxford)	University of Poitiers (Poitiers)	University of Cambridge (Cambridge)	The London School of Economics and Political Science	Aalto University School of Business (Espoo)	

We classify the United States, Turkey, Brazil and India as **autonomous states** with a considerable degree of sovereignty in foreign policy. However, these countries exhibit variations in the quality of diplomacy. In the **United States**, the lack of foundational training for the diplomatic corps heightens the risk of inadequate adaptation to the evolving foreign policy landscape of the emerging multipolar world. Despite confronting growingly resistant international environment, the **United States** remains optimistic about preserving unipolarity. The academic programmes producing future American diplomats still follow the same old narrative that no longer has any relevance. The substantial new role of **India** in the global economy is not yet buttressed by national traditions of interpreting the international system, which could affect the training of future diplomats. In **Turkey**, autonomy in international affairs is based more on ideology than on the traditions of diplomatic training despite the quality of the educational system – a series of domestic textbooks on history and teaching of the Ottoman Turkish language.

The countries that we describe as **losing autonomy** can rely, to varying degrees, on diplomatic training as a resource for reversing the loss of foreign policy sovereignty. **France** has the most potential in this respect. It is balancing between the Foreign Ministry's reform aimed at turning diplomats into simple functionaries and its educational system with traditions of in-depth regional studies and language instruction. Most likely, this resource has been exhausted in **Germany** where the educational programme for international relations consists of professional advancement courses that provide students with a set of functional diplomatic skills. Likewise, **Finland** that has renounced its independent foreign policy course in Europe will not be able to rely on ideological and educational support due to the orientation of its educational system toward the practical training of managers.

On the contrary, countries **seeking autonomy** that are restricted by the institutional framework, can use fundamental diplomatic training as a resource. For example, despite rapid changes in the Polish Foreign Ministry's personnel system due to its intensified efforts to eradicate the Soviet legacy, **Poland** preserves a distinctive, well-developed system for teaching students, including the widest selection of foreign languages in Europe. As Warsaw continues to turn into a geopolitical centre of gravity with one of the biggest military-industrial sectors, national traditions of diplomacy will develop accordingly. Like Poland, the **Republic of Korea** has a fundamental diplomatic school with distinctive national traits. It is one of the best in the world. Established in the 1940s, it gives students the option to study a number of languages comparable with Russian universities as well as historical and political science disciplines.

To establish independent foreign policies, relatively recent entrants onto the global stage, such as **Nigeria** and **Saudi Arabia**, need to develop unique traditions in teaching international relations, shaping their foreign policy identities. **Nigeria**, one of Africa's largest countries with explosive demographic and economic growth, has not yet developed its own school of diplomatic education. The same is true for **Saudi Arabia**, which was content with imports when it came to international political education until recently. To shape their distinctive foreign policy identities, Nigeria and Saudi Arabia can enhance their diplomatic training by creatively delving into historical international affairs and fostering unique traditions in the process.

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