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THE HISTORY OF APPOINTMENT PROCESS OF AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AND ITS COMPARISON WITH THE APPOINTMENT PROCESS OF THE UK AMBASSADORS

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Abstract

Although, over the years, main preoccupation of American diplomats has been the same, which is protection and promotion of their country's interest, there are clear distinctions between today's diplomats and that of the early years' diplomats in terms of background, preparation and professionalism. As the US has grown from a colony to becoming the world's superpower, the missions, the way of appointment and the number of diplomats has dramatically changed not only in terms of means and procedure but also form as well. As for the United Kingdom (the UK) ambassadors, the appointment process of ambassadors in the UK is less public. Therefore, except for certain procedures, the details of the appointment process are not known. However, the way of appointment in the UK has remained almost the same throughout the history.

Key Words: *American ambassadors, the UK ambassadors, appointment process, procedures, changes*

Jel Codes: N0, O2

AMERİKAN ELÇİLERİNİN ATAMA SÜRECİ TARİHİ VE İNGİLTERE BÜYÜKELÇİLERİNİN ATAMA SÜRECİ İLE KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Öz

Her ne kadar, yıllar boyunca, Amerikan diplomatlarının görev alanlarına ilişkin temel kaygısı ve önceliği ülkelerinin çıkarlarının korunması ve tanıtılması olsa da günümüz diplomatları ile ilk dönem diplomatları arasında arka plan, hazırlık ve profesyonellik açısından belirgin farklılıklar vardır. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri bir koloniden dünyanın süper gücüne doğru geliştikçe, diplomat sayısı, atama şekli ve misyonları, sadece araçsal ve yöntemsel açıdan değil aynı zamanda biçimsel açıdan da önemli ölçüde değişiklik göstermiştir. Birleşik Krallık büyükelçilerine gelince, Birleşik Krallık'ta büyükelçilerin atanma süreci daha az kamusaldır. Bu nedenle, belirli prosedürler dışında, atama sürecinin detayları bilinmemektedir. Bununla birlikte, İngiltere'deki atama usulü tarih boyunca neredeyse aynı kalmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Amerikan elçileri, İngiltere elçileri, atama süreci, prosedürler, değişiklikler*

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INTRODUCTION

This article will mainly deal with the similarities and differences of career officers and political appointees in becoming ambassador in the United States (the US) and also stages that

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they are supposed to go through. Moreover, the article will touch on the process that goes by in the UK and certain similarities and differences of the appointment process between the US and the UK.

There are three main periods in the evolution of ambassadorial process throughout the American history:

The first period is spanning slightly more than a century from the establishment of the US, in which almost all American diplomats were political appointees and none of them was given the title “ambassador”. Their tenure in their positions was likely to end with the inauguration of the next president. As it was believed that almost everyone was capable of carrying out the business of government, there was no intention to create a cadre of career diplomats. Therefore, those who were appointed to political positions were frequently changed. It was also partly result of keeping them away from foreign influence.

The second period covers almost 60 years from the end of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century. “Both the US embassies and consulates were staffed by politically appointed Americans until the turn of the twentieth century” (Mak & Kennedy, 1992, p. 3). In this period there has been gradual professionalization of the civil service and formation of a cadre of career diplomats. They have been more likely to continue in their job with a new occupant of the White House and their promotion is based on merit. Moreover, the title of ambassador started to be used and the proportion of career ambassadors reached to 70 percent in total from almost obscurity.

In the last period starting in the middle of the twentieth century up to now, the ratio of political appointments to career officers remained almost the same as 30/70 with plus and minus two. Although the number of ambassadors increased as result of decolonization in this period, the ratio between political appointments and career officials remained at around 30/70.

As to the UK ambassadorial appointment, although there are political appointees, most of the UK ambassadors are career civil servants. However, the process in the UK is more closed and less transparent compared with the process in the US.

1. DIPLOMATS IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE US

In early years, main concern of the founding fathers of the republic was to establish and ensure the security and survival of the government. Benjamin Franklin, who is considered as the first America’s ambassador although he was appointed as ambassador in reality, was posted to Paris in 1776 for the purpose of ensuring the support of France in their struggle for

independence against Britain. He played significant role in the American Revolution. “Seven presidents have been diplomats abroad; John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Monro, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, James Buchanan and, after more than a century’s hiatus, George Bush” (Mak & Kennedy, 1992, p. 3).

“In 1781, when American legislators created a new government under the Articles of Confederation, that new government included a Department of Foreign Affairs. A few ‘ministers’ were dispatched to key European countries to handle the new country’s official business, and a handful of ‘consuls’ were named to help Americans do business overseas” (Jett, 2014, p. 12). In the early years, anything that implied for special status for a government official was regarded as out of touch with the republican principles. Therefore, the title of ‘ambassador’ was not given to anyone as it was seen to be incompatible with egalitarian society values and understanding. Especially article 1, section 9 of Articles of Confederation reveals the things that Congress should not do: “No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state” (Article I, Section 9, n.d.).

In 1789, the Congress changed the name of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Department of State because the department was not only given the responsibility for conducting and maintenance of international relations but also some certain domestic issues as well (Jett, 2014, p. 13). Moreover, in the same year Virginian Thomas Jefferson was appointed as a first secretary of state by President Washington. When Jefferson took the position, in 1790, his initial staffs comprised of four clerks, one translator and one messenger with annual budget of \$7,961 including his salary. Total expenditure including foreign and domestic of the next year was \$56,600 (Foundations of Foreign Affairs, 1775-1823, n.d.).

Jefferson had no interest in using formality and intrigue which were the practical appeal and tools of European diplomacy. He had a common denominator with President Washington to support small number of missions abroad headed by men with the title of minister. These envoys were urged to dress unpretentious clothing and to adopt simple manners, which was totally revers to that of formality and flashiness of European courts. Partly result of this ideal of republican simplicity, the administration did not post anyone with the title of ambassador. When Jefferson took over the presidency, he continued to refrain from appointment of Professional diplomats as he regarded them as “pests of the peace of the world” and reduced overseas representations of the country to the point where he thought the essential minimum

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(Herring, 2008, p. 96). Namely, as Jefferson was determined to promote American simplicity, the American envoys only carried the rank of minister plenipotentiary. However, in the wake of the War of 1812, it turned out that the independence and survival of the America was longer in doubt. Therefore, strengthened status of the country paved the way for the promotion of title in the term of Jefferson's successor, James Madison. The chiefs of important diplomatic missions were elevated to "envoys extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary".

As the influence and interest of America started to increase in the world, diplomatic titles expanded to help American businessmen in a sense of taking the advantage of commercial opportunities, especially in the new independent countries of Latin America. During the ten years between 1820 and 1830, the number of consuls almost doubled. While main functions of diplomatic posts were conducting of traditional diplomacy and political works in the United States' relations with other countries, consulars primarily tackled with commercial matters like trade issues, protection of American businessmen, sailors and other citizens. Consuls were in self-supporting position through the fees they demanded for their services. However, diplomats had salary although it was meager. Due to the distinctions in their functions and financial situation, they seem to be superior to consulars.

The diplomats of this period were underpaid and also, they were mostly on fixed-term and non-renewed appointments. The early American diplomats were not only expected to dress modest and simple but also to live that way as well due to the problem of inadequate funding. This issue had often been part of discussion on who should be the representatives of the US particularly in the expensive capitals such as London and Paris. Therefore, one of the reasons for realizing wealthy political appointments to expensive capitals is that they can afford their needs with their own pockets

Diplomatic and consular positions until the last decade of nineteenth century were filled by "spoils system" which is standing for a reward for political supporters in presidential election campaign. Although some ministers were appointed because of their talent and experience, the reason for the appointment of most diplomats and consular were personal wealth, political services or social positions (Jett, 2014, p. 19). Thus, most of them were in short of qualifications and elementary knowledge of diplomacy.

The importance of international trade in the American economy was significant in the middle of the nineteenth century which required to the expansion of the size of foreign affairs bureaucracy. "The staff of the Department of State increased to 43 in Washington and to 27

diplomats and 88 consuls abroad. The budget to support these missions rose to \$1.1 million. As the State Department and the number of overseas missions grew, modest attempts at reform and reorganization took place in order to improve the way those missions were organized and operated. For the first time, US citizenship was required to receive a consular appointment” (Jett, 2014, p. 19)

In 1856, through a legislation some modest improvements came true in the diplomatic and consular corps but still appointment was not based on merit. Prevailing practical rule was necessitating political connections not professional qualifications. Political commitment to the president was the currency of getting diplomatic or consular positions. In this period, the title of ambassador was still seen to be very showny, thereby, nobody carried that rank.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was increasing need for more effective overseas representation because immigration, urbanization and industrialization reshaped American economy that required the expansion of foreign affairs bureaucracy to carry out commercial affairs. Hence, Congress adopted the *Pendleton Act* in 1883, which opened the way for merit basis in federal government jobs through competitive examinations (Pendleton Act (1883), n.d.). In 1883, *Thomas Bayard* was given the title of ambassador for the first time in American history. Especially, with the end of the War, which took place between Spain and America in 1898, America has engaged in the world with greater extent than ever before.

2. THE MIDDLE YEARS

Thomas Bayard who titled as ambassador for the first time in American history was appointed as ambassador to Great Britain. Consecutively the US sent ambassadors to France, Germany and Italy in the same year. The reason of why the US sent its first ambassadors to these countries is that they had already raised their representatives in Washington to the level of ambassador. However, in less important countries the US was still represented by diplomats with the rank of ministers.

It was not until 1960 that the US established a tradition to be represented by diplomats with the title of ambassador in countries that the US had steady relations with. It should be noted that president William Howard Taft was one of the biggest supporters and booster of professionalization of diplomats. He advocated that the selection of diplomatic and consular officers should be based on merit and rigid examination system rather than political partisan considerations.

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The Rogers Act of 1924 laid the foundation of unified Foreign Service by linking up the diplomatic and consular officers (Mak & Kennedy, 1992, p. 4). It also set a personal system for assignments, noted that admission into the service and promotion procedures were based on merit principles and also retirement age was set at 65.

Table 1.1 Changes in Chiefs of Mission, 1915-1950

Year	Number of missions	Number of missions headed by an ambassador	Career ambassador (%)	Number headed by a COM with a different title	COMs who were career officers (%)
1915	42	12	17	30	3
1920	44	10	10	34	41
1925	50	13	23	37	49
1930	55	16	33	39	56
1935	56	17	41	39	54
1940	51	20	55	31	58
1945	53	35	60	18	72
1950	73	56	68	17	94

* The table was formed with the references given in the book: (Jett, 2014, p. 26).

Table 1.1 shows the effects of reforms that came true via Rogers Act and Taft's endeavors

- The number of embassies chaired by the ambassador has risen significantly, but the percentage of embassies that career diplomats are heading has grown much faster.
- At the same time, the number of embassies in which the mission chief has a title other than the ambassador has declined significantly, and the percentage of noncareer chiefs fulfilling mission responsibilities presiding over these embassies has almost disappeared.

Prior to 1893, none of the chief of missions were given the title of ambassador. However, in the twentieth century increasing percentage of chiefs of mission were given the title of ambassador. In the first half of the twentieth century, the number of embassies and ambassadors increased. And the percentage of career officers increased even more.

3. YEARS BETWEEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND 2008

Immediately after the Second World War, the percentage of career ambassadors was nearly two-thirds of the total number of appointed ambassadors. 70 percentage of career ambassador versus 30 percentage of political appointees almost remained the same ever since, irrespective of the party in power. In 1980, the Foreign Affairs Act passed under the direction of President Carter. The provisions of the Act renewed the notion that contributions to a political campaign should not be a factor in the appointment of a person as a chief mission, but competence should be foreground.

Table 1.2 below shows the change of ambassadors in terms of the percentage of career and political appointees. The percentage of political appointees under the administration of five presidents immediately before the 1980 Act was 35(%). However, it was 30% under the five administrations immediately after the Act. It is also important to note that up to Donald Trump administration, the percentage of political appointees under Republican presidents have been average 31 (%) and 27 (%) under Democrats.

Table 1.2 The ratio of Career and Political Ambassadorial Appointments Between 1953-2008

Administration	Total	Career (%)	Political (%)
Eisenhower	214	146 (68%)	68 (32%)
Kennedy	120	73 (61%)	47 (39%)
Johnson	148	89 (60%)	59 (40%)
Nixon	233	159 (68%)	74 (32%)
Ford	97	60 (62%)	37 (38%)
Carter	202	148 (73%)	54 (27%)
Reagan	420	261 (62%)	159 (38%)
G.H.W.	214	147 (69%)	67 (31%)
Bush	417	301 (72%)	116 (28%)
Clinton	453	317 (70%)	136 (30%)
G.W. Bush			
Total	2,518	1,701 (68%)	817 (32%)

*Source: American Foreign Service Association

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The table 1.3 demonstrates that under the two terms of Obama Administration, the ratio was 69.95 of career appointments versus 30.05% political appointments. Statistics of the current Trump Administration, updated April 12, 2019, shows that the percentage of career appointment is 51.0% whereas political appointment is 49.0%.

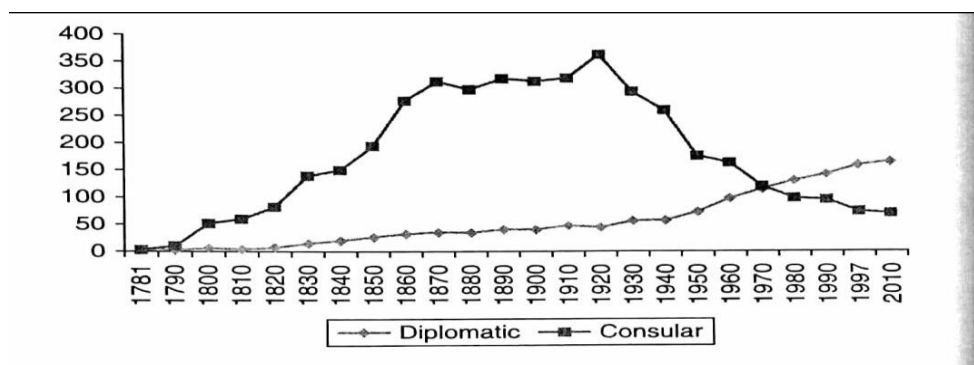
Table 1.3 Career vs. Political Ambassadorial Appointments, 2008-2018

Administration	Total	Career (%)	Political (%)
B. Obama	416	291 (69.95%)	125 (30.05%)
D. Trump	62	74 (51.0%)	70 (49.0%)
Total	478	365 (65,17%)	195 (34.83%)

**Source: American Foreign Service Association*

In the State Department there are two personnel systems; Foreign Service and Civil Service. The career ambassadors are almost totally drawn from the ranks of the Foreign Service and almost never from the Civil Service. “The percentage of political appointees always runs higher early in a four-year term; when there is a change of administration, all ambassadors submit their resignation to the new president. Those of the political appointees are usually accepted in short order, especially when a different political party occupies the White House. Those of the career officers are rarely accepted, and instead they are almost always allowed to serve out the remainder of what is usually a three-year term. That gives the new president a higher number of political ambassadorships to fill in the early months in office than there will be during the remainder of the term” (Jett, 2014, p. 29).

***Figure 1.1** Number of Diplomatic and Consular Posts



**Source: The figure was copied from (Jett, 2014, p. 31).*

The graph shows three periods through which the US passed and the number of diplomatic and consular posts from beginning to 2010s. “The graph illustrates the features of all three eras. For the first century, commercial interests grew far more quickly than the traditional diplomatic ones did. Congress and the presidents of the nineteenth century could see the need

for consular posts, but they still resisted a more rapid expansion of the diplomatic missions. Fewer diplomatic missions meant fewer opportunities for political problems. The opportunity for greater commerce with other nations caused the number of consular posts to grow rapidly until it peaked around 1920. Diplomatic posts also increased in number but at a very slow and steady pace” (Jett, 2014, p. 31).

In 1920 the number of consular posts reached its peak. However, right after Rogers Act, which brought professionalization, the number of consular started to decline sharply. After the Second World War, the US had interest everywhere due to its struggle against Soviet Union. Therefore, as the US needed more diplomatic relations with the world countries, new embassies were established.

4. HOW TO BECOME AMBASSADOR

4.1. General Framework

There are obviously two ways of becoming ambassador in the US system. One of them is traditional way which requires to participate in the United States Foreign Service; the other one is non-traditional path that necessitates a person having a political, economic or personal contact with the president. The traditional way mostly takes more than 20 years. However, non-traditional route does not involve the stages of traditional path and decades of government service. Although non-traditional way requires personal ties with the president, it does not guarantee to become ambassador because the president also should feel that the person is deserving of being rewarded with an ambassadorship.

All the process of becoming ambassador, does not matter if it is traditional or non-traditional path, consists of three stages; selection, clearance and confirmation. The selection process of candidates is distinct in the two ways, but the final stage of selection is the same that White House, which stands for the president, decides on whose name should be sent to Senate for ambassadorship. There are approximately 3000 positions each President can complete with appointments (Pfiffner, n.d.). Due to the workload, there is always a committee in charge of recommending names to the president.

The traditional committee for career diplomats consists of senior Foreign Ministry officials, but the non-traditional committee for political appointments is made up of White House officials. However, both groups always have different interests. Thereby, they have to reach a reconciliation through bargaining. The White House should have a common denominator with the State Department in determining the positions to be filled with political appointments in

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the posts and to be filled with career diplomats. Although it is known that personal decisions always matter to decide on who should be chosen and who should not, such decisions are very sensitive, obscure and never transparent. There are some imponderables that veil over the process. Interest level, bureaucratic skills, connection to the president, force of personality and commitment to the process of a committee member, all these issues are the determinant factors on how effective a person is supported in groups.

A certain degree of consensus is essential among the members of each committee. If there is no consensus, the higher authority is consulted for the ultimate decision. In traditional route, the higher authority is the Secretary of the State; in nontraditional route, it is the President. It should be revealed that 'taking a process to the President or to the Secretary' may be used by a committee member as an attempt to reject an appointment.

4.2. Traditional Route

To be able to have a good grasp of the route of career diplomats, it is important to have sufficient knowledge about the State Department. No less than 70,000 people are working for the State Department and just roughly 8,000 of them have the chance to become ambassador in real sense (Jett, 2014, p. 35). The employees of the State Department are separated into three different groups; employees working in the Foreign Service, Civil Service employees and locally employed staffs. The last group which nearly consist of 46,000 people is the largest one. The number of the Civil Service employees, who mainly work in Washington, is about 11,000. The wide spectrum of this group includes not only lawyers and intelligence analysts but also environmental specialists, administrative and clerical staffs. The remaining 14,000 Foreign Service employees are consisted of generalist (around 8,000) and of specialists (around 6,000) (Jett, 2014, p. 36). Specialists are generally managers, secretaries, technicians or security officers.

These 8,000 generalists, who are also regarded as Foreign Service Officers (FSOs), and career ambassadors are almost completely recruited from the senior ranks of the Foreign Service. The process of being career ambassador requires to climb to the senior rank of the Foreign Service. "While climbing the ladder in the career Foreign Service is one route to an ambassadorship, it is an uncertain one. Only a small percentage of all officers entering the service can expect to become ambassadors" (Mak & Kennedy, 1992, p. 21). Career ambassadorship is actually multi-step process. The first step starts with a written entrance exam which is Foreign Service Officer Test (FSOT). It is offered three times each year in February, June, October and also "there is no limit on the number of times an applicant may

take the FSOT, but the test can be taken only once in a 12-month period” (Becoming a Foreign Service Officer, p. 15). The only provision to take the exam is being an American citizen between the ages of 20 and 60. Approximately 200 million US citizens are eligible to take the exam but only 20,000 out of 200 million take the exam each year (Jett, 2014, p. 37).

Namely, anything other than citizenship and age limits, there is no compulsory requirement of education or language proficiency. However, the possibility of passing the exam without a collage education is almost impossible. As it was noted, the exam is open to all who are between the age of 20 and 60. The average of those who pass the exam is about 30 and many of those passing the exam have taken it several times. Depending on the needs and budget of Foreign Service, the State Department determines on how many people will be employed in a given year. In normal years, nearly 350 people are taken as new FSOs. However, in extraordinary years, like in the case of 9/11, the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, need to new officers may increase to more than 500 annually. The tenure of office is three years in normal countries but depends on conditions, it may be two years or as short as one year.

Those who passed the exam are supposed to submit their detailed CV to the Qualifications Evaluation Panel (QEP). If a person ranks high enough in total evaluation based on his/her test scores, CV and other factors, he or she can continue with the oral exam. The oral exam is almost spanning to all-day between 7:00 am and 6:00 pm. In oral exam the person is tested in terms of composure, cultural adaptability, experience and motivation, information integration and analysis, judgement, objectivity and integrity, planning and organization, oral and written communication, quantitative analysis, working with other etc.

Nearly two-third of candidates are eliminated at the end these three stages and for the rest, final stage is background investigation for security-clearance. Those who survive after all stages are taken to vocational training camp.

4.2.1. Promotion

For career diplomats in the Foreign Service in their way to ambassadorship, there is a rank structure. There are six levels below the Senior Foreign Service (SFS), starting with class 6 at the bottom and going to class 1. If a new Foreign Service Officer (FSO) has bachelor’s degree, (s)he starts in class 6; starts in class 5 with a master’s degree and class 4 with a doctorate.

Promotion depends on the combination of two things; the first thing is the annual evaluation of officers’ file and the second thing is the needs of the State Department, the budget and the

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rate of the retirement of senior officers. Namely, all these factors other than officers' performance also limit the promotion.

In order to measure up the requirements of being ambassador in traditional path, an officer has to be promoted to the Senior Foreign Service (SFS) after the all ranks from 6 to 1. Almost all career ambassadors are taken from the SFS, which is comprised of four ranks: counselor, ministercounselor, career minister and career ambassador.

Generally those who achieved to climb to rank of SFS have spent 22 years to get there. The State Department announces promotion statistics in *State Magazine* every year. Below the figures of 2018 shows that 322 class1 officers competed for entry into the SFS and 89 of them succeeded promotion to the Senior Foreign Service (FSF). Besides the annual evaluation, the budget, the rate of the retirement of senior officers and the needs of the State Department, as it is seen in the table, the career track a person chooses also affect the chances for getting into the SFS both in terms of promotion rate and average years of promotion.

Table 1.4 Foreign Service Promotion Statistics for 2018

Category: Generalist FS-01 to FE-OC

Competition Group(s)	Number Competed	Number Promoted	Promotion Rate %	Avg Time-in-Class of Competed	Avg Time-in-Class of Promotees	Avg Length of Service of Competed	Avg Length of Service of Promotees
CONSULAR	47	15	31.9	6.4	6.9	22.0	21.7
ECONOMIC	85	19	22.4	7.1	7.0	23.6	21.7
MANAGEMENT	42	13	31.0	6.4	6.9	20.8	20.1
POLITICAL	96	25	26.0	6.5	6.9	22.2	21.8
PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	52	17	32.7	6.9	6.5	20.6	19.0
FUNCTIONAL TOTALS	322	89	27.6	6.7	6.8	22.1	21.0

*Produced by HR/RMA (U.S. Department of State, 2018, p. 4).

4.2.2. The Process After Senior Rank

Getting into senior rank is necessary but not necessarily sufficient condition to be ambassador. The selection process of seniors for being ambassador is long, complicated and never transparent. Although some phases of the process are known, there is an obscurity in its detail.

There is a commission consisted of the officers of the Foreign Service that narrows the list of ambassadoral candidates down to three, four or five. Career diplomats spend most of their life abroad. Therefore, in this system, those who are not serving in Washington have disadvantages because it may be harder for them to be known by the members of commission in the times of forming a list of candidates. In the formation of a list, the commission consults to regional assistant secretaries because although an ambassador is the representative of the

president in a country, (s)he does not directly report to president but to the secretary of state through the assistant secretary for the region.

The commission presents the short list, which consist of between three or five candidates determined by the commission, to the Deputy Secretaries Committee (also called as D Committee). D Committee is in charge of making recommendation to the Secretary of State on who should fill each career ambassadorship. The secretary may reject the recommendation but generally accept the candidate that determined by the committee and then send it to the White House. Namely, although the result may be discouraging for some, when the D Committee makes its decision, list of recommendation for each ambassadorship forward to the Secretary. Once the Secretary ratifies the list, it goes to the White House. This is repeated several times a year, in the same way. It should be disclosed that generally there is a prior agreement between the White House Personnel Office and the State Department on which embassies should be given to political appointees and which should be reserved to career ambassadors.

When D Committee determines the recommendation list, generally the candidates' experience in the region, policy formulation, language ability, managerial skills, gender and ethnic diversity are taken into consideration. However, these are the visible side of process. At the bakground the personal ties of candidates with the member of D Committee is predominantly matter.

4.3. Non-traditional Route

The structure and procedures of ambassadorship for career diplomats is fixed by tradition and it was explained. Traditional route is not free of challenges. Although luck, timing, annual evaluation and connections matter, merit also plays an important role in getting an affirmative answer from D Committee for ambassadorship in traditional path.

For those who do not attend to the Foreign Service adventure and are not favor of spending 20 years in working to climb the ranks to become a senior FSO, there is a second path of obtaining the title, which refers to non-traditional way. The nontraditional way is shorter and less complicated. Although merit is important in this path, it is relatively less important. Concisely and precisely, having personal link with the president or with those who has force on the president is the major determinant factor in being considered for a presidential appointment.

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The process starts not with the inauguration of the president but before the big party candidates secure their candidacy as presidential personnel have to be determined earlier and must be functional on the first day. But all the process of ambassadorial appointees actually goes on behind of the scene. A secretary of state and other cabinet members may have varying degree of control over the presidential appointments.

In presidential appointments, administration style of the president, composition of cabinet members and president's relations with those members all affect the decision on who should fill the ambassadorship. Moreover, the ideology and the ability of the candidates also matter to some extent in political appointees. As it was stated before, economic, political and personal relationship with president or with someone who has influence on president's decisions play the most important role in this process. Here, economic relations simply mean a person's generous contribution to the president's election campaign. However, discussions and conflicts of the process and other things that are going behind the scene is not clear and transparent.

Namely, ambassadorial posts are mostly used as a reward for campaign workers, loyal staffers. In short, the philosophy of the presidential appointment can be depicted as loyalty to the president and the president's ideology.

4.4. Clearance and Confirmation

Although the ways that career officers and political appointees take to the president's desk are different, both groups undergo the same final last two steps (clearance and confirmation) after president ratifies names. Mostly the names of people being considered as ambassador are religiously kept secret because if something occurs that prevents the candidate from going forward to the Senate, that is actually an embarrassment to the president. Therefore, in order not to be confronted by such embarrassment, dullness and shame, the names of people considered for ambassadorship are not made public before clearance. However, there are some exceptions especially big donors, if they express their interests in an ambassadorship, are leaked to public to gauge the reactions about the person's possible ambassadorship.

In security clearance process, e-mails, texts, instant messages, facebook and other posts are taken into account. The clearance process starts with Standart Form 86 or called as the SF-86 Security Questionnaire. This form covers every aspects of the candidates' life including "the circumstances of the person's birth, citizenship, every place of residence for the past 15 years, education after the age of 18, employment, military service, three references, marital status

(including information on former spouses and current cohabitation), relatives (whether living or deceased), any close and/or continuing contact with foreign nationals during the past 15 years, foreign financial interests, foreign business or professional activities, contacts with foreign government officials, offices held in foreign governments, voting in foreign elections, foreign travel, police records, any illegal use of drugs during the past 15 years, use of alcohol, prior security clearances, financial records, use of information technology systems, involvement in noncriminal court actions, and any associations with terrorist or criminal organizations. Finally, the nominee has to sign forms authorizing the release of his or her medical and credit records” (Jett, 2014, p. 102).

After that, the State Department’s Bureau of Diplomats Security (DS) gets involved in an investigation of all that information. DS contacts to all people mentioned in the form. Normally DS is supposed to complete all investigation process in 30 days, but it often takes longer.

Moreover, the process does not end at this stage. The receiving state should approve the name that is considered as ambassador. After all of clearance process and approval of the receiving country, the name of candidate is publicly announced and sent to the Senate for confirmation. Sending to the Senate for confirmation is the last stage. The Senate has the authority and ability to do more than just checking the qualifications of the candidate. Although there some exceptions throughout the history, the Senate rarely rejects the candidates.

5. THE APPOINTMENT PROCESS OF THE UK AMBASSADORS

Certainly, administrative structure and governing system is the major point of the differences of countries’ appointment process. In this sense, as the governing system of the UK is constitutional monarchy, there are some differences in ambassadorial appointment process of the UK in comparison with ambassadorial appointment process of the US, which is governed by the presidential system. However, there are some points in common as well.

Generally, the UK ambassadors/ high commissioners are career civil servants. They are very experienced Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) staff who have previously had a range of overseas postings to the UK diplomatic missions around the world. In the UK, positions are advertised and generally opened to senior officials from other Government Departments across Whitehall, inviting bids from suitably graded and experienced colleagues (Maggie Docherty, 2018). In this manner, it diverges from the US process as the positions in the US system, except for political ones, are opened to only State Department staffs (mostly to

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Foreign Service employees). However, in the UK the roles are opened to other Government Departments' staffs as well. Common denominator of the process in this level of both countries is that positions are opened to only senior staffs. Although the US opens the positions to only Foreign and Civil Service senior officials of the State Department, the UK opens to senior officials of the other Government Departments as well.

The UK ambassadorial appointment shows a great similarity with the US ambassadorial appointment in terms of types. In both countries, appointments are either traditional (career officials) or non-traditional (political appointees). In the US, political appointees are mostly famous figures. They are appointed widely because of their political, economic or personal relations with the president or someone who has considerable influence on president. Notably, those contributed to the president's election campaign are being politically appointed in the US. Namely, although there have been some changes throughout history, political appointment system of the US originated in and then constructed on presidential election system, which opens the way to external financial contribution of individuals. Therefore, the percentage of political appointees is 30% in average especially after the Second World War. In UK system, there is no rule against political appointees as ambassadors. Therefore, sometimes a political appointment may be made by the Prime Minister, but this is very rare in the UK system due to the fact that general election in the UK does not require external/personal monetary fund to candidates. Therefore, political appointments are very rare and if necessary, it is completely based on merit. In consequence of this, the percentage of the political appointees in the UK is less than 1% (Maggie Docherty, 2018).

In the UK, once a role has been advertised, bidders are then considered by a senior hiring manager (usually and FCO Head of Department, Director or Director General depending on the seniority of the role) and by a Board consisting of the FCO's most senior officials. A short list of around 3 or 4 candidates undergo a formal interview process and a recommendation on who should be appointed goes to the Appointment Board for consideration. The most senior ambassadorial roles proceed to the Senior Appointment Board which is chaired by the Permanent Under Secretary (PUS) of the Foreign Office. This process is almost the same with the US ambassadorial appointment process. As it was revealed before, in the US system, there is a commission consisted of the officers of the Foreign Service that narrows down the list of ambassadorial candidates to three, four or five. The commission offers the short list to the D Committee that is responsible for making recommendation to the Secretary of State on who should fill each career ambassadorship. In the UK, ambassadorial appointments are

approved by the PUS and the Foreign Secretary. Moreover, the most senior appointments are also being approved by the Prime Minister as well. However, all ambassadorial appointments “have to be approved by Buckingham Palace/the Queen as ambassadors have a dual role of representing the government and the Crown” (Parkinson, 2016). Once the Queen has consented, agreement is sought from the host government.

When considering who to appoint in the UK system, a number of factors are considered including leadership performance/potential, relevant skills (including language skills) and experience. For ambassadorial appointments, the Board seek to make use of the skills/experience of candidates with prior Head of Mission (HoM) experience, but also look to bring new talent into the HoM cadre. All FCO staff undertake an annual appraisal where their performance is assessed and all senior management structure (SMS) staff are given a talent management rating which is organisation’s view on their relative potential across their peer group. Here main objective is to use talent management to ensure the FCO is a diverse, strong, experienced, professional and multi-talented organization. This process is also almost the same with the US appointment process. As it was disclosed above, although at the back of scene, political games matter much in promotion of US candidates, annual evaluation of their performance and ability improvement plays considerable role. The most important difference between the US and the UK promotion process in that it is more politically engaged process in the US.

As to backgrounds, the UK ambassadors are from a variety of backgrounds. The majority are educated to degree level from a variety of universities. Nonetheless, it should be noted that “slightly more than one-third of the British ambassadors in the period of 1893-1930 under consideration are the sons of nobility” (Hartman, 1931, p. 333). Another important issue is that, the Civil Service in the UK is mostly impartial and serves whichever government is in power regardless of politics. Most ambassadors remain in the Civil Service for many years and working under several different governments in the UK. However, in the US, political appointees (about 30%) are expected to submit their resignation to new government. In this sense, political appointees in the US serve for 4 years. On the contrary all ambassadorial appointees can serve under different governments in the UK system.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the first century of the US, nobody was given the title of “ambassador” for the US representation abroad. And all diplomatic appointments were political. In the first century of the US, main preoccupations were the establishment, construction and consolidation of the

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state and maintenance of state unity. Therefore, mostly as a result of Monroe Doctrine of the 1823, the US did not pay much attention on foreign relations but rather isolated itself from the world politics. However, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the interest of the US increased abroad. Thus, in the following 60 years, there had been professionalization in diplomatic service. It was not until 1893 that the US had actual ambassadors abroad. With the Rogers Act in 1924, Diplomatic and Consular Services were combined and merit system mostly replaced the 'spoils system'. Especially after the Second World War and following decolonization process, the interest of the US enlarged almost throughout the world. Therefore, to run its increasing interest in worldwide, the US opened more embassies and sent new ambassadors to more nations. By the end of 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, the ratio of career appointees versus political ambassador was 70/30. This average ratio has remained the same up to current Trump Administration.

American ambassador appointment process is of two kinds: career officers and political appointees. The former one takes at least 20 years and requires getting involved in Foreign Service and climb the ranks to senior officer. However, being senior officer does not guarantee to be appointed as ambassador. It is necessary but not necessarily enough for ambassadorial appointment. In the way of ambassadorship after senior rank, a commission shorten the list of candidates to present it to D Committee. And D Committee suggest a candidate to the president to sign the appointment. The second way is political appointment which is short and does not require to spend at least 20 years in Foreign Service. Political appointment necessitates political, economic or personal relations with president or with person who has significant influence on the president. Those non-professional political ambassadorial appointments mostly have been awarded for loyalty to the president and success in other fields.

Whether it is career officer or nonprofessional candidates, the last steps; clearance and confirmation are the same. Candidates undergo a background investigation process for security clearance and after that if the result is in affirmative the names of candidates were offered to the Senate for confirmation. The Senate mostly confirms the appointment.

Pertaining to the comparison of appointment process in both countries, despite similarities between the US and the UK ambassador appointment process, there are certain and concrete differences as well in major points. The UK system is obviously less public and therefore less confrontational. However, the US system is more transparent and has different tradition in political appointment in comparison with the UK. Although there are political appointees in

both countries, the average standard ration of political appointees in the US is 30% while it is less than 1% in the UK. Another major distinction of the process in both countries is that it is more politically engaged process in the US, but it is utterly merit-based in the UK. Lastly, while political appointees in the US serve for 4 years, all ambassadorial appointees can possibly serve under different governments in the UK system.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

ABD'nin kuruluşundan sonraki ilk yüzyılı boyunca hiç kimseye ABD'nin yurtdışındaki temsilciliği için "büyükelçi" unvanı verilmedi. Bu süre zarfında gerçekleşen bütün atamalar politik atamalar şeklinde gerçekleşmiştir. ABD'nin ilk yüzyılındaki ana kaygıları devletin kurulması, inşası, sağlamaştırılması ve devlet birliğinin korunmasıydı. Bu nedenle, özellikle

1823'teki Monroe Doktrini'nin bir sonucu olarak ABD, dış ilişkilere fazla dikkat etmemiş ve daha çok kendisini dünya siyasetinden izole etmiştir. Ancak, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın son yirmi yılında ABD'nin yurtdışındaki çıkarları ve buna bağlı olarak yurtdışı ilgisi artmıştır. Böylece, artan çıkarların teşviki ve korunması için takip eden 60 yıl içinde, diplomatik hizmette profesyonelleşme gerçekleşmeye başlamıştır. Ancak yine de 1893 yılına kadar profesyonel anlamda büyükelçi ataması gerçekleşmemiştir. Diplomatik ve konsolosluk hizmetlerinin birleşimini sağlayan 1924 Rogers Yasası ile de elçi atamaları yasal zeminde liyakat esası üzerine oturtulmuştur.

Özellikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası gerçekleşen dekolonizasyon sürecinin ardından, ABD'nin yurtdışı ilgisi neredeyse tüm dünyada arttı. Bu nedenle, dünya çapında artan çıkar ve ilgisini sürdürmek için ABD daha fazla elçilik açmış ve daha fazla ülkeye yeni elçiler göndermiştir. Daha profesyonel bir yapıya bürünen atama usulü, 'politik/siyasi atamalar' ve meslekten yetişenlerin atandığı 'kariyer atamaları' şeklinde devam etmiştir. 1950'lerin sonlarından itibaren kariyer atamalarının politik atamalara oranı Trump döneminin bugüne kadar olan verileri haricinde, her dönem için ortalama 7/3 şeklinde gerçekleşmiştir.

Şunu da belirtmek gerekir ki, meslek memuru olarak başlayıp tüm kariyer basamaklarını tırmandıktan sonra büyükelçi olarak atananların meslek hayatında ortalama en az 20 yılı geçmektedir. Yani, 'siyasi atamalar' çoğunlukla Başkan veya Başkan üzerinde önemli etkiye sahip kişi(ler) ile siyasi, ekonomik veya kişisel ilişkileri zorunlu kılarken 'kariyer atamaları' daha uzun, meşakkatli ve profesyonel bir mesleki tecrübeyi gerekli kılar.

ABD ve İngiltere'deki büyükelçi atama süreçleri belli hususlarda benzerlik gösterse de aralarında kesin ve net farklılıklar vardır. Her şeyden önce, İngiltere'deki süreç ABD'deki gibi kamuya açık ve şeffaf değildir. Bu sebeple bazı temel usuller dışında sürece ilişkin detaylı bir veri elde edilememektedir. Her iki ülkede de siyasi atamalar olmasına rağmen, ABD'deki siyasi atamaların ortalama standart oranı %30 iken Birleşik Krallık'ta %1'den azdır. İki ülke arasında sürece dair diğer önemli bir ayrım, ABD'de siyasi olarak daha etkin bir süreç varken Birleşik Krallık'ta sürecin neredeyse tamamen liyakat ve ehliyet esaslı olmasıdır. Son olarak, ABD'deki siyasi atamalar sadece ilgili yönetim döneminde en fazla 4 yıl boyunca hizmet verebilirken, Birleşik Krallık sisteminde bütün büyükelçiler farklı hükümetler altında hizmet verebilmektedirler.