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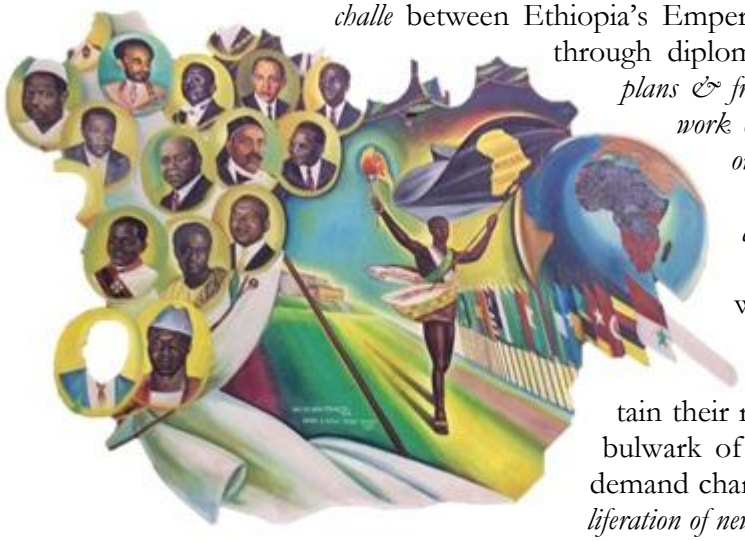
Public Policy, Diplomacy & Nation Branding in a Digital Epoch: The 'Delinked Diplomat'

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Abstract

Diplomatic missions to Western nations, at least in their traditional form, are facing a crunch of existence. The 21st century has dramatically changed the way nations interact with each other. The speed at which information is exchanged, economic crises spiral, complex security menaces emerge and the way states communicate in real time all raise the issue whether permanent plenipotentiary & extraordinary attachés are still relevant. Gone are the days when the *Treaty of Wuchalle* between Ethiopia's Emperor Menelliqué and Italy that were concluded through diplomats in the 1880s. *Today, information transcends plans & frontiers, trillions move unimpeded across a global network of swifts and networks are fast swapping the pecking order. As opposed to closed-door diplomacy, media transparency is the clarion call of the day, crowding out diplomatic pride.*



In this world of instantaneous social media where leaders proclaim positions on international matters without even telling their emissaries, old-style diplomats struggle to sustain their relevance. Hence, while missions still make the bulwark of international affairs, fundamental forces that demand change include *revolution in information technology*, *proliferation of new media*, knowledge on *globalization of business and finance*, *public participation in complex issues that transcend national boundaries. Diplomacy must be overhauled to make it more accessible, participatory, technology driven in deliberations and implementation. Ending the culture of secrecy and exclusivity is a requirement for developing a collaborative relationship with the public. Further, it is to adopt a disciplined coordination model for the conduct of diplomacy. Another immediate need is a renaissance of professionalism. The potential solution scenarios discussed in the paper are strategies for new branding of nations, governance and leadership capacity, founding independent private sector think tanks and a renewed role for embassies* (Oliver, 2016).

Key words: diplomacy, public policy, information age, globalisation

Intellectuals analyze the operations of international systems; leaders build them. There is a vast difference between the perspective of an analyst and that of a leader. The analyst can choose which problem to study, whereas the leader's problems are imposed on him. The analyst can allot time to come to a clear conclusion; the overwhelming challenge to the leader is the pressure of time. The analyst runs no risk. If his conclusions prove wrong, he can write another treatise. The leader is permitted only one guess; his mistakes are irretrievable. The analyst has available to him all the facts; he will be judged on his intellectual power. The statesman must act on assessments that cannot be proved at his time; he will be judged by history on the basis of how wisely he managed the inevitable change and, above all, by how well he preserves the peace —
Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy

1. Introduction

Since the modernisation efforts of the administrative and economic mechanisms, diplomacy has been confronted with various legal and regulatory problems. The dominating policy influences in the different historical periods have had in large measure negative impacts on diplomacy development, depending on the philosophical orientation of the regimes in power. It is agreed by many that promulgation of policies and legislative measures alone are not enough to encourage the development of diplomacy. Implementation of the policies in favour of the sector is very important. In a market economy, progress in industrialisation is considered to come about with the development of financial markets and establishment of international banks is needed. Some policy restrictions prohibiting the participation of foreign investors in economic sectors like banking and insurance need to be reconsidered in the light of socio-economic interest of a nation. Thus, foreign investors who team-up in joint ventures have to be encouraged to participate in banking, insurance, mining, industries, agriculture etc. Such policy decisions and diplomatic calibre will help facilitate capital inflows, technology and management systems (Costantinos, 2015d).

Alex Oliver, in his Foreign affairs snapshot - *The Irrelevant Diplomat* – underpins the fact that that the embassy, at least in its traditional form, is facing an existential crisis. The global transformations of the twenty-first century have dramatically changed the way nations practice diplomacy. The rise of digital communications, diminishing resources, and growing security threats all raise the question of whether the traditional embassy is still relevant.

> *More than half of the developed nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have reduced their diplomatic footprint over the last decade, according to our research at the Lowy Institute, where we have constructed the Global Diplomacy Index, which charts almost 6,000 diplomatic posts across nearly 660 cities around the world. As government budgets shrink, embassies and diplomats seem more like expensive luxuries than political assets. It does not help, of course, that diplomats are stereotyped as overpaid and ineffectual cocktail-circuit regulars and that foreign ministries frequently fail to reflect the times. They generally lack diversity and are slow to embrace innovation & social media. Moreover, with rising importance of economic diplomacy, nations are inclined to open trade offices and innovation hubs than embassies*[i]*. Once the government's eyes and ears abroad, embassies are now usually the slowest way to get information, unable to compete with lightning-fast media reporting and exhaustive country analyses prepared by NGOs and risk consultancies. The digitally connected world allows governments to communicate directly with their counterparts, and some world leaders, including Indian PM Narendra Modi, have become prodigious users of Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, speaking to huge domestic and foreign audiences without even telling their embassies. In some ways, smaller budgets have brought about some much-needed streamlining.*[ii]*. Nevertheless, the biggest threat to the viability of embassies is security. In conflict-ridden countries where information on the ground is scarce, diplomatic posts are crucial, and yet are routinely shuttered when conditions get rough*[iii]*. Not all of this means that embassies do not have a significant role to play in foreign relations. Plenty of reasons prevail why foreign outposts are still needed. They are their nations' shop fronts: a physical interface between the home nation and the host country. Good diplomats forge relationships that would otherwise be tough to reach; they navigate local power dynamics, gather and interpret information, help businesses steer through foreign legislation, and connect with local civil society*[iv] (Oliver, 2016).

An emerging concept in diplomacy is public diplomacy - effectively communing with publics around the globe - to understand, value and even emulates one's vision and ideas; historically one of the most effective weapons of outreach, persuasion and policy. It is simply the conduct of international relations by governments through civil society and the media and through dealings with a wide range of non-state entities**.**

Globally, states recognise that they need to enable rather than control, facilitate rather than interfere, manage less but more effectively. The legitimacy of diplomacy will depend in important ways the relevance to the 21st century and on it being reasonably honest, transparent and accountable (Costantinos, 2015a)**.** This lecture is about changing the nature of diplomacy in the information age, dealing with diplomacy, public policy, international relations & nation banding.

2. Public Policy & International Relations

Public policy as a legal, ethical and moral dispensation by the executive branch of government, but emerging from constitutional, legislative and administrative laws, vis-à-vis a class of issues in a manner consistent with law and institutional customs. Legal protection of constitutionally defined rights and a functioning court system, legal and regulatory frameworks are necessary to promote trade, innovation, and control global illicit money flows, corruption and rent seeking. The independence of institutions that regulate public policies should be safeguarded. Public policy is the principled guide to action taken by the executive branches of the state with regard to a class of issues in a manner consistent with national jurisdiction and institutional customs. In general, the foundation of public policy is the pertinent national and substantial constitutional law and implementing legislation. Further substrates include both judicial interpretations and regulations, which are generally authorized by legislation. It is indeed a system of *courses of action, regulatory measures, laws and funding priorities concerning foreign relations or a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives*.

Public policy relating to international relations is commonly embodied in constitutions, legislative acts, and judicial decisions. This concept refers not only to the result of policies, but more broadly to the decision-making and analysis of governmental decisions. Shaping foreign public policy is a complex and multifaceted process that involves the interplay of numerous individuals and interest groups competing and collaborating to influence policymakers to act in a particular way. These individuals and groups use a variety of tactics and tools to advance their aims, including advocating their positions publicly, attempting to educate supporters and opponents, and mobilizing allies on a particular issue.

International relations (affairs) fields *study relationships between political entities (polities) such as states, sovereign states, empires, inter-governmental organizations, non-state organizations and multinational corporations and the wider world-systems produced by this interaction. International relations is an academic and a public policy field, and so can be positive and normative, because it analyses and formulates the foreign policy of a given State* (Wikipedia, 2016b). *International relations theory is the study of international relations from a theoretical perspective; it attempts to provide a conceptual framework upon which international relations can be analysed. International relations theories can be divided into positivist/rationalist theories, which focus on a principally state-level analysis, and "post-positivist/reflectivist" ones, which incorporate expanded meanings of security, ranging from class, to gender, to postcolonial security.* Many often-conflicting ways of thinking exist in the theory, (*constructivism*, *institutionalism*, *Marxism*, *neo-Gramscianism*…) However, the most prevalent are *realism, liberalism & constructivism* (Wikipedia, 2016c).

3. Diplomacy

3.1. What is diplomacy

Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states. It usually refers to international diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of peace making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment, and human rights. International treaties are usually negotiated by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians. In an informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage or to find mutually acceptable solutions to a common challenge, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non-confrontational or polite manner. The scholarly discipline of diplomatics, dealing with the study of old documents, derives its name from the same source, but its modern meaning is quite distinct from the activity of diplomacy.

Standard diplomacy might be described as the ways in which government leaders communicate with each other at the highest levels, the elite diplomacy we are all familiar with. Public diplomacy, by contrast focuses on the ways in which a country (or multi-lateral organization such as the United Nations) communicates with citizens in other societies. A country may be acting deliberately or inadvertently, and through both official and private individuals and institutions.

Effective public diplomacy starts from the premise that dialogue, rather than a sales pitch, is often central to achieving the goals of foreign policy: public diplomacy must be seen as a two-way street. Preventive diplomacy is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur. Since the end of the Cold War, the international community through international institutions has been focusing on preventive diplomacy.

Public diplomacy… deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications. Over time, the concept has evolved by various practitioners. Other definitions and descriptions include the most important roles public diplomacy will have to play for the United States in the current international environment will be less grand-strategic and operational than during the Cold War. Support of national policy in military contingencies is one such role, and probably the most important (Wikipedia, 2016a).

3.2. Early Diplomacy in African History

3.2.1. Emperor Menelique and the Wuchalle Treaty (case digest)

Emperor Menelliqué concluded the Treaty of Wuchalle with Count Antonelli, the representative of the Italian government. In Article III of this Treaty, Menelliqué conceded part of Hamassen and Bogos (Keren) to Italy. In August 1889, the Italians moved their headquarters from Massawa to Asmara and subsequently named their colony as Eritrea. Italy did not waste time before it expanded its colonial territory by absorbing *Seraie* and *Akele Guzai*, which eventually was formalized by treaties concluded in 1900 and 1902, which drew the frontier along the Mereb-Belesa-Muna line. In another treaty concluded in 1908, Italian occupation along the Red Sea coast from the border of *Agame* and *Akele Guzai* at the *Bada* swamp to *Rahita* bordering Djibouti was stretched 60 kms inward. During 1890, Menelliqué received the response to his letters to the European powers announcing his coronation and requesting their recognition. Notably, Britain and Germany responded that according to Article XVII of the *Wuchalle Treaty* concluded with Italy, Menelliqué's communication ought to have been made through Italy.

Angered by this response, *Emperor Menelliqué* at once wrote to King Umberto on September 26,1890, denouncing Article XVII of the Treaty of Wuchalle pointing out that he had only agreed if he so desired, and not that he would be obliged, to employ Italy in his foreign relations and negotiations. Antonelli was then sent and arrived in Addis Ababa on 17 Dec 1890, with instructions to give way on the question of the frontiers, if he could secure the maintenance of the protectorate. Fruitless negotiation continued. *Menelliqué* remained adamant. He would not entertain placing himself under obligatory protection of another nation. *Empress Taitu*, Menelliqué's consort who had taken part in the deliberation reprimanded Antonelli when he lost his temper. Finally, Antonelli was obliged to leave with *Salimbeni* on 11 Feb 1891, without accomplishing him mission. *Meneliqué* wrote to *Umberto* complaining of the rude behaviour of his envoy, Antonelli, and sent a circular to all the European powers on April 21, 1891, describing the boundaries of his Empire and concluded

> *I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator while far distant powers make their appearance with the intention of carving out their respective empires in Africa, Ethiopia having been for fourteen centuries an island of Christians amongst a sea of pagans. The Almighty has protected Ethiopia to this day; I am confident that he will protect her in future & have no doubt that He will not let her be under subjection of other states.*[vvi]

The Italian response was indecisive and ambivalent. Up to then, the government in Rome supported *Antonelli's* view that they should continue to Support Menelliqué with the objective of gaining the protectorate over all the Ethiopian empire.

3.2.2. 'Divide et Impera'

In protest against this policy, *Baldisera* and his successor *Orero* resigned from the governorship of the Eritrea, since, in their view, the only true course for Italy to pursue was one of "*Divide et Impera*", namely to play off the *Tigrayan* against the *Shoan* and increase the territory of the colony. Now, in desperation, the green light was given to the new governor *Giuseppe Gandolfi*, who replaced *General Orero* in June 1891. *Dr. Cesare Nerazzani* and *Dr. Angelo de Martino* were sent to join *Tennente Benedetto Mulazzani* who was resident in Adwa, on 23 Oct 1891 with a letter from Umberto, to convince *Ras Mengesha* that he should meet *General Gandolfi*. The motive of the Italians in allowing *Gandolfi* to conclude the so-called *Mereb Convention* undoubtedly was to exert pressure on Menelliqué by alienating *Mengesha* from him and creating hostility between them in the hope of inducing *Menelliqué* to accept the protectorate clause of the *Wuchalle Treaty*.

The colonial authorities in Eritrea, on the other hand, may have regarded the new policy as a prelude for the expansion of the Italian colony and for establishing a paramount influence or even hegemony over the rest of Tigray, rather than the effect it would have on the protectorate issue. The new policy, for whatever motive, was a clear departure from the policy pursued by Italy since 1889, which regarded *Mengesha* and *Alula* as archenemies and were persistent in supplying arms ammunition and finance to their principal adversaries, *Dedjazmatch Seyum Gabre Kidan, Dedjazmatch Debbeb Araya*, and *Dedjazmatch Sebhat Aregawi*.

4. Reinventing Diplomacy in an Information Age (CSIS, 2009)

4.1. International Dynamics

The world is changing fundamentally from Emperor Menelliqué's time. *Images and information respect neither time nor borders. Hierarchy is giving way to networking. Openness is crowding out secrecy and exclusivity. Ideas and capital move swiftly and unimpeded across a global network of governments, corporations, and nongovernmental organizations. In this world of instantaneous information, traditional diplomacy struggles to sustain its relevance.* Fundamental forces that demand change in diplomacy include *revolution in information technology*, *proliferation of new media*[vii], *globalization of business and finance*[viii], *widening participation of publics in international relations and complex issues that transcend national boundaries*. The prime mover of change is *information technology. When Gutenberg shattered the old order by mechanizing printing five centuries ago, the democratization of literacy and knowledge irresistibly followed. As the millennium ends, the microchip is again revolutionizing information gathering and transmission, and will bring even more profound changes in the next century. The critical elements are the international networks created by computers and electronic connectivity. Exponential growth in computing power and plummeting international telecommunications costs are having profound consequences. Nations once connected by foreign ministries and traders are now linked through millions of individuals by fibre optics, satellite, wireless, and cable in a complex network without central control.*

The Internet, with 100 million users today, will reach one billion people by 2005, and will be available to half the world's population by 2010. The network will become the central nervous system of international relations. The public dimension receives less attention, yet it may be the most significant of the changes that affect the conduct of diplomacy. Virtually no major foreign affairs or domestic initiative is taken today without first testing public opinion. The public dimension includes not only public opinion, which has long been recognized as essential, but also public consultation, involvement, and action[ix]. The information age poses intense new challenges to diplomacy, either magnifying international disagreement and discord or distracting people from vital concerns abroad. The consequences can be fast and deadly. The dominant issues of the next decade include democracy and human rights; weapons of mass destruction; terrorism, drugs, and global crime; environmental concerns; population, refugees, and migration; disease and famine.

4.2. The Execution Crack

The information age increases the relevance of these issues to the peoples of the world. The penalty to diplomacy for inattention will be severe. *Diplomacy is the art of advancing national interests through the sustained exchange of information among nations and peoples. Its purpose is to change attitudes and*

behaviour. It is the practice of state-to-state persuasion. Classic diplomacy assumes that sovereign states control international relations. However, faced with technologies that empower contradictory impulses of fragmentation and integration, and generate instant and often uncontrolled, unmediated problems, diplomacy in the 21st century must overturn its culture of secrecy and its penchant for exclusivity. *The conduct of diplomacy faces unacceptable performance gaps between its out-dated practices and the requirements of the new age of information. These gaps include diplomatic priorities, professional standards, leadership, infrastructure, resources, telecommunications, computers, media deployment, and relations with the media, business, and civil societies. In short, the State agencies are encumbered with traditions and tools that inhibit the practice of diplomacy*[x].

4.3. Diplomacy - 21st Century Strategies

Ending the culture of secrecy and exclusivity is a requirement for developing a collaborative relationship with the public. This will demand *greater attention to international and domestic public opinion in the formulation and execution of policy and augment the static practice of cable reporting with a dynamic network of information exchange among diplomats and other responsible parties*. Further, it is to adopt a disciplined coordination model for the conduct of diplomacy. *The hierarchical control model of the past should be replaced by distributed decision-making, delegated authority, and bureaucratic streamlining. This would increase resources devoted to frontline diplomacy by reducing bureaucratic layering and administrative costs and develop a new collaborative paradigm of diplomacy with a clear definition of stakeholders and constituents, and an inspired statement of vision and values.* Another immediate need is a renaissance of professionalism. Replacing out-dated practices of workforce management, creating new professional opportunities, and making a commitment to sustained professional development are required to change the existing culture. This entails the need to reform personnel practices by recruiting regional and management specialists and creating a reserve service to augment the career service with functional expertise. It further burdens us with the need to create electronically linked teams to take advantage of the expertise of area and functional specialists serving in far-flung locations.

> *Upgrading information technology to corporate standards will enable the acquisition of new technologies must be geared to supporting the key priorities of diplomacy. This further entails the necessity to develop an information strategy supportive of democratization and transparency in international relations and provision of state-of-the-art computers and electronic connectivity for the effective acquisition, management and dissemination of information. Move public diplomacy is needed from the side-lines to the core of diplomacy. Diplomacy must be proactive in promoting policies and values, and interactive in engaging domestic and foreign publics. This would mean the need to redefine public diplomacy to include education and early public engagement in the conduct of diplomacy, and amend legislation to improve communication with the public and inaugurate a Global Affairs presence on the Internet to strengthen international cooperation and address global issues. Focus greater attention and higher priority on commercial diplomacy to ensure competitiveness in the global economy, [nations] must strengthen ability to expand global markets and assist business abroad. This entails the need to establish Business & Information Centres in the ten Big Emerging Markets to be managed by a public-private consortium. It is also to initiate an officer-exchange program between business and government to strengthen commercial representation abroad. Despite the many promises of the information age, the world in which diplomacy operates remains a dangerous place. Failure to respond to the imperatives of change threatens national security and prosperity as well as its respect for humanity. Diplomacy must be guided by coherence, capability, discipline and agility and characterized by openness and permeability* (Oliver, 2016).

4.4. Nation Branding - Quo Vadis Diplomacy

For a quarter of century, the Western media brands Africa as a famine-ridden basket case. Nevertheless, Africa's problem is not so much a problem of character defect or ethical failure as it is one of misunderstanding arising from decontextualising and dehistoricising social phenomena. The Western media make judgments based on false analogies and false comparisons on the separation of meaning from social context, behaviour from cultural milieu, and action from social structures. Judgements are based on representations especially the perception that the Western state, and its correlates, market society and bureaucratic organisation exist in Africa or ought t*o exist. They are not based on the realities on the ground.*

4.4.1. Strategies for new branding of Africa

Nation branding is a field of theory and practice, which aims to measure, builds and manages the reputation of countries. Some approaches applied, such as an increasing importance on the symbolic value of products, have led countries to emphasise their distinctive characteristics. The branding and image of a nation-state and the successful transference of this image to its exports - is just as important as what they actually produce and sell". Simon Anholt is credited as a pioneer in the field, regularly conducting two global surveys known as the Anholt-GfK Roper Nation and City Brands Index and Nation Branding Masterclass, a series of events designed to support the more effective stewardship of the national identity. Hence, what is needed to re-brand Africa? The state needs to develop integrated packages of policy, technology, and investment strategies together with appropriate decision-making tools including a land use policy and a strategic land use plan. It also means revolutionising food security and the agricultural sector to promote large-scale mercantile food production; promoting small and intermediate-scale entrepreneurship as a vehicle of future growth and higher levels of value-added and economic diversification. This can be achieved by surmounting current deficit of skills that are necessary to establish a range of managerial capabilities; evolving viable credit and capital markets; and improving the quality education and health and learning throughout life and education for critical consciousness.

Ensuring enabling environment for re-branding - nurturing civil society

A major problem inherent is the extreme weakness of the social movements and their failure to develop coherent strategies for promoting broad based and well organised citizenry. For the lack of opportunities for self-organised civil associations that function to *preserve basic rights of its constituents and the society at large, educate the citizens and advocate popular claims, build a consensus and promote political and moral ethical values and disseminate them among the populace, it has become difficult to nurture a sense of civil society.* While the activities of some social institutions may have the salutary effect of bringing into transparency the work of state and of opening up state institutions and practices to public suiting, the underdevelopment of civil society in Africa and the incapacity of institutions within it are major barriers to a plural society.

Rather than offering agents and arenas of pluralism, civil societies are generally seen as objects and problems of reform. Indicators of their weakness include low levels of economic, technological, professional and cultural development and high levels of illiteracy. On account of this view, the state assumes a large role in democratisation. It is assigned the task of nothing less than *cultivating civil society* itself through political education and mobilisation. We have then divergent representations of society accompanied by somewhat conflicting conceptions of the role of state in the passage to democracy. *The perception of society as producer of the spontaneous interests, demands and institutional resources of democratic change to some degree conflicts with the view of civil societies as weakly developed structures in need of cultivation and support by state institutions. On the other hand, there is the conception of state institutions as creator of the enabling environment for the free democratic activities of individuals and groups diverges from the view of the state as political educator and democratiser of civil society.*

These conflicting perspectives commonly tend to confuse representations of *civil society* and *the state* as conceptual or ideal categories; often conflicted into the immediate stuff of Africa's political and social psyche. This is not to deny that there are representations of society in current perspectives of diplomacy, but it is to note a disabling analytical tendency in which the actualities of politics tend to be pre-emptied and displaced by the very conceptual categories used to describe them otherwise. *Why cannot we do it?*

Indeed Africa can mount itself on an irreversible trajectory to instilling political culture; laying the foundation to build a self-governing society out of the vestiges of authoritarianism. The same measure of zeal is a necessary condition for citizens to ensure that such progress is not allowed to slip into anarchy and violence, in which case they may stand to lose everything in our history and culture that have been meticulously put in motion over many centuries. Indeed the African state needs to develop corporate strategic plans for the 21st century where the state must establish capacity for policy and strategic harmonisation; recognition and acknowledgement of

the importance of credit and capital markets; creation and nurturing of enabling environments for entrepreneurship to attract investors and tourists. Hence, the objective of re-branding Africa vests itself on priming an **effective state and engaged society,** to develop the elements of the discourse and the relevance of knowledge-based capacity building in contributing to one, to set the agenda on the political rules and institutions for what an effective state can best achieve.

Leadership is especially important when the policy imperatives involve trying to change attitudes and behaviour of a national psyche that has rendered the nation eternally dependent on international charity. Thus, leaders are on the one hand responsible for breaking the boundaries of inward bound wisdom, of *common sense*, of patterns of thinking and behaving, which, over the years, have built themselves into routines that pacify people to dormancy. On the other hand, leaders have to maintain continuity whilst simultaneously promoting change; such is the nature of leadership, *ambiguity and contradiction*, that comes as part of the same deal; change in a transition implies some degree of anarchy. Indeed, many declarations, statements and statutes have been formulated in Africa towards this end, but real commitment to collaborative processes and mobilising the action required have just started fruition, as many historical, cultural, practical and structural constraints militate against commitment to inter-personal and inter-organisational initiatives. The need for collective learning about human insecurity, and, the responsibility to those whose suffering provided the basis for that learning, will never be more urgent than it is now.

The nexus between the *status quo ante* and the new brand, between letting go of the *status quo ante* and adopting the new order, is most often, where rules are bent, and habit and routine are replaced with periods of chaos. These are indeed pieces of good fortune and opportunities for change, although, if prolonged, can become perilous to the nation. However thinkers and leaders choose to re-brand Africa, they must have the zeal, commitment, diligence, greatness of spirit, consistency and strength to transform transitional chaos into development opportunities that history will judge them for. Let this stand as our conviction to contribute our collective wisdom and knowledge to the on-going debate on human security and human development in Africa at large and Ethiopia specifically, irrespective of the regimes in power; as 'citizens' of this blessed but unfortunately destitute continent and nation

4.5. A renewed role for diplomatic missions

Oliver, 2016, asserts that they "could begin by focusing more on adding value to their understanding of a foreign country. Diplomatic missions do provide a unique lens for such information, contextualizing and analysing events with a trained eye toward enhancing their country's national interest. What a media organization might find newsworthy will be different from what a diplomat judges as an important development for relations between his country and a host nation. Diversifying diplomatic mission's workforces will also help. The majority of senior leadership positions in diplomatic missions across the globe are held by men. This imbalance limits a nation's understanding of and engagement with a foreign culture as a whole. Diplomats from a broader spectrum of backgrounds will be able to interact with diverse segments of society.

"Diplomatic missions also need to strike a better balance between security concerns and the ability of diplomats to do their job. This is a formidable issue, the consequences of neglecting it are extremely serious, as the deaths of Ambassador Christopher Stevens, and others at the U.S. embassy in Benghazi have shown. However, if embassies respond to security threats by cutting themselves off from the societies in which they operate, they might as well turn off the lights and go home. Harnessing new technologies, particularly social media, can help alleviate the impact of cumbersome security restrictions, although it's a poor substitute for building strong personal connections with locals. Some embassies and diplomats are well versed on this, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

The African Diaspora

A distinguished member of the African Diaspora summarises the necessity for partnership, engagement and political pluralism to attract the African diaspora. *The Diaspora offers an exceptional*

synergy: the problem-solving perspective that comes with distance and the intense commitment that comes with a sense of deep closeness and belonging. Oh yes, it also includes a lot of men and women with world-class competence in their respective fields. One could spend hours listing Africans in the diaspora who have distinguished themselves in medicine, law, business, academia, and the arts. In addition to making a mark in their respective fields, many would be willing to invest. Nevertheless, this potential will only become a reality if we move forward in a spirit of partnership. As non-resident Africans take up the obligation to improve their homeland, the nation faces the corresponding obligation to facilitate the Diaspora's participation and support its success. In practical terms, this means creating an environment that helps them overcome any political trepidation, as they are accustomed to processes that are transparent, rational, and scrupulous.

People and capital are risk-averse; they have a strong preference for migrating to locations where they will feel safe and respected. The Diaspora is no exception. For the government to institute such positive measures would be great news for its own citizens. It ultimately comes down to a fundamental question: Are we willing to change? Even when the transition is from worse to better, change is never easy. The U.S. radical activist Saul Alinsky grasped the inherent dynamics when he said Change means movement. Movement means friction. Only in the frictionless vacuum of a non-existent abstract world can movement or change occur without that abrasive friction of conflict. Refusing to change is also a choice. Maybe that would spare Africa some abrasive conflicts, but it would condemn the country to continuing the terrible friction of poverty and ignorance. India has done a masterful job of bonding with its Diaspora

5. Conclusion

The culture of diplomacy must be overhauled to make it more accessible and participatory; obsolete technology must be discarded and replaced to make diplomacy more efficient and relevant; and a larger community of international and domestic actors must be included in deliberations and implementation. These changes will require bold and sustained leadership as well as a better-trained and more effective diplomatic service. A plan of action to reinvent diplomatic practice must be developed under the direction of the Secretary of State. Efficiencies, adjustments, and half measures will not suffice. A senior executive team that deals in foreign affairs should undertake the management of change. A *management advisory council of distinguished representatives from the business, academic, government, and civil society should be formed to advise the foreign affairs community on implementing change strategies. New and more rigorous standards for the appointment of political and career ambassadors should be announced to signal a renewal of professionalism and a re-delegation of authority to embassies. The decline in resources for diplomacy should be reversed* (Oliver, 2016).

In order to restore true diplomatic leadership, it is important to foster the restoration of the capacity, powers, responsibilities and selection of diplomats in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutions. This requires dismantling all institutions that are inimical to international affairs and revisit the issues of devolution of powers in order to decentralise diplomacy further activities to make them responsive to host nation imperatives and priorities. More important, one needs to stress the necessity for governance and leadership capacity building in the foreign services. This is to underpin the pivotal role of the capacity and the engagement of non-state actors (private sector that has a lot to do across borders), reinventing the quality of training of diplomats. This must aim at undertaking a serious and concerted effort to build a core diplomatic civil service and processes that indubitably must be initiated to develop state capacity to focus solely on the political, social, and economic governance oversight responsibilities. To undertake all this, the state needs to nurture think tanks and its diaspora that will continually undertake research to cultivate and develop the society and economy, beyond foreign affairs.

Think tanks continually remodel, expand, advance, renovate, cultivate, and develop mighty economies even when their models are doing well. Their brand of enterprise appears to have something going for it—so it may seem ill-natured, or outright wicked, to wonder how much better such nations might do if their think tanks really tried hard. Independent private sector think tanks that execute highly qualified research and policy reflection are indispensable elements for partaking in modernity and globalisation. It is the fundamental assertion that learning about and appreciating one's rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities as a citizen and the immedi-

ate rules and governance structures within which people exercise citizenship is the fundamental step in security and empowerment.

Without embassies, building and maintaining useful relationships with other countries would be much harder. There would be no dedicated agency establishing high-level relationships with foreign governments, garnering crucial knowledge about foreign institutions and legislative regimes, or smoothing the path for citizens and businesses in foreign markets. There would be no diplomats to understand local conditions and identify key players. There would be no consular experts trained to help their nationals in distress. Without embassies, crisis response, which relies on established relations with local authorities, would be less effective. These are among the many reasons why most nations still see the value in having embassies. Nevertheless, whether their numbers dwindle further in the next decade will depend to a large extent on whether embassies can become more nimble and adapt to an increasingly fluid global environment. For a centuries-old institution, that is not going to be easy (Oliver, 2016).

Public diplomacy is effectively communicating with publics around the globe - to understand, value and even emulates one's vision and ideas; historically one of the most effective weapons of outreach, persuasion and policy. Public diplomacy may be defined, simply, as the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labour unions, educational institutions, religious organizations and ethnic groups… including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments. Public diplomacy that traditionally represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process has expanded today - by accident and design - beyond the realm of governments to include the media, multinational corporations, NGO's and faith-based organizations as active participants in the field. Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television (U.S. Department of State, 1987:85)

In conclusion, *Africa needs to define the required policy prescriptions in response to clarion calls for efficiency, competitiveness, and policies related to ensuring enabling political, economic, and social environment. They should be well articulated, adequately documented, and fully debated by society and polity. Nevertheless, what went wrong over the decades not to do this?* Historically, Africa lacks the will to nurture the minimum qualitative and quantitative 'human capacities' needed and the requisite capacity utilization policies, strategies and institutional framework, to manage the outcomes of prescribed policies. This latter day percept and paradigm underscores a rationale for revolutionizing human qualities to cause positive net impact of effective participation within globalization, as the alacrity and dynamics present in 'under-managed' states leaves little or no choice but to be active player within the process is tantalizing. *We need to move on – there is very little time left.* In the boundless ability of entrepreneurs and think tanks to innovate and seemingly unquenchable desire to reinvent, developed nations reap the developmental booty of an exceedingly proactive and skilled entrepreneurial leadership. Their brand of free enterprise appears to have something going for it—so it may seem ill natured, or outright acerbic, to wonder how much better such nations might do if their think tanks really tried hard.

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[i] *For example, between 2009 and 2015 the United Kingdom's Foreign & Commonwealth Office shed almost 30 diplomatic missions, while its science and innovation network expanded its coverage from 24to 28 countries. Australia's diplomats in Indonesia, for example, were still not using social media in 2010, even though Indonesia is the site of one of its most significant embassies, the largest recipient of Australian aid, and one of its most important neighbours in Asia. Despite being described as a "digital dinosaur" in 2010, the secretary of Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs admitted in 2012 that he still did not consider digital diplomacy a high priority.*

[ii] *In the five years since 2010, the UK has been forced to shave off $143 million from its annual spending and nearly ten percent of its U.K.-based staff. However, the agency's leaner profile has required it to prioritize and shift resources from its largest European posts, as well as dwindling priorities in Afghanistan and Iraq, to address new crises in Ukraine and West Africa. Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom are adapting to budget constraints by operating what are in effect joint embassies with other countries. Switzerland shares premises and operating costs with the Netherlands in Oman and with Austria in Los Angeles, California. Canada and the UK announced plans in 2012 for a number of resource-sharing arrangements, and Canada and Australia have already signed a reciprocal arrangement for representing each other's interests in Asia, the Pacific, and the Americas. Under a 1986 MOU, Canada and Australia agreed to provide citizens of the other country with consular assistance. They also, importantly, cooperate in crisis response, which is an increasingly significant focus of international exchange between ministries of foreign affairs the world over.*

[iii] *Most nations have closed their embassies in Libya, Syria, and Yemen because of the conflicts there. Even in less dangerous countries, embassies are mired in security protocols that restrict access by locals and often confine embassy staff and diplomats to semi-safe green zones—hardly a way to get an accurate picture of events on the ground. Indeed, some embassies resemble elaborate military bunkers more than diplomatic outposts. They are out-*

fitted with bombproof pads and full-service food courts. Of course, these are still the exception. At most, embassies, diplomats are free to go about their business, cultivating networks and pursuing their nations' interests.

[iv] *The UK ambassador to Lebanon between 2011 and 2015, confronted a society riven with dysfunctional politics and facing threats at its borders. Yet under his ambassadorship, the UK helped Lebanon defend its borders and stave off terrorist attacks and supplied vehicles and military infrastructure. Fletcher's charisma and energy on the ground enabled the United Kingdom to build a stronger and more resilient presence in Lebanon and in the region. On the flip side, the absence of an embassy can be as damaging as its presence can be enabling. The United States' absence from Tehran for over 30 years certainly made it more difficult for U.S. policymakers to parse developments in that notoriously complex country. Moreover, the closure of diplomatic posts in other war zones in the Middle East has severe consequences: it strangles the delivery of humanitarian assistance to populations, hampers support for besieged governments, and makes counterterrorism efforts far harder to implement.*

[v] PRO-FO 95/751, Doc.No.100: April 21, 1891 Meneliqué to Queen Victoria; *Archives Diplomatiques (AED) (Reserved) du Ministére des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, Protocole* C 41: April 21, 1891, *Meneliqué to President Carnot*; *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Bonn, A. *Italienisches Protektorat über Abessinien* 4: April 21, 1891 Meneliqué to Kaiser Wilhelm II; *Archivo Storico del sopresso Ministero dell'Africa Italiana. ASMA*.I. 36/13-109: April 21, 1891 Meneliqué to Umberto I

[vi] *This circular is very similar to the letter written to the European powers by Menelique's predecessor Yohannes dated Samera*, *near Debre Tabor*), 17 Feb 1881, outlining the extent of Ethiopia's territorial claims. (*German Government Archive,* Bonn: A.A.A., IB.9 (ABESSINIEN) Bd2: Samera (near Debre Tabor), Feb 17, 1881, Yohannes IV to Kaiser Wilhelm I).

[vii] *The new media, borne of the Information Age with low entry costs and global distribution, are available to anyone with creativity and a modest investment. Electronic entrepreneurs are challenging the dominance of the old media controlled by states and corporations. A new website is created every four seconds. Newspapers from practically every country in the world are freely available at our desktops. Radio programs and full-motion video are accessible through the Internet. The Internet itself--connected through telephone, cable, wireless, or satellite links--can be accessed on PCs, personal digital assistants, and even home TV sets. The media are converging, combining print, audio, and video to offer a staggering choice of information and entertainment. The gatekeepers are being eliminated as the transition from mass to customized media accelerates.*

[viii] *Globalization of finance and business has erased national boundaries from the laws of supply and demand. More than a trillion dollars a day are exchanged in international money markets with little or no state intervention. International commerce is fueling America's economy. By 2002, electronic commerce, now in its infancy, will exceed $300 billion a year. The constraints of distance are disappearing in the information economy. Markets are becoming more efficient but also more volatile. Spurred by Intelsat and the Internet, innovation has created a new information economy that could continue its surge for decades. While some argue most nations will benefit from globalization, fears range from a growing gap between rich and poor to the loss of jobs to the third world. As the world struggles to come to terms with the economic crises, few doubt that the changes underway are consequential.*

[ix] *Members of the public are developing new competencies for global engagement. More than 15,000 NGOs are directly involved in international issues. Private initiatives, such as Ted Turner's creation of the $1 billion UN Foundation and George Soros' pledge of $500 million to Russia, are having profound effects on public policy. The public dimension is becoming the central element of the new diplomacy and a critical influence on foreign policy.*

[x] *The gaps in diplomatic performance have consequences. Whether it could be the contagion of economic collapse that started in Bangkok or the massacre of civilians in Kosovo, diplomacy must be given the means to alert the international community and modulate the turbulence that threatens international order. Other elements of the federal government, including the Department of Defense, have embraced reform. It is time for the foreign affairs community to take this path as well, faced as it is with declining resources and the need to refocus after a half-century of the Cold War at the center of concerns. Diplomacy must be empowered with the tools and techniques of the 21st century. Without change, diplomacy is threatened with irrelevance. To act effectively will require coalitions with other nations, CSOs and corporations. Since the economy requires global security and prosperity, every citizen has a stake in the conduct of diplomacy. Genocide in Rwanda, war in Kosovo, financial chaos in Indonesia, nuclear tests in India and Pakistan, population explosion in Mexico--all are threats to international stability.*