T.C.
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

HOW GLOBALISATION HAS CHANGED DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA: A CASE OF UGANDA

Ph. D THESIS

Sophie NANYONGA

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANKARA, 2023

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PLAGIARISM

I declare here that all information in this thesis is my original work. I have referenced in accordance with Ankara Yıldırım Beyazit University guidelines as well as with the academic rules and ethical conduct. Lastly, I accept all legal responsibility related to my thesis's academic procedure (14/06/2023).

Sophie NANYONGA

DEDICATION

To the memory of my loving parents Hajj Hamid Ssempa Kyeyune and Mrs. Esther Mbabazi who laid the foundation for my academic career.

To my husband Dr. Umar Mohammed and our children Salsabil and Aarif who have supported me in all ways possible to achieve this milestone.

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ABSTRACT

HOW GLOBALİSATİON HAS CHANGED DİPLOMACY İN AFRİCA: A CASE OF UGANDA

Sophie NANYONGA

Ph. D, International Relations

Supervisor: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Christian Wilhelm LEKON

The engagement of professional representatives of sovereign states to conduct negotiations and form a relationship among themselves has with time been transformed by the compression of time and space i.e., the distance between states and the time between communications has become 'shorter'. Globalization brings a whole new set of rules to international relations and politics and therefore to how states deal with each other as well which is mostly diplomacy. Advanced technology has changed traditional modes of communication by making it faster and more effective. The use of social media creates dynamics in communications and casts a larger net for actors in international relations. Because of the interconnectedness, states now no longer must limit themselves to bilateral but have expanded to the multilateral form of diplomacy to solve global crises ranging from food security and, human rights to environmental problems. The Diplomats' audience is no longer limited to foreign sovereigns but to the foreign public thereby, introducing a new set of actors in international relations other than states. This has placed the diplomats in a more complex position faced with a big audience competition which has little, or no supervision, and the diplomat's central task likely changed or is under attack. The research explains the extent to which globalization has changed diplomacy in Africa with a specific focus on Uganda, communicationally, culturally, economically, and politically. Communicationally, the research shows how the mode of communication has changed, how the diplomats are keeping up with such changes like the robust use of social media and other forms of information and technology, and what the future is likely to be with such changes. Culturally, we examine how important cultural diplomacy is with a special focus on the diaspora and their role in promoting cultural diplomacy. Politically, we look at the introduction of non-state actors like the non-governmental organizations, transnational corporations and international organizations, their involvement in international relations and how diplomats deal with them. Economically, the interconnectedness born out of globalization comes with the building of coalitions and the use of other economic spectrum tools of states such as trade and investment to achieve their national interests. The res, therefore, looks at how now ministries other Ministry of foreign affairs, are engaged in diploma examines examine the degree to which traditional diplomats are involved in such economic diplomatic decisions and therefore argues that globalization has transformed diplomacy due to the expeditious flow of information and adverse interconnectedness that has realized other forms of diplomacy aside from the state-to-state traditional diplomacy as we knew it. Public diplomacy shapes most of the current diplomacy and the future of diplomacy very much depends on the fast information and the media.

Keywords: Non-state actors, Diplomacy, Globalization, social media, Uganda.

ÖZET

KÜRESELLEŞME AFRİKA'DA DİPLOMASİYİ NASIL DEĞİŞTİRDİ: UGANDA ÖRNEĞİ

Sophie NANYONGA

Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler

Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Christian Wilhelm LEKON

Egemen devletlerin profesyonel temsilcilerinin müzakereleri yürütmek ve kendi aralarında bir ilişki kurmakla meşgul olması, zamanla zaman ve mekanın sıkışmasıyla dönüşmüştür, yani devletler arasındaki mesafe ve iletişimler arasındaki süre 'kısalmıştır'. Küreselleşme, uluslararası ilişkilere ve siyasete ve dolayısıyla devletlerin birbirleriyle nasıl başa çıktıklarına ve çoğunlukla diplomasiye ilişkin yepyeni bir kurallar dizisi getiriyor. İletişimi daha hızlı hale getiren ileri teknolojinin kullanımı, diplomasiyi, iki devletin yalnızca kendi meseleleriyle uğraştığı bilinen geleneksel ikili diplomasiden çok taraflı bir diplomasi türüne dönüştürdü; devletlerin artık insan haklarının geliştirilmesi ve korunması, insan güvenliği, barış, çevre sorunları ve kalkınma için mücadele gibi bazen coğrafi kapsamlarını aşan küresel sorunlarla uğraştığı yer. Diplomatların dinleyici kitlesi artık sadece yabancı hükümdarlarla sınırlı değil, uluslararası ilişkilerde devletler dışında yeni bir dizi aktörü devreye sokarak oradaki yabancı kişi veya halkları da hedef alıyor. Bu, diplomatları, çok az denetimin olduğu veya hiç denetimin olmadığı ve diplomatın merkezi görevinin muhtemelen değişmiş veya saldırı altında olan büyük bir izleyici rekabetiyle karşı karşıya kaldığı daha karmaşık bir konuma yerleştirdi. Araştırma, iletişimsel, kültürel, ekonomik ve politik olarak Uganda'ya özel olarak odaklanarak küreselleşmenin Afrika'daki diplomasiyi ne ölçüde değiştirdiğini açıklıyor. İletişimsel olarak araştırma, iletişim tarzının nasıl değiştiğini, diplomatların sosyal medyanın ve diğer bilgi ve teknoloji biçimlerinin güçlü kullanımı gibi bu tür değişikliklere nasıl ayak uydurduğunu ve bu tür değişikliklerle geleceğin ne olabileceğini gösteriyor. Kültürel olarak, diasporaya ve onların kültürel diplomasiyi teşvik etmedeki rolüne özel bir odaklanma ile kültürel diplomasinin ne kadar önemli olduğunu inceliyoruz. Siyasi olarak, sivil toplum kuruluşları, ulusötesi şirketler ve uluslararası kuruluşlar gibi devlet dışı aktörlerin tanıtımına, uluslararası ilişkilere katılımlarına ve diplomatların bunlarla nasıl başa çıktığına bakıyoruz. Ekonomik olarak, küreselleşmeden doğan karşılıklı bağlılık, koalisyonların inşası ve devletlerin ulusal çıkarlarını gerçekleştirmek için ticaret ve yatırım gibi diğer ekonomik yelpaze araçlarını kullanmalarıyla birlikte gelir. Bu nedenle araştırma, dışişleri bakanlığı dışındaki bakanlıkların artık nasıl diplomasi ile meşgul olduğuna bakıyor ve geleneksel diplomatların bu tür ekonomik diplomasi kararlarına ne ölçüde dahil olduğunu inceliyor. Bu nedenle, küreselleşmenin, hızlı bilgi akışı ve bildiğimiz şekliyle devletten devlete geleneksel diplomasi dışında diğer diplomasi biçimlerini gerçekleştiren ters bağlantılılık nedeniyle diplomasiyi dönüştürdüğünü iddia ediyoruz. Kamu diplomasisi, mevcut diplomasinin çoğunu şekillendirir ve diplomasinin geleceği büyük ölçüde hızlı bilgi ve medyaya bağlıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Devlet dışı aktörler, Diplomasi, Küreselleşme, Sosyal medya, Uganda.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFODE	Action for Development, the Uganda Land Alliance,
ACP	African, Caribbean, and the Pacific States
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFCFTA	The African Continental Free Trade Area
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CADTM	The Committee for the Cancellation of the Third World Debt
CEEWA	Council for Economic Empowerment for Women of Africa
CFA	African Financial Community.
COMESA	The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.
DFID	Department for International Development.
EAC	East African Community
EACJ	East African Court of Justice
EACOP	East African Crude Oil Pipeline
ECOSOCC	Economic Social & Cultural Council.
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FOCAC	Focus on China-Africa Cooperation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
ICC	International Criminal Court
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MTTTC	Mbale Tigers' Table Tennis Club
NAWOU	The National Association of Women in Uganda.
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development.
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations.
OAU	Organization of African Unity
R2P	Responsibility to Protect.
SADC	South African Development Community

SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals.
SIDA	The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development.
TIFA	Trade and Investment Framework Agreements
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Standards
UDEF	Federation of International Students Association.
UGRC	Ugandan Gender Resource Centre.
UHRC	The Uganda Human rights commission
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations Mission in Darfur
UNCC	United Nations Compensation Commission.
UNECA	The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly.
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Forces.
VPN	Virtual Private Network.
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is essentially about relationships and since these have existed from time immemorial, one could argue that diplomacy is as old as humanity itself. *The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961* does not specifically define diplomacy, by describing the works of a diplomat, it shows that diplomacy is the profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, typically by a country's representative abroad.

According to Steger (Steger, 2020), globalization is the erasure of boundaries and the opening of borders to increased interdependence. It is fuelled by the forces of economic liberalization and the robust technological advancement. It is pertinent to note that although globalization has existed longer, the most felt phase is the post-cold phase of globalization According to Steger therefore, the current social state of conventional nationality is being replaced by a condition of globality through a set of social processes known as globalization. (Steger, 2020).

The definitions all point to how interconnected the world is and the implications there of whether economic, political, or social. Beck, in defining globalization, distinguishes globality and globalism. He defines globalism as the ideology that demands rule by the world market. He then defines globality as a concept that suggests a world society where past closed spaces have become illusionary. Finally, Beck defines globalization as the process by which the nation-state is undermined by transnational actors (Beck, 2000). In the definition of these three concepts, we derive that globalization blurs the sovereign state boundaries, thus introducing a new state of actors on the international relations scene.

Global mass communications and advancement in new information and communication technologies have formed a tremendous transformation in the conduct of traditional diplomacy as we know it. It disperses authority to multiple actors in international relations and subsequently in diplomacy thereby increasing global activism in many ways. According to a volume edited by Potter (2002), the information revolution with a magnitude of electronic forms of communication is almost impossible to regulate yet it remains the most reliable means of communication.

The advancement in communication and other forms of globalization have acted as a catalyst for both dissolution and amalgamation in the contemporary international system. It

is no doubt that the internet, for example, digital imagery, telephones, and social media have changed the face and mode in which diplomacy used to operate.

Three main factors have fostered the transformation of diplomacy by globalization when it comes to technological advancements: the high speed of application, the low costs, and the easy access and ability to deliver large quantities of information to the ever-expanding audience in actual time.

With the wide accessibility of the internet worldwide, it is almost impossible today to find an international relations policy, be it by a state or non-state actor that does not involve a notch of e-support. Most embassies currently rely on social media to influence their audience and popularize their governments' policies.

Governments have now realized how influential and powerful the use of social media platforms are and are utilizing them. On top of that, in many countries now, it is common knowledge to find basic foreign policies, press releases or travel information, and state visits on their Ministry of foreign affairs websites. The websites are used as a medium of information dissemination to a global audience that is no longer limited to states (The e-Diplomacy Initiative, 2010).

All these developments, especially in the internet world have made public diplomacy dominant, introduced cultural diplomacy, and created a platform for non-state actors to participate and engage in international relations.

This thesis aims at showing how such globalization developments have changed diplomacy in Uganda and to what extent have these changes affected diplomacy. It shows ways in which diplomacy has been transformed and further examines how globalization has fostered or hindered diplomacy. This is explained in five parts, beginning with this Introduction. The second chapter shall include the introductory part that shall look at the overview of modern diplomacy and globalization which shall give a general and rather extensive understanding of these two concepts which are the cornerstone of this thesis. This shall be followed by the literature review on globalization in diplomacy.

Chapter three aims to provide a deeper understanding of globalization and diplomacy in Africa by looking at the economic, political, social, and cultural globalization in Africa. We further look at communicational globalization and examine Africa's resistance to

globalization. We later take a look at the concept of Diplomacy in the form of an African perspective by examining pre-colonial diplomacy and the influence of colonization and foreign influence on Africa's diplomacy. Next, we further expand on the concept of new states and African diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and Pan-Africanism, diplomacy and African development, and African diplomacy in the age of the digital era. We also discuss diplomacy in the face of African security in this part of our thesis.

Chapter four explains globalization and diplomacy in Uganda looking at the history of Uganda's politics, economic globalization, and political globalization by looking at the emergency of non-state actors. We then look at cultural globalization and the diaspora as a virtual state relating all to globalization and diplomacy. This chapter also talks about communicational globalization, the foreign service, public and open diplomacy all in relation to Uganda.

Chapter five of the thesis explains the centre of this thesis which is how globalization has changed Uganda's diplomacy. We discuss the various questions answered by the diplomats on communicational, economic, political, and cultural diplomacy. These are discussed under different subtopics like the use of social media, the scope and safety of open diplomacy, and diplomatic flexibility. The role and extent of non-state actors are also discussed under political globalization. public diplomacy and diplomatic flexibility, grouped into ideas of different diplomats that were interviewed during this research. All this is discussed while answering the main question of how globalization has changed diplomacy in Uganda.

Considering that indeed globalization has shaken diplomacy to some extent, and places a set of challenges on Ugandan diplomats, the thesis ends with a set of recommendations on how Ugandan diplomats can fully utilize and incorporate the waves of globalization into the country's diplomacy and how to mitigate the challenges that this strong wave of globalization throws at the country's diplomacy.

Nature, Content, and Limits of Problem.

The most recent wave of globalization which has been rather rapid has seen so many aspects of international relations change. Diplomacy has not been an exception. In Africa, economic globalization for example to some extent has been dismissed as the

marginalization of developing countries which only presents an unparalleled opportunity for developing countries to raise their living standards. Communication, cultural, economic, and political globalization aspects in Uganda are faced with a unique challenge of unbalanced development within the region and beyond, which is a challenge to diplomacy in this part of the world in such aspects as well. This thesis intends to show how the wave of globalization, however unequal in Uganda has changed diplomacy, how these changes can be benefited from, and devise means on how diplomats and other actors can keep up with the trend of globalization in diplomacy.

Considering that most of the African countries gained their independence between the 1950s and 1970s, diplomacy in this region could be considered to have unique aspects peculiar to this period and place. Much of the literature on how globalization has changed diplomacy is either general or Eurocentric and very little attention has been devoted to research on globalization and diplomacy in Africa. This thesis intends to narrow this gap by providing more literature on globalization and diplomacy in Africa and specifically on how globalization has changed diplomacy in Uganda.

Problem and Sub-problem

Some scholars like Fletcher (2016) argue that globalization has uprooted diplomacy while others like Campbell (2015) contend that the waves of globalization have not completely changed the traditional forms of diplomacy. Seib on the other hand shows that the future of diplomacy greatly lies at the mercy of the internet and the media. The thesis seeks to expand this literature and more in the context of Uganda, on not only how globalization has changed diplomacy but on how the diplomats are coping with these changes. The research seeks to make findings through interviews and other secondary sources by asking key questions on the main developments that globalization has introduced into diplomacy as highlighted by the literature.

Around fifteen ambassadors and diplomats serving in different capacities were interviewed. These were either from Uganda, serving in Uganda, or from an African state. Some of the questions to be answered are, to what extent do the Ugandan Diplomats use social media and the latest form of electronic gadgetry, and what are their challenges? Since the use of social media is new, by answering this question, we intend to find out whether the

use of social media and other electronics in any way has replaced any of the known diplomatic ways as we knew them, simply facilitating them or sabotaging them.

Culturally, the biggest package that globalization brings is the issue of diaspora diplomacy and the promotion of culture and other forms of public diplomacy as a form of soft power by the diasporans. This is so because as the world transcends more into a global village, people move and settle anywhere easier than before. The research thus seeks to show the extent to which the ethnic diaspora is used in promoting their culture as a form of soft power and how the diplomats fit in. The interviewees are asked about the role of the diaspora in diplomacy and whether the embassies facilitate them in any way.

Politically, globalization has greatly facilitated the introduction of other actors besides the states in international politics. Some of these are violent and parallel while others are more collaborative with the state actors. This comes as a different dimension for the diplomats who have to know how to engage a different set of actors. This thesis thus seeks to look at the relevance of non-state actors as diplomatic players. The role these non-state actors play in international relations and the reaction and way forward for the diplomats or, and the state actors. Whether the non-state actors are slowly replacing the state actors and whether state diplomacy is being replaced by other forms if any. Although the interview questions on this were an open debate on the role of the non-state actors and their space in international relations, some of the interviewees only limited their answers to non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations neglecting the violent non-state actors.

Economically, the interconnectedness of globalization brings about economic interdependency and thus has introduced regional, and international economic reforms and policies that require diplomatic intervention. Considering that diplomacy was initially almost monopolized by the MoFA, globalization has opened a door for finance and economic ministries to be largely involved in diplomacy. The research shall expand on this aspect, but the main question to be answered here is whether diplomacy is a preserve of the Ministry of foreign affairs and whether the role of other ministries is collaborative or competitive.

Aims and Expected Benefits of Thesis

Diplomacy is an important aspect of international relations as it is the main tool for maintaining peace and security and globalization which in a way has shaken it, is here to stay as well. The thesis is therefore intended to show how globalization has changed diplomacy in Uganda and device means on how the diplomats can catch up with the changes to maintain the values of diplomacy. The research intends to further show how diplomats and the non-state actors in Uganda can utilize globalization positively to benefit diplomacy rather than sweep its difficult changes under the rug.

Although there is literature on how globalization has changed diplomacy, it is mostly Eurocentric, and therefore this research focusing specifically on the perspective of diplomacy and globalization in Uganda, East Africa, and Africa, in general, brings to the academia a different perspective on this topic, that is Afrocentric viewed mostly from first-hand information of Ugandan diplomats. Thus, this thesis is intended to contribute to the Afrocentric perspective on globalization and diplomacy.

Although the approach on the face of how diplomats react to globalization seems the same, for example, the use of social media, and digital communication among others, the unique situation of African diplomats and Uganda in particular lies in the challenges they face while reacting to globalization. Therefore, this research brings to light such situations and look at globalization and diplomacy in the aspect of Africa and Uganda rather than the west or a general perspective. Through highlighting these challenges and the recommendations thereafter, we hope to stir an Afrocentric based debate on globalisation and diplomacy and produce more literature on this matter.

The Method of Research

The thesis uses a qualitative research methodology and draws its data, among other places, from books and articles that are considered secondary sources. The books and articles to be consulted shall consist of two groups: on the one hand, general discussions of globalization and/or diplomacy; on the other hand, case studies referring to East African countries and Uganda in particular.

The thesis shall use the books by Steger (2020) and Seib (2016) as a guiding line. The thesis will show to what degree the elements identified with globalization (Steger) and open or public diplomacy (Seib) can be related to Africa in general and especially Uganda. Considering that in these books Africa is largely neglected except for the discussion of the Ebola crisis thereby giving an impression the globalization/open diplomacy discourse is not relevant for Africa.

The research shall also be conducted by collecting first-hand data from diplomats. The sampling population targets a selected few East African diplomat, mainly from Uganda, through virtual interviews and questionnaires. It shall also involve other diplomats within Africa. Interviews were conducted with the use of both structured and semi-structured modes of questioning. Telephone interviews were highly preferred due to the restrictions on traveling and face-to-face meetings. The responses that were obtained from both interviews and questionnaires were compared to the literature review to establish the significant effects of globalization on diplomacy in Uganda.

2. OVERVIEW OF MODERN DIPLOMACY AND GLOBALIZATION

In this chapter, we shall look at a brief overview of modern diplomacy and globalization. We examine the various definitions of these two primary terms from various scholars and cite current life experiences. The chapter explains how modern diplomacy has evolved, giving an overview of both modern diplomacy and globalization and the relationship between diplomacy and globalization. Thereafter, we review the literature on how globalization has changed diplomacy.

2.1.1. Overview of Modern Diplomacy

Although many scholars have given varied definitions of diplomacy in the context of international relations, the overall concept boils down to the skill of interacting with people and/or governments in a sensitive, systematic, and diplomatic manner through talks and agreements. Diplomacy is the "management of international relations by communication to include negotiations, leading to a bargain or agreement," according to Viotti and Kauppi (2001).

Black (2010: 14) defines diplomacy as an aspect of information gathering representation and negotiation by a government representative in a foreign state. He however stresses that, none of these aspects can be said to be independent of each other and thus it is overly loose to define diplomacy by only one these three aspects.

Sir Ernest Satow's traditional definition of diplomacy, which restricts diplomatic actions to just states and dates to 1917, is the use of intellect and tact in conducting official contacts between governments of independent states (Sanders, 1989).

Another definition of diplomacy was given as the process by which political activity enables actors to pursue their goals and defend their interests through negotiations, without the use of force, deceit, or the law (Berridge, 2015). Communication between parties to achieve agreements, whether formal or informal; inferred or explicit, is the essence of diplomacy. Information collecting, intention clarification, and goodwill promotion can help communication and its results.

Due to its reliance on soft power rather than hard power, diplomacy has historically been seen as an alternative to other forms of foreign policy in maintaining peace and stability on the global stage. However, diplomacy may also be of use in a war or armed conflict (Barston, 2019). Diplomacy can be used in the instrumentation of certain forms of violence, for example, seeking a diplomatic permit for overflight clearance of an airstrike. The continuing blurring of the line between violence and diplomacy is one of the distinguishing factors of modern diplomacy.

The origin of modern diplomacy is traced to some parts of Northern Italy in the early Renaissance, where the first embassies were established in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Artists broke free from the constraints of Byzantine Art during the Renaissance, a time of intense creative and intellectual activity. Artists spent the entire 15th century refining their knowledge of such things as anatomy and perspective by studying the natural world.

To create permanent embassies in the other city-states of Northern Italy, Francesco Sforza in Milan took the initiative to make it happen (Neumann, 2012). Therefore, many of the customs of contemporary diplomacy, such as presenting an ambassador's credentials to the head of state, predominantly originated from Italy.

According to some academics, the Peace of Westphalia, which established the precedent of peace formed by a diplomatic conference, gave rise to modern diplomacy in the 17th century. It established the first contemporary diplomatic conference and a new system of government based on state sovereignty in central Europe when it was signed in 1648 (Colegrove, 1919). However, the first official treaty to establish a global system of diplomatic ties was signed during the Vienna Congress in 1814–1815. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 served as the inaugural event in a series of international conferences known as the Concert of Europe, which sought to establish a peaceful balance of power in Europe (Rie, 1950). Therefore, it is not surprising that this pact later served as a template for other organizations like the League of Nations in 1919 which subsequently became what is today known as the United Nations in 1945.

Other characteristics of pre-globalization modern diplomacy that was left out by the definition of a diplomat in the Vienna cConventioninclude the formal equality and reciprocity of diplomatic agents. This meant that in deciding on where to send envoys, reciprocity was a virtue because it determined hhonor If an envoy was recalled or if an entity

failed to maintain representation in each territory, that territory was likely to withdraw its own presentation (Black, 2010: 68-69). This was majorly the norm between 1600-1690.

The deliberate distancing of diplomats from the political arena especially those of junior ranks became apparent in the 18th and 19th centuries in the bid to shift more towards to professionalism of diplomacy. This however at the time was more apparent in the United States and Britain than in other places. However, senior diplomatic appointments were and are still predominantly a product of political patronage (Black, 2010: 175-76). Black (2010) gives an example of Louis Susman a former banker and ardent supporter of Barrack Obama who was appointed an ambassador of the USA to London in 2009 and that this was the case from the 1890s as well in Europe. This is the case today, not only for the West but for Africa as well and Uganda in particular. It will be further shown in the later chapters that Uganda's senior diplomats are also appointed from a political patronage and the junior ranks are mostly not from the political arena although for obvious reasons they may openly express their political support for the ruling government. This shows how little this part of diplomacy has changed from pre globalization era.

It should further be noted that the act of professionalization of diplomatic services and diplomacy as opposed to learning on the job were not universal in Europe by 1775. These are mostly characterized by diplomacy in the Victorian era (Black, 2010: 116). The acts of promotion to seniority based on merit, bureaucratic professionalization of diplomacy, an infrastructure of buildings for embassies, staff and, well-defined records only come to be universal in Europe in the late Victorian era (Black, 2010: 116).

A system of one-sided representation was frowned upon as this was seen as a hindrance to the clear transmission of opinions and that it also did not enhance the diplomatic importance of the non-sending states or entities (Black, 2010: 71). Thus, until the 18th century, diplomatic representation was primarily that of equality and reciprocity meaning that a state sent representation where it was represented. This is largely still the case in the present diplomatic representation but not entirely. For example, whereas Uganda has an embassy in Ottawa, Canada only has a consulate in Kampala.

Although presently permanent ambassadorial residencies and embassies are a norm, this was not always the case. Continuity in representation did not require permanent embassy buildings until the 19th century. Each ambassador rented a residence of their own and this

caused gaps in representation as some ambassadors would leave before the arrival of the new ones. This has since changed, because with permanent embassy buildings, representation continues even when the ambassador has left and the new one in is the process of coming. The issue of ambassadors/ envoys renting their own residences was partly because of costs though not always. Although permanent buildings existed in some instances for the ecclesiastical and related bodies, representation of a state was seen to be by an envoy rather than the embassy (Black, 2010: 71). Therefore, the lack of permanent residence by ambassadors somewhat affected the continuity of representation in case there was a change in the envoy.

The representatives often rented or bought buildings and properties individually which they parted with at the end of their mission which technically created a gap in representation in case an envoy was to live before another was appointed (Black, 2010: 71). Consequently, a measure of continuity was provided by diplomats continuing to rent the residence or permanently purchasing it, a norm that was less common in the 17th Century when few buildings were permanently purchased as embassies.

Presently, representation has continuity as the residence of the ambassadors and permanent embassies are either purchased buildings or continuously rented by the sending state and therefore, there is no break in representation as was the case before the 18th century.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (United Nations, 1961), also known as The Convention, is an international treaty that establishes a framework for diplomatic relations between independent countries. Although it does not define diplomacy explicitly, when read in its entirety, The Convention gives a clear understanding of what diplomacy is in the context of international treaties.

The ideal diplomatic agent in international politics is a person designated by the sending state who is typically known as an ambassador or, in certain situations, a consular. The Vienna Convention's Article 1(e) defines a diplomatic agent as the mission's chief of mission or a member of the mission's diplomatic staff. It says that:

"Diplomatic agent" is the head of the mission or à member of the diplomatic staff of the mission;"

Article 2 of the treaty further specifies that parties seeking to establish diplomatic relations must agree to do so. This is how permanent diplomatic missions and relations between specifies are established. Generally speaking, diplomacy entails state representation, information collecting, and the strengthening of political, economic, and cultural ties between governments. All of this is accomplished by supporting, upholding, and adhering to international law. The tasks of the diplomatic mission are described in Article 3 subsection 1 of The Convention, which further enlightens us on the nature of contemporary state diplomacy. It says as such.

"The functions of a diplomatic mission consist inter alia as (a) representing the sending State in the receiving State; (b) protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending /State and its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law; (c)negotiating with the Government of the receiving State; (d) ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in ' the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State; (e) promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations" Article 3 (1) of The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, Vienna, 18 April 1961.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations above description of a diplomat's duties provides a precise definition of diplomacy as it relates to international treaties and international relations. For the purposes of this thesis, this term derived from the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations shall be used.

In today's international relations, there are three main treaties on which diplomacy is governed and these are *The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations - 1961, The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations - 1963,* and *The Vienna Convention on Special Mission - 1969* (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2021).

For the last decades, one could argue that there has been a significant global recording of foreign policy priorities which has also seen the prioritizing of the risk of global warming increase substantially. It is pertinent to note that these changing foreign policy issues have also not only changed what diplomats must deal with but also how they have to deal with it. Although concerns about violations of human rights and the protection of civilians in conflict-torn areas have increased, they have equally been moved up on the international agenda. Consequently, interstate conflicts have drastically decreased compared to the past.

All these are now given priority because of the interconnectedness that comes with globalization.

It has been noted that since the end of the cold war, the international community has interceded in human rights abuses in areas that were seen as no-go areas before. Furthermore, the UN peacekeeping missions are no longer simple interpositions of lightly armed soldiers but rather full deployments that constitute soldiers, police officers, and civilian technical staff (Schori, 2013). All these are aimed at maintaining law and order, protecting the civilian population, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction of the affected areas. In this, we see that unlike in the past, a non-state actor (the UN) is actively involved in international relations almost the same as state actors are in security matters.

In governance, new ethical tools like the International Criminal Court and the principle of the responsibility to protect have been introduced. This is because of the interconnectedness that promotes interdependence and shrinks borders. This creates the notion that political instability in one country could affect other countries even those with whom they do not share borders. As a result, the International Criminal Court has been introduced to keep in check some war criminals and abuse of human rights.

The United Nations Charter mentions the responsibility to protect (R2P) under Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter. This is explained as the collective responsibility the international community, (through the United Nations security council), must help protect populations from acts of aggression like genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity through the appropriate use of diplomatic, humanitarian, and other peaceful means.

In the 2005 World Summit, specifically paragraphs 138 and 139 of the Outcome Document (United Nations General Assembly, 2005), the Heads of State and Government affirmed their responsibility to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity and accepted a collective responsibility to encourage and help each other uphold this commitment. They also declared their preparedness to take timely and decisive action, per the United Nations Charter and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations, when national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations. This being introduced in recent years highlights the fact that international affairs are now

largely handled collectively for fear that the effects may be felt collectively as well. This thus points to diplomacy beyond bilateral diplomacy in the traditional sense as we knew it.

As a result of cross-border dimensions, contemporary diplomatic agendas have taken a new twist turning issues that were previously seen largely in the domestic policy realm but have now shifted to the foreign policy purview. Notable examples of these are environmental queries like climate change, water pollution, biodiversity, and desertification. It is expected of modern-day diplomats to be fully equipped with knowledge of such global challenges. This may as well extend to issues like infectious diseases, drug smuggling and international crimes, food security, human trafficking, cyber security, tourism, weapons of mass distraction, and many others. As a matter of fact, this shows how diplomats today are expected to be more equipped with vast knowledge on global matters as opposed to specific knowledge concerning their countries.

From the Westphalia age, the content and practice of diplomacy have always been shaped by the ever-changing sovereign political actors. Europe enjoyed major peace under the congress system, however, its collapse under the weight of the First World War stained the clandestine alliance systems and secret diplomacy. The age of democracy which facilitated rapid political changes brought with it immense pressure for open and transparent diplomacy, negotiations, and treaties. This is now more apparent than ever before with the robust and an almost impossible-to-regulate mass media and internet news outlets. Aside from that, The UN charter itself, under Article 102, demands that all member states register all their international agreements and deposit the texts with the Secretary-General.

One could thus argue that through globalization where countries are dependent on each other in many ways, new channels, and modes of operation in the world of diplomacy have equally been introduced. This development has introduced new diplomatic practices like multilateral diplomacy, international parliamentary procedures, public debates, and collective decision-making.

The prevailing technology of advanced transportation and communication grants ambassadors and envoys discretion and latitude in contemporary diplomacy. In olden times, when direct consultations and back-and-forth communications were not practicable, the monarch or state would rely on the ambassador’s hands-on judgment skills. However, today, all important matters are first referred to the ambassador’s capital before decisions are taken.

One could argue that this has consequently allowed shuttle diplomacy over and around embassy officials which consequently increases the risk of disregarding a systematic and persistent disregard of departmental analyses which creates room for costly mistakes.

2.1.2. Overview of Globalization

Globalization has grown in significance over the past twenty-five years. The largest-scale emergence of a global economy and a communications revolution have occurred during this time. The end of a fundamental ideological split that had been at the heart of International Relations and involving both the USA and a multinational entity of the Soviet Union with Russia as its core state was also realized at this time (Jenson, de Sousa Santos, 2018).

It should be remembered that the period known as the "cold war" encompassed the years 1945–1991 and saw the United States of America and the Soviet Union battling for global political, economic, and military influence. The two rivals never participated in a full-fledged military combat, hence the name "Cold War." To further their goals, they employed puppet governments and surrogate leaders. The biggest worries were the brutality of Joseph Stalin's rule in Russia and the growth of communism. With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, everything was finally over. Following the end of the cold war, there was a rapid expansion of globalization that involved more technological, political, economic, and cultural interactions.

Originating from the word "globe," the term "globalization" refers to the interconnectivity of a global network of economic, social, and cultural systems. Thus, the term "globalization" refers to the process by which companies or other organizations start operating on a global scale or gain international influence. In his book, Manfred B. Steger demonstrates how globalization's transformative forces penetrate deeply into the political, cultural, technological, and ecological components of modern social life (Steger, 2020).

Several scholars have defined globalisation and all the definitions are closely related to the literal meaning given above. Various scholars' definitions of globalization are hereunder discussed; however, this thesis shall align with Steger's definition of globalization as shall be seen hereunder. In his book *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (2020), Steger writes about the history of globalization in chapter one he asks the question what

globalization is. In answering this however, he first traces the earliest the term globalization appeared in the English language to the 1930s, but further contends that it was not until the 1990s that the concept took the world by the storm. This clearly confirms this research which concentrates on the 1990s onwards phase of globalization.

To understand globalisation, Steger does this in three steps, first by explaining globality, global imaginary and then globalisation. According to him, "globality" is a state that challenges the majority of the existing borders and barriers and is characterized by close global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interconnections and flows (Steger, 2020: 2). He demonstrates the impacts of a de facto borderless world in this category, including the effects of economic, political, cultural, and environmental interdependence among states. This research shall later expand on the effects of these developments specifically on diplomacy in Uganda.

Steger (2020) describes "global imaginary" as a way societies or individuals are becoming more aware of the world as a unified entity. He makes it clear that this is not meant to imply that local and national frameworks can no longer provide people with a sense of identity and belonging. However, it would be a mistake to disregard the decline of the national imaginary as it was historically constructed in the 19th and 20th centuries. The nation-state framework that individuals envision their common existence within is destabilized and unsettled by the growth of global consciousness (Steger, 2020: 2). The global imaginary means that people are aware of the changes that come with diplomacy and should embrace them, which does not necessarily mean for them to lose their identity in the process. In relation to this research, that global imaginary is for the diplomats who accept and embrace the changes diplomacy brings to not loose themselves in the process. Thus, they can embrace the changes globalisation bring to diplomacy but still not lose the primary characteristics of diplomacy.

Steger (2020) defines globalization as the increasingly interconnected nature of social life on our planet and foregrounded the global integration of markets turbocharged by the ICT revolution. Steger refers to the popular press and academic literature who describe globalisation as a process, a condition, a system, a force, and an age. He then refers to these concepts as generating a confusion on what globalisation really is, as they also mean different things.

Thus, Steger says:

"Globalization refers to the multidimensional and uneven intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world space." (Steger, 2020: 17-18)

He further provides a very short six-word definition of globalization and refers to it as:

"Globalization is about intensifying planetary interconnectivity."

Thus, in his bid to clarify the definition of globalisation, he further expands on this by majorly categorizing it into various aspects. Steger (2020) classified globalization into four dimensions, the economic, political, cultural, and ecological dimensions. Steger uses these classifications to create a concept of globalization, which he argues is a matrix of processes that act concurrently and unevenly in various forms across all geographic ranges and across many dimensions (Steger, 2020: 71).

In his chapter two, Steger (2020: 18) talks about the history of globalization. However, in the beginning he poses a question on whether globalization is a new phenomenon or something that has always existed. This chapter dwells on history and Steger agrees that most robust phase of globalization is in the 1990s. While he considers globalization as having been ongoing throughout human history, Steger argues that developments since the 1990s - due to economic deregulation and ICT - have brought a "quantum leap" in terms of globalization.

In chapter three, Steger talks about the economic dimension of globalization (Steger, 2020: 38). He describes "economic globalization" as the enlarging and strengthening of economic ties around the world where massive money movements have been facilitated by standardized transportation methods and digital technologies of boosted trade in commodities and services. Markets have migrated to cyberspace, expanding their global reach, and linked local, national, and regional economies. In this research, this aspect of globalization and its effect on diplomacy is not expanded much as the diplomats' role in this hemisphere is limited to paperwork and negotiations thus the economic dimension of globalization is unlikely to reflect on the effects globalization has had on diplomacy in our proceeding chapters.

When speaking about the enormous rise in commerce and financial activities Steger further opines that all this is brought on by globalization. There is evidence that certain

national economies have boosted their productivity because of free trade, which is one of the common characteristics of economic globalization. In developing nations like China, India, Vietnam, and Indonesia, millions of people are rescued from poverty every year. According to data from the World Bank released in 2018, the percentage of persons living in extreme poverty (on less than $1.90 per day) decreased dramatically from almost 50% in 1990 to an astounding 8.6% in 2016. Additionally, economic specialization, competition, and the free market all provide evident material advantages to civilizations. All this no doubt is because of economic globalization.

It should however be noted that over seven hundred million people still live in abject poverty world over. In fact, the UN has admitted to the fact that it will be unable to fulfil its target of reducing this number to at least two hundred fifty million by 2030. The inequalities in income and wealth have also shot through the roof within nations thereby suggesting that the benefits of neoliberal globalisation are not felt equally among nations and corporations.

According to Oxfam's 2018 annual report, the world's wealth is only concentrated in a very small percentage. The report showed that the 26 richest billionaires own as many assets as the 3.8 billion people who make up the lower income, which consists of half of the world's population. Although the number of billionaires has increased since the 2008 global financial crisis, research shows that the share of the tax paid by large corporation's revenue has dropped tremendously. It also shows that the profits generated from the liberal economies of free trade have not been distributed fairly among countries and corporations which has widened the gap between the developed and developing countries. This has caused the least developed countries to continuously depend on the developed countries and thus one would argue that such countries have not significantly ripped the benefits of economic globalisation.

Steger shows the growing power of transnational corporations (TNCs) economically by comparing them to countries on how much revenue is collected from them as compared to the state revenue. TNCs are powerful enterprises often with a parent company and subsidiary units or branches across a country and beyond. These are flourishing within state borders and beyond all thanks to globalisation. TNCs often operate under an organised central system of decision making with a common goal. In the recent past, their numbers have greatly increased, from seven thousand in the 1970s to over one hundred thousand in 2018 according to Steger (Steger, 2020: 90). Enterprises like Walmart, Sinopec Group,

China National Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, Exxon- Mobil, and Toyota Motor belong to the 200 largest TNCs, which account for over half of the world's industrial output. The fact that all these corporations maintain their headquarters within a specific geographical location reflects on asymmetrical economic power relations between the global north and the global south. This also furthers the narrative that effects of economic globalisation are unevenly distributed in the world.

Globalization's interconnectedness creates a vacuum for the formation of international bodies for governance and regulation. In his book, Steger talks about the three international economic bodies that were formed through the Bretton Woods' conference of 1944 also known under the umbrella of the Bretton Woods system (BWR). To oversee the global monetary system, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established. The World Bank, which was previously known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was initially created to offer loans for Europe's post-World War II reconstruction. However, in the 1950s, it began to be used to finance numerous industrial initiatives in underdeveloped nations all over the world. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a world trade body tasked with creating and implementing multilateral trade agreements, was founded in 1947. As the GATT's replacement organization, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995. These economic bodies are operational up to date and they act as the global economic rules and regulations bodies.

Steger also discusses the political dimension of globalization and defines this as the strengthening and expansion of political ties around the world. These processes raise many important policy questions in relation to the principle of national sovereignty, the growing influence of intergovernmental organizations, the prospects of regional and global governance, and global migration flows.

In this chapter of political globalization, Steger highlights some main aspects of political globalization being the emergency of non-state actors, blurring of borders global health threats that require governments to work together and the likelihood of a global democracy. He gives an example on how Non state actors are actively involved in global solutions citing the Ebola crisis in 2013 where Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders (MSF/DWB) were first responders even before the UN or the nation states sent their own health workers (Steger, 2020: 78). This goes to show how non state actors are involved and therefore diplomats need to embrace their involvement. This is expanded further in the

fourth chapter in relation to how Ugandan diplomats have embraced the non-state actors and the challenges they face therein.

Steger talks about the decline of nation state and the rise of the global governance through international organisations like the ICC, ICJ, the UN and other international organisations that are a source of global policing, regulating, and maintaining peace. Leaders who abuse power and commit crimes against humanity can be tried in the ICC. although this is only for countries that are signatories to these treaties, it is still a sign that political governance has moved beyond territorial borders (Steger, 2020: 110-112).

There has also been a notable increase in the number of policy initiatives and cross-border connections between different substate authorities at the local and provincial levels. For instance, permanent missions and points of contact have been established by Chinese provinces and US federal states, some of which function with little direction from their respective national governments (Steger, 2020: 113). Local governments across borders now organise and hold international conferences sharing their developmental plans. This is done without necessarily involving the central government. It is not uncommon now for federal states and cities to developing their own trade agendas and financial strategies to obtain loans as is the case with Canadian states and Brazil (Steger, 2020: 113-114).

An example of an international corporation that facilitates global governance at the municipal level is the emergence of strong city networks like the World Association of Major Metropolises, which creates cooperative enterprises to address similar local challenges across national borders. Hong Kong, London, New York, Shanghai, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, and many other so-called global cities are in some ways more interconnected with one another than they are with their respective national governments.

Multilateral organizations and agreements have multiplied in an amazing way. The rise of regional organizations and international organizations like APEC as well as ASEAN has led some analysts to predict that regional networks would eventually replace nation-states as the fundamental unit of government. These blocs, which first aimed to unite regional economies, have in some cases already developed into loose political federations with unified institutions of government. For instance, the European Common Market started in 1950 with a modest idea to form a supranational organization tasked with controlling the production of coal and steel in France and Germany. Seven decades later, the 27 EU

members still form a close-knit group with a few common political institutions that produce shared public policies and design binding security agreements (Steger, 2020: 114).

It is also pertinent to note that such political effects of globalisation are not permanent. While the States presence is permanent, non-state actors' presence or establishment can be reversed. Even a decade-long process of regionalization can be stopped and possibly reversed, as evidenced by the 2016 Brexit vote in the UK and the accompanying heated and protracted political fight over the terms of its implementation (Steger, 2020: 114).

Governments have established a number of international organizations on a worldwide scale, including the UN, NATO, WTO, and OECD. Only states are eligible for full legal participation in these organizations, and representatives from national governments have the power to make decisions. The growth of these transnational organizations has demonstrated how challenging it is for nation-states to control vast webs of social interdependence. Last but not least, the global civil society—a shared social space filled by hundreds of voluntary, non-governmental groups with an international scope—has influenced the structure of global governance as it is emerging (Steger, 2020: 114-115).

There has also been a rise violent non state actors in form of terrorist groups. A case in point is the Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, among others who mostly rely their political agendas on the misinterpretation of Islam. Steger centres his argument of violent non state actors on religious globalism citing violent religious extremism (Steger, 2020: 165). These organisations work in parallel with governments and look at themselves as the alternative to the ruling governments. The examples he gives are all political groups that mask themselves as religious based and use this agenda to lure unsuspecting people into joining them to oppose the governments, they accuse of marginalising them. This is mostly young men and women that are abducted and groomed from a young age. Such violent non state actors continue to be a challenge to states in modern international relations.

Steger further clarifies that, although there has been a relative fall in the role of nation state in international relations in the last three decades, governments have not in any way become helpless in the control and operation of global forces. States can still make significant changes to increase or decrease the attractiveness of their economies to foreign investment. They have also kept hold of authority over infrastructure, foreign policy, and education. Still, some of the most important national-state powers, such as immigration

restriction, population registration, and security protocols, have been put to test by the population migrations that are becoming more pronounced in response to the embodied globalization.

In Chapter five Steger talks about cultural dimensions of globalisation. Steger refers to cultural globalization as the enhancement and expansion of cultural flows around the world. He further clarifies that culture is a broad concept that refers to a pattern of meanings and way of life which is often used to describe the entire human experience (Steger, 2020: 83-95). Culture refers to the symbolic construction, articulation, and dissemination of meaning in language, music, and images that constitute the major forms of symbolic expression that assume special significance for the dynamics of cultural interactions.

Cultural practices are no longer confined to the prisons of the localities like towns and nations and are consequently acquiring global meanings in interactions and global themes. Steger mentions three themes in a bid to understand cultural globalisation. The three essential themes are: the anxiety among sameness and distinction within the rising international culture; the essential function of transnational media organizations in disseminating famous culture; and the globalization of languages (Steger, 2020: 83-94). Steger further poses a question on whether cultural globalisation makes people more alike or more different to which he largely points out how the world is more similar in clothing like Nike, language, food among others due to globalisation (Steger, 2020: 86).

In this research however, we focus on understanding the three themed Steger's cultural globalisation in a slightly different perspective. We relate these three themes to diplomacy and examine whether that part of globalisation has changed diplomacy. The diasporans using their language, music and culture to promote their countries, whether this has been a norm, or it is a new development that comes with the global culture as Steger calls it.

Steger also discusses glocalization and McDonaldization by referring to Saskia Sassen, a specialist of global studies, who confers that there are other globalizing processes at work that are not limited to the 'global' scale but rather occur deep inside the "regional," "national," and "local" domains. She further says that such sub global areas become entwined with the global to develop multi-spatial forms of human communication rather than becoming extinct or becoming obsolete. Glocalization is the term used by global studies academics to describe this intricate

interaction between the local and the global. She thus concludes that globalization is in fact glocalization (Steger, 2020: 90).

The phrase "McDonaldization" was devised by American sociologist George Ritzer to characterize the vast sociocultural processes by which the fast-food restaurant's basic tenets are beginning to rule more and more facets of American society as well as the rest of the world (Steger, 2020: 85). Thus, McDonaldization is because of, and flourishes on *glocalization.*

Steger however warns that, in the long term, imposing uniform norms that stifle human inventiveness and dehumanize interpersonal interactions is what the McDonaldization of the globe amounts to. Worldwide capitalists are creating homogeneous global products that target mostly the young and wealthy across the globe in order to increase markets and profit, as well as transforming kids into ardent consumers from a very young age. Global consumerism consequently develops into a heartless and immoral cultural structure (Steger, 2020: 80-85).

Steger also tackles the globalisation of language stating examining the changing global patterns of language use is one straightforward way to measure and assess cultural changes brought about by globalization. Language globalization can be understood as a process in which some languages are used more frequently in cross-border communication while others become less popular or even extinct due to a lack of speaker (Steger, 2020: 92). While there is a global significance growth of certain languages especially Chinese, English, and Spanish other languages are also facing a decline in usage around the world (Steger, 2020: 92-93).

English is referred to as the global lingua franca because of its wide usage in global communication. However, it is pertinent to note that English's growing importance has a long history of British colonialism. During the early days of British empire in the late 16th century, only about 7 million individuals spoke English as their first language at the time. More than three hundred fifty million people were native English speakers by the 1990s, and four hundred million more people spoke English as a second language. As for Chinese, apart from the fact that China’s population is almost 19% of the world population, their economic strength that attracts people to and from China has boosted the use of this language (Steger, 2020: 94).

Steger defines ecological dimensions of globalisation in his chapter six of his book. In here he emphasises the interconnectedness that globalisation brings about and show how the ecological challenges are no longer confined to states but are global problems. Environmental risks are now a global concern and therefore states are to work together to address these

challenges and find solutions (Steger, 2020: 97-99). In looking at the ecological dimension of globalisation in this research, relating it to diplomacy, it is somehow intertwined in political globalisation under the non-state actors and their role in keeping states in check in protecting the environment. Under this the role of diplomats and whether the ecological globalisation dimension has in anyway affected their diplomatic role is discussed further in the core of this research.

Looking at the core manifestations of environmental degradation as illustrated in Steger (Steger, 2020: 97) it is no doubt that the effects can be a global concern and therefore would require a global solution. This is where the diplomat and other state actors come in as ambassadors of peace to solve such issues. Consequently, because the solutions are more likely to come from the political appointees or their shadows (NGOs, INGOs, TNCs, among others) this is why in this research, this shall be discussed under the political rather than have its own section.

Below is the illustration of the major manifestations and consequences of global environment.

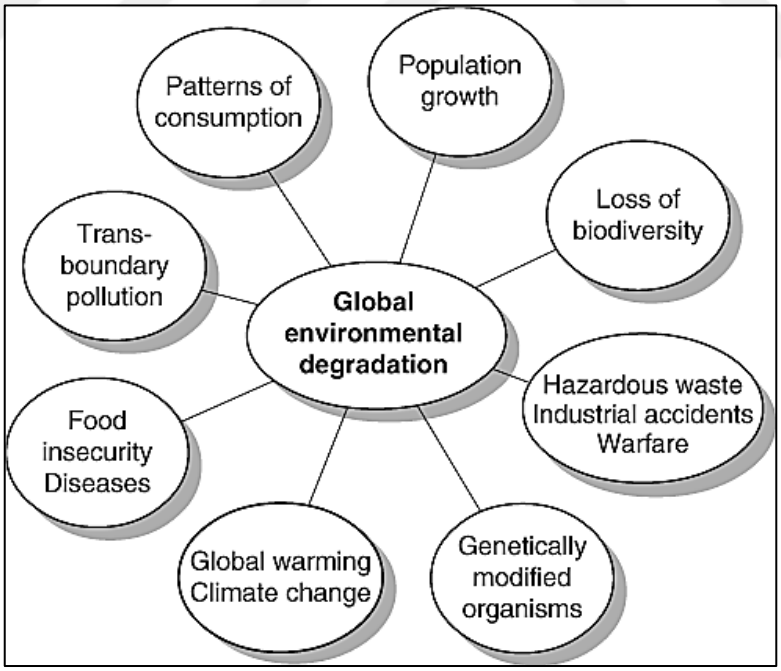


Figure 2.1. Manifestations and consequences of global environment

Source: Steger, 2020: 97.

Chapter seven and eight of Steger's *"Globalization: A Very Short Introduction",* expand on the ideological confrontations over globalization and the future of globalization. The ideological confrontations basically discuss whether globalization is a good or a bad thing. The different ideologies that range from politically motivated populists to what he calls religious globalism and justice globalism, and their motivated ideas of globalization are discussed in this chapter of the book, however we shall not expand this in this research since it is not much related to diplomacy (Steger, 2020: 112-119). In brief, the ideological dimension of globalization is about the struggle of the meaning of globalization, its acceptance, and its direction. In this research we rely on the definition of globalization and its dimensions relayed in Steger's book.

It should be noted that there are some aspects of migration that are raised as a result of globalization where a section of populists' campaign against it cited a fear of loss of their identity by welcoming in people that are different. This they do using social media mostly. The issue of acceptance of globalization is not in contention in this research and therefore shall not be discussed in detail here. In this research, we shall focus on the methods through which these debates are carried out as mentioned in this book and focus on how diplomats handle the surge of social media usage that sometimes come with false representation of fake news. This is where Steger's ideologies may briefly be discussed.

The future of globalization in Chapter seven focuses more on what globalization changes have in store for the world, how the changes will be embraced, the inequalities they are likely to cause and the robust use of technology (Steger, 2020: 129-137). On technology, Steger, affirms what Fletcher and Seib warns on the digitized spread of misinformation through social media (Steger, 2020: 134). He goes further to argue the possibility of the increasing use of technology eventually replacing humans. One wonders whether this replacement includes diplomacy. In our final chapter, the interviewees answer the question of whether technology has a chance at replacing diplomacy as we know it.

In further understanding globalization, we may rely on theories of globalization through which we are offered a comprehensive and critical understanding of the concept of globalization. We therefore now briefly discuss some other globalization theorists.

From some scholars' perspective, Globalization has been defined as a system that facilitates the integration of national economies into the global economy, which is achieved

through certain economic notions like trade, Foreign direct investment among others. All this can be by corporations or multinationals, short-term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology (Bhagwati, 2004).

On the other hand, globalisation has also been defined as another account, it is defined as an increase in the scale of social processes progressively from a local to regional or, and to a global level (Bayly, 2002). The impact of globalisation is realistically felt in every aspect of global dealings and lifestyles however, it is pertinent to note that such impact is felt on a relatively varying scale (Mazlish, 1998).

Globalization, therefore, increases interconnectedness in all spheres of life. It has increased worldwide technology and the comprehensibility of fast, effective communication and consumption of information and approved products. It also brings closer and links cultures, economies, and global relations on different levels (Naim, 2009)**.**

Henry Kissinger, like many other scholars, refers to globalization as the process of commercial and other cross-border exchange, decentralized and originating on many different levels of human organization, that link states together not so much politically as technologically, economically, and to some degree socially in a truly global or worldwide system (Henrikson, 2003)**.**

Kissinger describes globalization as a *systemic* doctrine that means reaching the physical limits of earthy expansion which makes the world system constantly change, humanity's dynamism is turning back on itself as well as thrusting outward and upward. The consequences of globalization produced within an increasingly closed world system dictate that a few events' ramifications are now purely viewed on a national level (Henrikson, 2003)**.**

According to Beck, a renowned sociologist who has written vastly about globalisation, the term can be best understood by first making a distinction between globalism, globality, and globalization. He refers to globalism as the ideology of neoliberalism that demands rule by the world market which effectively negates the political thereby causing absolute economic reductionism. Like Steger, Beck defines globality, to refer to a world society in which closed spaces of the past have become illusory. By this approach, Beck acknowledges that a certain form of globalization has already taken place and that this process is by now wholly irreversible with its introduction of profound and fundamental changes to what constitutes a society in our mind (Sørensen, Christiansen, 2012)**.**

Additionally, Beck defined globalization as a collaborative process in which transnational players with various perspectives on power, orientations, identities, and networks crisscross and undermine sovereign national governments (Beck, 2000). When viewed in this way, globalization has the potential to challenge the central tenet of realism and neo-realist theories of international relations, which holds that all nations are significant. The fact that many cross-border "actors," also referred to as transnational or non-state actors, are involved in globalization undercuts this theory.

Considering this, Beck (2000) contends that the process of globalization is exemplified by the advancement of international trade and its geographic expansion, which include the global networking of financial markets and the escalating influence of transnational businesses. Information, ecological, economic, production, and cultural globalization are among the numerous categories, Beck (2000) uses to classify globalization. He expresses the failure to separate and differentiate one nation-state from any other in all these characteristics. He shows how globalization changes everyday life with considerable force thereby compelling everyone to adapt and respond in various ways irrespective of their geographical locations. Environmental degradation in a certain region can easily result in global climate change if not monitored, and the economic or political instabilities in one state can spread or have consequences for another state. Technological advancement has also made things people and ideas that governments would like to keep out like drugs, illegal immigrants, or even criticisms of human rights abuse often find their way into new territories. This puts a higher burden on the diplomats to keep tabs on many things at the same time.

Beck (2000) opines that globalization has created unprecedented power for transnationals without a revolution or a change in laws which makes it difficult for lawmakers to challenge it. He explains that because of economic globalization, transnational corporations are now able to export jobs to parts of the world where labour costs and work obligations are at the lowest. Furthermore, the powerful countries are now able to play off countries against one another in a process of global horse-trading to find the cheapest fiscal conditions and the most favourable infrastructure.

The technological advancement that has created worldwide proximity has enabled powerful states to break down and disperse goods and services and to produce them through a division of labour in different parts of the world so that the national and cooperative labels

inevitably become illusory. These states can ‘penalize’ specific countries if they seem too expensive or investment unfriendly (Beck, 2000)**.** The fact that in the global production manufactured by the powerful states the executives can choose to live where it is nicest and pay taxes where it is cheapest without discussion by parliaments, government decision, change or law or justifiable public debates is clear that the balance of power which characterized the first modernity of industrial society has now been terminated and transferred to the independent reality of economic activity.

Beck’s idea of globalization is expansive, and it shows that globalisation is not just limited to laws of the transfer of money and goods across national borders but further expands to the transboundary pollution, migration, civil activities, and information technology, among others. This therefore translates to a notion that when people relate international whether it be economical through trade or personal through marriage, they narrow the possibility of separating states and rather strengthens them coming together (Beck, 2000)**.**

In a nutshell, Beck’s definition of globalization shows the importance of non-state actors in international relations as he opines that globalization denotes a process by which nation-states are undermined by transnational actors. This should not be construed to mean that transnational actors in Beck’s view do replace nation-states, it is rather that they are slowly dismantling the monopoly the state actors previously had in international relations. In this thesis, this definition of globalization shall be given precedence and thus adopted for any further discussions therein about globalization.

It is important to note that globalisation has caused a continuous evolution of information and communications technology which gives the world a single voice to make universal demands like the protection of human rights, solving environmental problems, among others. This is mostly actualised through media coverage that gives actors, like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty international that are now involved in international relations alongside states. This in turn tasks the diplomats to react evenly in equal measure. Thus, they are not only competing with a set of other actors in international relations but also must deal with several issues beyond their sovereign states.

Globalization has also led to the emergence of post-national, polycentric world politics, in which transnational actors like multinational corporations, non-governmental

organizations, and the United Nations are growing in power and number alongside governments. It has also led to global cultural industries and the question of world poverty. Globalization has also led to significant trans-cultural conflicts in the same place and global environmental destruction.

According to Kissinger, having a stable "equilibrium" in global affairs would require a constant assessment of checks and balances of many kinds including the internal political balances of a country and the external military forces, and economic and other political correlations. He also looks at the stable equilibrium to be dependent on economic comparisons of the states involved. Using the same lenses to look at a possibility of a stable equilibrium in Africa, is almost unachievable. Without political integration, there is less likelihood of any political balance being attained. The largely economic difference in the African states too is another hindrance.

Globalization thus signifies the capability of reducing the importance of territorial boundaries and, theoretically, of government-directed political and economic structures and processes. Some of these problems can be resolved or curbed by ‘reconstructing’ the sovereignty of states and their boundaries through diplomacy; thus, a need to look at the relationship between globalization and diplomacy.

In contemporary politics, globalization is thus explained as a power-challenging approach between several major states. The realists looking at large states that influence global politics like Great Britain, China, and the USA, or regional organizations like European Union, argue that they show the extent to which power struggles today generate global politics.

Globalization has also been viewed by realists as blurring the boundaries of territorial states, which are not equal in the face of globalization as some states are more dominant than others. The non-dominant or fewer dominant states are left to be subordinate in the process of globalization. However, this could only hold water to the extent that globalization is reduced to only the acquisition, distribution, and exercise of power, which it does not. What the realists ignore is the fact that globalization has other aspects that cannot necessarily be deduced to power politics.

The cultural, economic, ecological, and psychological aspects of globalization are irreducible to power politics in the realist view of international relations. There are various

apolitical dimensions of globalization that include the production and consumption of resources, the discovery, and affirmation of identity, and generally, humanity as it is being formed by nature.

Besides the literature by Westerners like Steger and Beck, globalization is also discussed by scholars of the non-European world. One example is Kudret Bülbül's (2009) book on globalisation titled *Zor ve Riza,* where he asks questions like whether the effects or reactions towards globalisation are consensual or forced and more like unavoidable. This and other questions are asked and answered in Türkiye's perspective. Looking at globalisation from a non-western perspective is a much-needed academic vacuum to fill, but more is needed from specifically from the African perspective.

Globalization has transformed many aspects of global politics and international relations policies and ideas. This has birthed the idea of transformationalism in globalization which if extended to this research shows how globalization has transformed diplomacy through economic, social, political, and cultural interconnectedness. This means that through the phase of transformationalism, diplomats must deal with more diverse and universal issues than ever before.

2.2. Literature Review on How Globalization has Changed Diplomacy

2.2.1 Philip Seib

In his book dubbed *The Future of Diplomacy*, Philip Seib (2016), Professor of Journalism, Public Diplomacy, and International Relations at the University of Southern California, has immensely contributed to the trending question of how diplomacy is being reshaped by the new developments of globalization. His views mainly point out the advanced communicational technology and the emergency of non-state actors as the main effects of globalization on diplomacy. Thus, Seib maintains that the future of diplomacy is tied to the future of the media and thus diplomacy needs to reach out to the public (Seib, 2016: 1-14).

2.2.1.1. Open Diplomacy

In his first chapter, Seib dismisses the use of the term digital diplomacy as being utterly misused arguing that it tends to give the use of technology in the diplomatic arena more importance than it deserves, and he rather opts for term open diplomacy.

Before showing the strength of technology in communicational diplomacy, Seib discusses the history of communication whose timeline he presses many thousands of years ago that started with with the instruments used to paint animals on cave walls and chisel symbols onto stone tablets but ascertains that his book would fast track to relatively modern times of telegram that started in the 19th century.

Seib explains that after numerous experiments on trying modern communication technology, electric telegraphy finally started in 1837 and the first practical trans-Atlantic cable was finished in 1866. This quickly altered how diplomacy operated. There was no longer a need for ships to transport news between North America and Europe, which meant that conflicts did not last for extended periods of time after a settlement had been reached, as was the case during the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States, when it took a month for news of the Treaty of Ghent to reach combatants. Although this came with great advantages of fast communication, critiques found that it was entirely *hail Mary* as in some instances, diplomats and their masters needed some cooling off which ths fast mode of communication did not provide.

Later in 1876, the telegraph was quickly supplemented by the telephone. Given that it improved people's ability to connect with one another, regardless of physical proximity, and with a level of candour that the telegraph did not allow, it might be regarded as the first social media gadget. The telephone is significant in a political setting because it makes it easier to communicate about concepts and happenings. Daily conversation became more prevalent as relatives and friends, even those who lived far apart, could join networks, and share and spread knowledge. However, the telephone was invented then, was nothing like what we have today. Back then, most phone calls were one-to-one interactions, which made such networks stay linear and were unlike anything we see now with social media like Twitter, Facebook and many other apps where we can not only share information fast and massively, but we can also engage in group calls. Nevertheless, the deliberate, interpersonal dissemination of knowledge altered how individuals perceived themselves and their

surroundings when a general form of literacy emerged as the phone call took precedence over the letter. Verbal communication was no longer limited to face-to-face interactions.

Seib further argues that the Diplomat's work as they knew it was altered by the telephone in numerous ways. For instance, the instantaneous nature of telephone communication tightened the relationship between diplomats on the ground and their superiors, hence lowering operational autonomy. The telephone altered diplomats' duties, even in less demanding situations which raised issues on the casualness of conversation that could distort the subtle communication of diplomacy and wary of a decreased reliance on the written word in favour of verbal communication. However, advanced the telephone was, its dissemination of information was not yet mass communication, it was in a micro sense where audience was reached piecemeal. Thus, the invention of radio and Television was an advancement from the two previous inventions.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, radio technology advanced swiftly, and by the 1920s, commercial radio broadcasts were being broadcast in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. The radio's importance in many families' lives was largely due to the endless hours of entertainment it provided, including music, sports, comedies, and dramas. However, it was also a source of news which had the greatest influence on how people perceived the globe, which in turn had an impact on diplomats' work. Radio presenters continuously reported on events across the world though in many instances such mass communication rather fuelled wars and this came as a big challenge for the diplomats.

By the middle of the 1950s, the television, a still-evolving technology posed stiff competition for the radio. This is so because it did everything the radio did, only better- with visuals. This presented another change in the balance of power for diplomats. While the radio only accorded people to hear what was happening, the television allowed people to see what was actually happening, from baseball games to battlefields and elsewhere first hand. This made it even more believable than merely being told on radios or by authorities.

Seib argues that television altered the diplomat's role as interpreters of world events as the reports from the field may clash with what the foreign affairs' officials may depict. The live coverage of humanitarian crises and conflicts may influence public opinion and if the depictions of the foreign affairs representatives are any different, it would matter less or

nothing at all. He argues that this has diminished the professional environment of diplomats where they almost had the monopoly to interpret such events.

Before the television challenge settled in well, there emerged mobile telephones, smart phones and internet that make mass communication faster and more efficient than ever before. The invention of the mobile phone marked yet another significant advancement where people were freed from the restrictions of landlines that one could not carry anywhere freely. Mobile phone users can now communicate, send and receive messages and information at their convenience. The smartphone, which offers internet connectivity, has supplanted the mobile phone as the primary device for voice and text communication. Seven billion people live on the earth now, and there are six billion mobile phones, including two billion smartphones.

With the advancement of communicational technology, Seib then raises the issue of security and privacy amidst this development. He argues that those who fall for the fallacy that the introduction of computer meant security are bound to face the consequences. He shows the extent of how unsafe the internet can be by giving examples of WikiLeaks. The challenge of such leaks is that there is no limit to who receives the information unlike an *analogue* leak.

Seib further argues that hacking of government computers has now become an ongoing competition and investing in cyber security is now as a much of a priority as investing in military security is. Seib contends that, the current computerised tools that facilitate fact and efficient communication are more susceptible to eavesdropping that a telephone landline that could be tapped. Thus, the higher the technology and easy modes of communication, the lesser privacy is likely to be. Seib consequently argues that the current *media revolution* gives the powerful an opportunity to abuse power and the work of diplomats and therefore suggests that the future duties of diplomats must be designed with full recognition of the contemporary media challenges like limited privacy and security.

A bigger challenge brought by open diplomacy is perhaps the empowered public which has no borders, no authority and mostly act with no consequences. In Seib's view, the empowered public has not yet been fully utilised by the diplomats to help shape the public opinion. Diplomats need to come in and control the narrative, get involved through these technologies and platforms to help shape public opinion. He explains that the mere

empowerment of the public has not changed much citing a comparison of the 1994 Rwanda genocide where one would assume that the world would have reacted swiftly and timely had the technology that exist now existed then i.e., smart phones. At the same time, he juxtaposes this with the situation in Syria in an era of mass media with fast and advanced communication, yet nothing is being done. Seib relates this to the fact that the public is fed so much information on wars and humanitarian crises that they lose focus on what to pay more attention to (Seib, 2016: 15-40).

2.2.1.2. Public Diplomacy

In his view, Seib contends that should diplomats utilise the advantages of the advanced communicational platforms, they can help construct and control public opinion and therefore use the empowered publics to their advantage. They have to quickly adopt to the fact that public diplomacy is the future of diplomacy, and its thriving depends much on the mass media.

Seib maintains that diplomacy still consists of five main elements as stated by Nicholas Cull: that is to say; listening; advocacy; cultural diplomacy; exchange diplomacy; and international broadcasting (cf. Cull, 2008). He further opines that the advent of new technologies in the wave of globalization makes the process of diplomacy more efficient but warns that it should serve as a supplement and not a core in carrying out diplomatic duties.

Seib, looking at the central role played by social media in creating and connecting an empowered public, the use of smartphones, and the internet in general, introduces the term open diplomacy. This is usually a kind of diplomacy that involves discussions carried out by interested observers and members of the public or press in an open space (cf. Cull, 2008). On public diplomacy, Seib groups it into three responsible agents for public diplomacy. Traditional - which is implemented by the foreign affairs ministry, Whole governments- which is implemented by all the other government departments and agencies and the 'new public diplomacy' that is implemented by NGOs, Civil society organisations and public diplomats.

States use public diplomacy to shape how the public sees them something most countries care about except for North Korea which seems not to care what the rest of the world thinks of them. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged

in numerous public opinion conflicts. The United States also placed a significant emphasis on the work of the Peace Corps, which sent American volunteers into communities all over the world. They relied on cultural ambassadors like Louis Armstrong and the Bolshoi Ballet. Not so different from today's public diplomacy, back then media was the focus as well. The USA and Soviet government broadcasters fought for the attention of viewers who had few other informational options throughout the Cold War. Today's media landscape has grown rapidly to incorporate local outlets including regional satellite television networks, among them the most well-known being Al Jazeera. On top of these, currently we add on the internet and social media platforms that are a great tool of public diplomacy used by both state and non-state actors.

China has invested heavily in an array of programs to boost its public diplomacy on a very large scale. The provision of economic development assistance to various countries with natural resources, broadcasting is among the sources of public diplomacy that China has invested in heavily and on a large scale. For the general optics, China hosted the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai and the 2022 Winter Olympics which have all proved successful at giving the world a look at China in the global presence, whether politically, economically, culturally, or otherwise.

Seib affirms that as a defensive tactic, public diplomacy is not very effective. Rather than being used in response to a crisis, it and should be utilized to develop long-term relationships because such relationships may later be valuable in trying times. Seib further asserts that public diplomacy is slowly clouding the known traditional forms of diplomacy and predicts that public diplomacy might be the future face of diplomacy.

Seib mentions that as a result of the developments highlighted, diplomacy has been affected. For example, the information bombarded onto us by the mass media is sometimes delivered or received with some level of bias and the diplomats have to find ways to work around this. People with time take information from only likeminded sources and this is biased information gathering. He gives an example of the early days of Aljazeera, being the new international Middle East based news outlet, people from Arab and Muslim majority countries felt like they had their stories being told in their eyes (Seib, 2016). Seib further explains that the speedy communication has changed the culture of diplomacy. He claims that the more the technologies are relied upon, the more the traditional ways of diplomacy

are looked at as archaic. He however asserts that since diplomacy is accustomed to adjusting to many changes, this too can and should be adjusted to.

Seib also bemoans the widening scope of the target public for diplomats. Gone are the days when one only had to scan through the newspaper for a quick update on current affairs. He argues that the audience to whom the diplomats have to communicate to and listen to has widened and thus diplomats need to catch up. Since benefiting from listening requires responding in a comprehensive and timely way, it is now difficult and upon the diplomats to draw a line on their target public otherwise they are bound to not communicate effectively (Seib, 2016: 41-69).

2.2.1.3. Non-State Actors

Seib further explains asserts that diplomats have historically served as the intermediaries between states and, more recently, international organizations. He further explains that The Peace treaty of Westphalia of 1648, in codifying the creation of the modern state, it became the source of the acceptance of the idea that a state would be governed by its own sovereign rather than being a component of an empire; freedom for the state to choose its official religion; and, perhaps most importantly, that sovereigns should mind their own business and that no state should meddle in the internal affairs of another. Although in many instances diplomats and their governments have been purely political entities with clear geographical boundaries, recognisable borders on map and well-developed political systems, this is not always the case with non-state actor who have no geographical boundaries.

Seib further shows how globalization has introduced a completely new set of non-state actors that are very active in international relations today. According to Seib, globalization has brought a different set of actors which must be embraced rather than ignored. Major cities are some of the non-state actors that have emerged. By 1950, only a billion people lived in cities, however it is estimated that by 2050, 6.5 billion people—or two-thirds of the entire human population—will live in cities. Cities are no longer only locations to live in because of the consequent concentrations of economic, political, and cultural power, according to Daalder and Lindsay (2003). They have become important players on the international stage. There are about 8 Cities having their own foreign affairs departments coordinate with local firms, universities, and other institutions. Sao Paulo and Shanghai are

some of those cities that implement their diplomacy directly with each other without necessarily involving the central governments. This means that diplomacy is now beyond the official traditional diplomats and the MoFA.

International corporations are yet another set of non-state actors that have an immense influence in international relations. Even if the international corporation's interaction with diplomats is sometimes indirect, this does not in any way lessen their influence. Everything from food to weapons is exchanged on the world market in ways that are governed by treaties and other diplomatic accords. This keeps the political stakes high as it affects the domestic jobs and market. Furthermore, the advanced communication and transport among other effects of globalisation, make the large-scale businesses globally uniform: Japanese cars assembled in the United States, American computers with Chinese microchips, and so on are examples of how interconnected and interdependent the world has become. This shows how the states, and their business are interconnected and reliant on each other which calls for global treaties and agreements for regulation and governance. Although much of what is mentioned above is connected by the business communities, whenever diplomacy touches corporate operations, corporations assert themselves. He concludes that, as globalization accelerates, interaction between business and diplomacy will become more frequent and intense.

The other form of open diplomacy that is looming big in this globalisation era is the role of the diaspora. Many countries tap into the potential of the diaspora for their diplomacy, be it social to help them solve conflicts back home, economical through their remittances and economic investment or political. The USA for example relied on the Haiti diaspora in the US during the relief effort following the 2010 Haitian earthquake. The US has also over time relied on the Somali diaspora in counterterrorism directed at Al-Shabaab. This is an example of country reaching out to diasporas that are not even their own.

It is important to note that the easy modes of communication connect the diaspora tighter to their homelands. Through following closely their country's news and development fast and effectively, they sometimes get involved in long distance activism. Even in countries where the media is controlled by the government and thus the people have a controlled view of current events, their friends and relatives can give them the wider range of information through mobile phones and other modes of communication than they can actually access back home. In circumstances where the diplomatic strategy requires reaching out to the

public through conventional media, diasporas are the best bait on this. In fact, Seib argues that diasporas should be considered less as entities separate from the homeland and more as integral parts of virtual states dues to their ability to connect both with their homeland and abroad. This however comes with a set of challenges for the diplomats specifically through the platforms the diasporas rely on like Facebook.

The power of Facebook in our daily lives is undeniable. It is a social media platform that is used for many reasons, from advertising to announcements and much more. The occasional phone call and letters have been rendered almost useless by this tool that has a constant flow of information and chatting services where more than one chat takes place. The fact that diplomats too use these platforms to reach their targeted public puts a load of challenges for them in their line of work.

Facebook takes stand sometimes on policies and uses the platform to influence how people think and react. In order to show support for gay marriage, Facebook gave its members a free feature in June 2015 that allowed them to overlay rainbow colours on their profile images which was done by more than 26 million people in less than three days. When Facebook added Kosovo as a country in 2013, even though it was not recognised by the UN, and this gave the people of Kosova the renewed confidence to claim their way to independence. As of 4 September 2020, 101 out of 193 (52.3%) United Nations member states, 22 out of 27 (81.5%) European Union member states, 26 out of 30 (86.7%) NATO member states, and 33 out of 57 (57.9%) Organisation of Islamic Cooperation member states have recognised Kosovo. Although the effectiveness of such low-effort campaigning is questionable, small actions like this can have a significant impact on the global conversation's tone and content.

Facebook is taking communication by storm and thus Seib warns diplomats against brushing off certain developments like the use of social media. He encourages them to embrace it, make use of it but with extreme caution. In explaining the non-state actors, Seib gives an example of the social media tech giant Facebook and how it addresses diplomacy. He also addresses diplomats on how to adopt to this platform. Although some of the non-state actors are complementary and or come in a form of checking and balancing the state actions, others are hostile, like terrorist groups that work completely parallel and against the state.

Seib gives an example of hostile non state actors like Al Qaeda which operated in Syria as the Al-Nusra Front, and the Islamic State, a non-state organization, that were among the combatants. He also refers to the Kurds from the Middle East with large populations in both Syria and Turkey as well as Iraq and are among the several organizations of militants opposed to the Syrian Assad regime and a key factor in Middle East as an example of a violent non state actor. The fact that these non-state organisations are not officially recognised by the UN, or any states does not disqualify their role in international relations Seib affirms that despite such hostile non state actors like the Iraqi Kurds edging toward formal nationhood, they exist outside the realm of traditional diplomacy. States sometimes negotiate with these hostile non state actors for peace among other things. This however does not validate them, however in the same realm, their role and power should not be ignored by the state actors and the officially professional diplomats.

Seib does not only refer to hostile non state actors but emphasises that in the rise of non-state actors, there are those that do '*beneficial work'*, citing Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) or Doctors without the emergency medical response organization that was founded in 1971. In the beginning, MSF had to rely on commercial news organizations to popularise its work and streamline a way of getting donors and influence policy makers. However, presently, MSF has a strong presence online, with a website (www.msf.org) and a huge following on its social media platforms (Seib, 2016: 80-81). This highlights one of the questions raised later in chapter five of this research in the interviews on whether digital communication has facilitated the rise of non -state actors and given them a bigger platform and a voice to thrive and foster their agenda. With Seib's own writing and later this research's findings, indeed non state actors are given a big platform by the internet for those who have utilised it well. They no longer have to rely on mainstream media to cover their work in hopes that such coverage could reach policy makers who in turn could fund their work. Today, they can do all this by themselves through their social media handles, websites and other forms of digital communication (Seib, 2016: 70-100).

2.2.1.4. Keeping Track

In chapter four of his book, Seib talks about the challenges and interferences the diplomats in modern-day diplomacy must be aware of and how they can manoeuvre or otherwise navigate through them. He emphasizes how important it is for diplomats to be as analytical of the technological aspects of diplomacy as they are of their political duties.

Indeed, Diplomats must embrace and accept the digital challenges in executing their diplomatic duties rather than sweep them under the rug or take them for granted. They should recognize and put into perspective how those traditional politics is embracing the new digital media.

It is clear from Seib that most ambassadors are not career diplomats but rather political appointees loyal to the ruling government. This is not unique to undemocratic countries full of nepotism as it is done in countries like the USA. As of December 2014, of President Barack Obama's ambassadorial appointments, thirty five percent were political rather than career diplomats. His two most recent predecessors were not any different as they had their political appointees stand at twenty nine percent and twenty eight percent by George W. Bush and Bill Clinton, respectively.

Seib implies that having political appointees comes with its own challenges. Although these appointees come with their own non diplomatic experience such as academic expertise, this can taint their neutrality. And even though there is legislation that shows the current practice to be wrong n USA for example, there is no indication that this is about to change.

In many parliamentary democracies, legislative bodies turn on ambassadors to explain their country's international relationships and assess threats and possibilities. The legislative and executive departments of government should be able to voice their disagreements and then move forward in a spirit of reasonable agreement since this is linked to the public. Diplomacy and politics are hard to separate and thus the appointment of ambassadors from political realms is to some degree beneficial since in some instances, diplomacy will be put aside, and politics will be used to solve diplomatic disputes.

Seib argues that in the case of the USA, although other departments may get involved in diplomacy in one way or another, the ultimate power lies with the executive-the White House. He argues that the White House has a foreign policy bureaucracy of its own at the heart of which lies the national security council. This means that however much other departments may be involved in diplomacy in the spirit of diplomacy is no longer a monopoly of the foreign affairs, the White House is the highest power and often diplomats complained of being 'big footed' by the National Security council (NSC). This extends to even diplomats and thus this changes their way of work because diplomats are then often bypassed since the bureaucratic ways of the NSC portray them as not having actual authority.

Seib agrees that in a globalised world now, every department of the federal government has diplomatic duties and there is often a question of who is responsible for what and where and that where areas of responsibility at in question, the White House is the referee to blow the whistle and settle the score. This in away looks at what is later discussed in chapter five on whether diplomacy is a monopoly of the foreign affairs and shows the relationship between all government agents involved.

Furthermore, he discusses the training of diplomats which he admits that has been given little attention. In the UK for example it was not until 2015 that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office opened its diplomatic academy which featured a skeletal curriculum of topics. When the academy was opened, Christopher Meyer who had served as a diplomat in the USA noted that even after centuries, the qualities that made a good diplomat had not yet changed. It still all revolved around the ability to negotiate, build a network of influence, a foreign understanding of a foreign society and information gathering. However, Ambassador Meyer bemoaned the evolving habit of now prioritising multilateral diplomacy over bilateral diplomacy. Seib argues that Meyer's concerns are because of modernising a profession steeped in tradition. The training of diplomats should no longer be limited to academics but also to the knowledge of common traditions of places they are posted to, for example, diplomats sent to the middle east should have minimum knowledge of not just Arabic but the Quran. This in essence helps them relate better with the foreign communities they are sent to and consequently may not only strengthen diplomatic ties but ease the execution of their diplomatic duties (Seib, 2016: 101-118).

2.2.1.5. Diplomacy's Future

In the last chapter, Seib further recognizes that digital tools are not the only changes that diplomacy faces. He expresses how better some global issues like climate change, access to water, global health initiatives, women's issues, education, and protection from rape during conflicts, etc can now be discussed between governments thanks to globalization which has introduced several non-state actors which in most cases has, in turn, introduced multilateral diplomacy. Thus, Seib concludes that, technology on its own is meaningless and it's that its real power lies in how it is used. He encourages diplomats to make use of the new technological tools to tackle the challenges mentioned because diplomacy will not be obsolete (Seib, 2016: 119-143).

2.2.2. Henrikson's Projection on the Future of Diplomacy

Henrikson's (2005) literature review focuses on his projective visions on the future of diplomacy. He stated five projective visions as his idea for the future of diplomacy in 2005. Below we discuss his five projections and examine whether they have been realized yet.

In his first projection of the future of diplomacy, he projected that due to globalization, state-run diplomacy, with its formal structures and bureaucratic procedures, could be largely bypassed. Nineteen years later this can still be challenged. Although there has been an acceleration of public diplomacy, it has not in any way overrun the bureaucratic ways of diplomacy. Conceivably, the bureaucratic structure of state-run diplomacy is the most unshaken tenant of diplomacy by globalization.

Henrikson's projection of disintermediation causing diplomacy to strive harder to reform itself is at best being realized through the tremendous increase of public diplomacy tools various countries are now employing (Henrikson, 2005). He projected that globalization would cause diplomacy to work harder and rebuild itself to meet private sector pressures. This is seen in today's public diplomacy tools especially through media, cultural institutions, and education that countries have employed to counter the non-state actors and private sectors in the foreign citizenry. However, his idea of this being an implication of a relatively peaceful and stable world in which most transactions take place normally and without major disruption is rather still speculative. The peaceful and stable world as we may perceive it today would be due to the severe inequality that globalization has brought. The weaker states are overshadowed by powerful states and are, therefore 'forced' to keep order even when oppressed.

Henrikson's projection of diplomacy being regionalized has indeed been realized. He opined that the integration (which he mainly related to Europe) was fostered by the growing interconnectedness of domestic administrative systems of member states which made it easy for sector-specific policies to be coordinated across national borders without involving diplomats (Henrikson, 2005). Although he narrowed this to European integration, this is a development that has so far been experienced across the globe. I cite examples of regional

diplomacy in East Africa, West Africa, The Gulf, and the Middle East in later sections of this thesis with special emphasis on Uganda.

Henrikson (2005) also projected a democratized form of diplomacy which he refers to as *diplomacy by democracy.* This refers to enlarging the circle of participation in diplomacy. This has ultimately come to pass. The newer communication technologies have created more actors to participate in diplomacy. What this means for diplomacy is that as the 'democratic' responsiveness of the international community grows, diplomats are increasingly assigned to multilateral work, within a reformed and more open United Nations system. This is currently being experienced as today diplomats are being assigned to priority concerns be it environmental, developmental, or health issues as opposed to being sent to countries for state-specific matters. This thesis has further explained democratized diplomacy and its result of multilateral diplomacy.

Henrikson's projection of the rise of what he refers to as thematic diplomacy has also been realized. Thematic diplomacy he writes refers to the idea of a theme-based diplomatic engagement. Here, 'thematic' ambassadors are appointed to deal with theme-based issues. Among the themes he mentions are human rights and famine. He also cites examples of the highly specialized diplomacy of negotiations like what is practiced at the World Trade Organizations or the nuclear safeguards discussions, as carried out within the framework of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the institutional setting of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Such he refers to as '*thematization*' and indeed this has been realized on many levels in international relations. Thematized diplomacy he also explains is a form of mobilizing both at the national and international level, society resources, public opinion is a way of mobilizing the resources of society, and public opinion (Henrikson, 2005)**.**

The fifth futuristic projection of diplomacy by Henrikson was Americanization. Contrary to what is popularly associated with the term *Americanization,* Henrikson views it in a slightly different dimension though not completely different from the popular idea of the United States becoming an empire, a sole surviving superpower that exercises its hegemonic powers over global politics. which talks about turning things or people American either by character or nationality. He argued that diplomacy will all be more about the United States. Thus, countries would in the future view diplomacy in the eyes of America. He mainly discusses this concerning Canada and US relations where he argues that Canada engages just more than the US as a state but rather involves the other non-state actors in the

US in its diplomatic dispatches. This way, by the time an issue reaches the United States government, it's already popular in the whole country. He also cites examples of countries opting to side with the US in certain global engagements to be part of the decision-making and consultations. Here he gives an example of the *coalition of the willing.*

2.2.3. Other Writers on Diplomacy and Globalization

Other writers on diplomacy and globalization like Borcan and Maley in their literature talk about the relationship between globalization and diplomacy. These two aspects of international relations feature a lot in international politics and therefore are of great importance in global politics and specifically in International Relations discipline. These two concepts share a mutual necessity of building or connecting states' relations. While diplomacy can act as a means of interconnectedness with diplomatic agents being one of the actors who play an increasingly important role in globalizing the world (Borcan, 2012), globalization can provide the path for diplomacy´s main purpose which is to foster peace, and stability and promote cooperation.

As foreign policy transitions from geopolitics to global politics, it is important for all countries to consider strengthening, upholding, and adapting the international institutions that ensure the international rule of law. International organizations like the International Court of Justice and the United Nations, among others, are in charge of regulating this duty (Borcan, 2012).

Geopolitics and global politics differ only slightly since one is a subset of and depends upon the other. Global politics simply refers to relations between nation-states (countries) or issues relating to all, like environmental regulation to tackle global warming, which requires international cooperation, or other major issues that require the attention of all world powers, like the global financial crisis of 2008. While geopolitics only focuses on the study of the relationships between distinct countries and the significance of their politics on their geographical locations, international relations have a significant impact on geopolitics, making it a crucial component of world politics.

Aspects of soft power, which refer to the capacity to advance your goals through the allures of your political and cultural framework, can also be felt in the realm of global politics. For instance, in the past ten or so years, China has promoted the Chinese language

and established 350 Confucius Centres (Beijing Municipal Government, 2021). With the development of technology and communication, which is a result of globalization, this becomes simpler. Cultural diplomacy also includes this as a component.

In this sense, it is clear that global politics, which encompass a wider range of international relations and politics, has fully replaced geopolitics, in which geography mainly determined how the world was governed. As a result, the relationship between domestic and international politics has grown. Therefore, globalisation has consequently tightened the relationship between global politics and diplomacy as diplomacy is no longer solely bilateral as it shall be discussed in the later parts of this thesis.

It is important to keep in mind that geopolitics is still at large. For instance, former US President Trump's choice to build a wall between the US and Mexico to stop drug cartels and undocumented immigrants from entering the US is an example of geopolitical decision. Furthermore, Kenya's decision to fight terrorism by erecting a wall between its northern border and Somalia is another classic of geopolitically related policies taken in modern times. These two situations are examples of geopolitics considering that the decisions the governments took or considered were influenced by the politics in the geographical location of these states. All these geographical and cross border threats that are mainly brought on by globalisation, change the bilateral diplomacy as we know it and all these shifts are to be expanded on in the thesis.

When examining the relationship between globalization and diplomacy, it is important to keep in mind that, even though the differences these two have in some situations can complement one another, to some extent the differences are noteworthy, and they only serve to highlight the two concepts (of diplomacy and globalization) as distinct from one another — a discussion deserving of academic research input. Determining the location of these barriers and disconnections, as well as their relevance, is crucial for understanding how diplomacy and globalization interrelate.

Maley (2008) asserts that because globalization lacks a clear-cut form of bureaucratized hierarchy, command, and control, it is a pluralistic idea that includes a wide range of participants. This does not, however, result in performers who have equal opportunities. The most powerful states and their respective transnational actors are stronger than smaller states in decision-making and influencing global politics, despite the

appearance that globalization's actors are equal on the surface. The domain of diplomacy, where a diplomat is accountable to the state, is characterized by a strong and distinct sense of bureaucratic hierarchy, command, and control. A diplomat is given orders and is only supposed to speak certain things at specified times and places.

In both worlds of diplomacy and globalization, the actors are expected to have some sort of education and expertise. However, a diplomat's education and expertise are more specific as compared to global actors. Both a global customer and a diplomat need to possess qualifications to pass across their information and have guidelines and command of saying what and when. However, there is utmost caution and bureaucracy among diplomats as compared to global actors. On the other hand, diplomacy is frequently considered as a guild activity in which insiders in high positions are distinguished from outcast outsiders. As a result, diplomatic skills are a form of knowledge held by a group of specialists and passed down through extensive instruction. In light of this, globalization stands out as being a flexible approach to viewing and managing the world with a focus on inclusivity in terms of who and what is incorporated within its framework and goals.

When it comes to diplomacy, it is preferable to focus on what is feasible rather than what is right (Maley, 2008). When patience and prudence are valued over emotionalism and openness, the consequences are frequently shaped by a careful sense of pragmatism with a profound understanding of the limits of action (Maley, 2008). This doesn't mean that globalization is always based on emotionalism and transparency but rather it is flexible, and the decisions taken can always vary on the circumstances and situations. Diplomacy is strict in its execution of duties and more systematic. Thus, it is easier to define its preference es more strictly and definitively than it is for globalization.

It is important to note that globalization has in a way altered the sovereignty and boundaries of states which raises the question of whether diplomacy has been transformed and to what extent. In this next part, we shall continue by viewing the literature of various scholars as mentioned at the beginning of the literature review part, their idea of what has changed in diplomacy, and what the future holds. While most argue that the emergence of globalization has indeed transformed diplomacy, others maintain that the changes are minor, and that diplomacy's traditional method and conduct are still intact.

Grant (2004) explains how in the age of advanced technology, diplomacy has been transformed into ‘negotiations with the internet in a sense that the ministries of foreign affairs run much of their agenda through websites, emails, and social media. This would therefore mean that much of the diplomatic work is run digitally and one does not necessarily have to be in office to do their diplomatic work.

In fact, Fletcher (2016) in his book *The Naked Diplomat* writes about his own experience of engaging his foreign citizenry in the middle east through Twitter. He encourages other diplomats to take on the same approach as he viewed it to be open, transparent, and a great source of soft power. He however cautions against over-trusting this outburst of technology and communication advancement. He acknowledges how WikiLeaks has made diplomats more cautious and wary of writing a lot especially online. He is contented that if diplomats are cautious enough, the globalization wave of advanced communication will not pierce the old-fashioned nature of diplomacy (Fletcher, 2016) even though it has changed diplomacy in so many other ways. This is the same view held by Campbell (2015) who warns diplomats to be cautious and not be blinded by the excitement of this new advanced communication era. Thus, Grant and Fletcher point out the robust advanced communicational technology and its use as the main changes in diplomacy by globalization.

Hochstetler (2013) views the vast introduction and participation of non-state actors as the main change globalization has had on diplomacy. She states that major foreign policies in most countries today are pioneered by comprehensive consultation. To this effect, modern-day diplomats may often find themselves in a situation where they must meet with quite a few civil society representatives. They will be expected to interact with them constructively to help demystify issues from various angles. Diplomats should always be prepared to be sharply criticized and be under immense pressure from such engagements with civil society organizations (Hochstetler, 2013).

Louise Fréchette (2013) the first Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations opines that modern diplomacy today takes place in a more complex environment than it did over four decades ago. She agrees with many other scholars that globalization has had a robust transformation on how diplomacy was traditionally known. Like Seib, she cites the tremendous transformations in how quick, cheap, and effective communication has been

made with advanced technology and the introduction and continuous participation of non-state actors in international relations.

Like many other scholars, Louise Fréchette, admits that the advent of the communication revolution has shrunk the time available for making decisions. She specifically attributes this to the availability of 24-hour news coverage and other various information outlets which forces governments and their agents to react to any developments quicker than before lest they be portrayed as being indecisive or insensitive where it involves human security. This in turn threatens diplomatic flexibility.

She also shows how globalization has created numerous actors in diplomacy now and warns the traditional diplomats to not only accept these new actors but also embrace them to be able to feed them on how to represent their respective governments in the media and other public forums outlets.

Fréchette further warns that the modern-day diplomat needs to be attuned to the foundations and practices on which contemporary diplomacy is built as much as he is attuned to the current trends of diplomacy. In her experience as a diplomat, Louise Fréchette, points out the twin-linked phenomena of globalization and the communication revolution stimulated by new information technologies as the biggest change in diplomacy to date.

Frechette narrates that more than forty years ago, transmitting information was not only a slow process, but that international telephone communications were expensive and unreliable. She further says that, in times of crisis, for example, diplomats would often be cut off from their headquarters and were left to make judgment calls on the spot. She relates that today, diplomats rarely if ever use their full powers to bind their governments although they are still referred to as plenipotentiary. With the development of technology and easy communication means, the ambassadors consult their sending states to the very last minute before they make decisions. She, therefore, argues that because of such developments, the margin of the resourcefulness of envoys has incredibly shrunk especially in times of crisis or when handling sensitive issues.

Lee and Hudson (2004) explain the effect of globalization on economic diplomacy. In their article, they explain that because of globalization, there is a need for revival of the political economy that has since been neglected both practically and by academia. They argue that the commercial activities of diplomats have since been extended and business

interests formally integrated within diplomatic systems because of economic integration. This means that governments' MoFA together with the economic ministries like the Ministry of Trade, Finance and other have to reorganize their strategies of building formal businesses through diplomatic links.

Although all these countenances mentioned above were known to previous diplomatic systems, commercial diplomacy has been neglected within diplomatic studies. This is only true to the extent that diplomats are chosen from a specific field of elites. Today diplomats are mostly with a relevant formal education that covers the recent developments in the structure of diplomacy. I would argue that most diplomats have diplomatic formal information and education on all the relevant aspects. To generalize the lack of political economy in diplomacy is, therefore, a lacking assessment.

In his paper that he delivered at St. Edmund's College, Cambridge University, as part of the Lecture Series *Ethical Standards in Public Life* in February 2015, Campbell (2015) argues the continuity of a traditional form of diplomacy that has not been fundamentally affected or transformed by diplomacy. He opined that what globalization has changed is the methodology of diplomacy, but the traditional diplomacy had not fundamentally been changed. He highlights this in his concluding remarks showing that diplomacy is still based on the principle of state relations although the methodology has been transformed by mainly the trend of advanced technology brought about by globalization. Campbell's definition of diplomacy is wide enough to include other forms of diplomacy like public diplomacy, economic and cultural forms of diplomacy. This makes his remarks more deserving while showing the effects of globalization on diplomacy.

Modern diplomacy has evolved and contemporary diplomacy as we know it is shifting from traditional diplomacy as we knew it. As Louise Fréchette (2013) affirms, modern diplomacy does introduce a new set of players in the international relations arena. The new developments leave the distinction between international issues increasingly blurred. What is private and public in international disputes, the line between what is domestic and foreign, etc., is increasingly getting blurry in international relations in modern diplomacy.

It should also be noted that the new mass media environments sometimes create unrealistic scenarios which result in unreasonably high standards and expectations. For example, it is a common trend for the media to concentrate more on deficiencies or failures

in the delivery of relief supplies for example in a humanitarian crisis while they deliberately ignore the strengths of the agencies or governments about the same even when obvious. Such biased and unrealistic media coverage generates negative criticisms from the masses which creates unnecessary pressure and the need to respond, sometimes to set the records straight on the governments, theory agents, or any other international actor involved.

It is common knowledge that traditional diplomacy traded in secrecy and unacknowledged understanding. In today's diplomacy, although many backroom negotiations take place, very few of them remain a complete secret. There are always press conferences, and in some cases, we have the diplomats or other actors tweeting about such engagements. Now, the tweets and press conferences may not reveal all the details of such engagements, but it's nevertheless no longer done in complete secrecy. The trend towards greater transparency is irreversible. Indeed, contemporary diplomats must be always alert, and pay more attention to the effect of their actions on the public and their substantive integrity.

The growing number of summit meetings is yet another trend in contemporary diplomacy. There has been a growing trend of personal involvement of leaders and ministers in the day-to-day diplomatic duty executions. Although this is not an entirely new trend since we have kings and presidents meeting to make peace or divide the spoils of war in history, they only did so under extraordinary circumstances.

Today, leaders of various countries and organizations meet more often. Some, have annual meetings or quarterly. At any opening of the UN General Assembly, for example, more than half of the entire membership of the states are represented by the heads of state or the head of the government level. This could be attributed to various reasons most if not all of which are because of globalization. The interconnectedness brings to the table various global challenges to be discussed, the easy means of transportation and communication, etc.

In the last few decades, through these summits, civil society gatherings' platforms have been created, and the role of the non-governmental organizations in international relations has also aggressively grown. The Non-governmental organizations have been accorded an opportunity by the easy and cheap communication and transport to mobilize across borders and consequently become actors in international relations. All this is largely attributed to globalization. There is no doubt that governments and international organizations are no

longer the only actors in international relations. They therefore ought to adjust and allow these other emerging actors to be heard and participate in global decisions.

The UN's relationship with NGOs is a long one. The UN Charter specially provides for the economic, social, and social council under Article 71 which stipulates that the economic and social council may make suitable arrangements for consultations with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence.

For more than a decade, the UN security council has regularly held informal meetings with and consultations with NGOs in a bid to collect information on the fate of the civilian population, especially in conflict and war-torn zones. The NGOs have indeed proved to be a valuable source of information in such instances and as such the Security Council continues to engage them often in conflict resolution, post-conflict reconstruction, and peacebuilding. Various NGOs are UN humanitarian agencies' indispensable partners in the fields of conflict zones.

In this contemporary world, NGOs like many other organizations, now seek to make their views be heard internationally and they indeed are heard. Diplomats must embrace such nonstate actors, let them be heard, and consequently engage them in a bid to be represented honestly.

For example, if Amnesty international is investigating some rights' violations in the country, rather than leave it to the bloggers, social media influencers, and the private media or investigators solely, the government and its agents should be involved and respond where it is sought to for the sake of being represented accurately.

In contrast, while the majority of the scholars discussed above agree that indeed globalization has had an impact on diplomacy, some scholars like Campbell still maintain that the traditional forms of diplomacy have remained intact despite minor changes in the field of diplomacy. Fletcher, like Seib on the other hand, argues that diplomacy has drastically been changed except for its traditional ways that aim at conducting international relations through dialogue and negotiation aiming to advance constructive relations between states. Fletcher then predicts a future of a 'naked diplomat' where diplomacy will no longer be secret as it used to be the case but completely open to the public, mainly attributing this to the robust use of social media and other digital platforms.

Many scholars view advanced communication, multiple actors, and regionalized and multilateral diplomacy as the main transformation diplomacy has seen through globalization. Although much of the literature reviewed is from western scholars, much of their findings are not unique to their part of the world. This thesis develops these ideas and extensively explains the extent of this transformation in the context of Uganda. Although most of the literature clearly states that globalization has changed diplomacy, most of it is vague on whether theoretically or practically. In this thesis, we specifically show how globalisation has changed diplomacy in Uganda through interviews from the diplomatic community of Uganda, in Uganda and within Africa discussing their approach on globalization and diplomacy through a series of open-ended questions.

3. GLOBALIZATION AND DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

3.1. Globalization in Africa

Globalization accelerated mainly through the advancement of technology in the 1990s and subsequently the end of the cold war through which an impression that the only viable developmental model was the western economic and political power was born. With time, this has made many developed Western countries dictate by default the basic processes, policies, and content of a new globalized world. Today, the West defines what is acceptable human rights, democracy, etc, and sets it as a universally acceptable norm.

In Africa, the impact of globalization has been felt in different aspects, and different ways on how the continent is adjusting to these changes have been introduced. The impact of globalization in Africa can be viewed from an economic, political, and sociocultural perspective. The set goals and norms are challenged by a mixed reality of traditional practices coupled with economic and social transformation and global integration. In all the given aspects, so has diplomacy been affected and therefore African diplomats gave to, if not yet – mitigate ways around the globalisation transformation.

Understanding the impact of globalization on Africa (to avoid misunderstandings about Africa in an era of globalization) requires an interdisciplinary approach and a pragmatic analysis of the continent's evolution over the past few decades. Because of its untapped economic potential, Africa is entering a new global era by defining its strategy to become a new player in the new global landscape. Defined mainly by the western influence, African countries are equally forced to play by the new rules of global integration informing strategies that create a competitive atmosphere to deliver economic, political, and social-cultural goods to its citizenry.

As Kofi Annan once stated that:

"*Africa is standing on the edge of enormous opportunity. Will we invest our natural resource revenue in people, generating jobs and opportunities for millions in the present and future generations? Or will we squander this opportunity, allowing jobless and inequality to take root?"*. Such robust changes of globalisation put to task African diplomats

to tap into the economic diplomacy opportunities that can benefit the continent and its people in ways that Kofi Anan mentioned and beyond.

This chapter looks at globalisation and diplomacy in Africa in the main aspects of this research. We shall look at the economic, political, cultural, and communicational globalisation in Africa interrelating it with how these developments have impacted diplomacy. First, we take on the globalisation aspects and then in the next part we explore the diplomacy in Africa in the same capacity. We discuss the overview of diplomacy in Africa, pre-colonial and post-colonial diplomacy. In this chapter therefore, we shall look at the effects of globalisation on diplomacy in Africa. This chapter having a regional perspective shall provide the link between the more general accounts on globalization and diplomacy on the one hand and the case study of Uganda on the other hand to bring into perspective our research topic.

3.1.1. Economic Globalisation

Economically, globalization translates into the expansion, diversification, and deepening of trade and financial links among countries. Economic globalization can be traced to the emergency of the new international economic world order which progressed gradually shortly after World War II (Steger, 2020: 38). Through the supervision of the World Bank system, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), developed countries pledged to increase international trade and establish new legally binding guidelines for international economic activities (Shizha, Diallo, 2015).

African nations initially appear to have been excluded from these international organizations, given that the west established them with a focus on policies and strategies that serve their interests. However, being non state actors in the post globalisation era, they are expansively involved in international relations as though they were states themselves and thus, diplomats ought to utilise this opportunity and constantly have the African interests duly represented.

Globalisation and diplomacy in Africa are interlinked like in the rest of the world, however there is a unique experience. Economic globalisation is mainly looked at in the angle of free trade which thanks to Africa's low tariffs, this thrives quite well. However, this

is mainly with non-African states and most traders in Africa admit that it is easier for them to ship their goods from China or elsewhere than to go through the hurdles of dealing with their neighbour states (Ighobor, 2019)

A country's sovereignty is influenced by its integration into world trade flows. After independence in the 1950s and 1960s, the governments of developing countries moved from protectionism, import-substitution, and government policies to export-oriented growth policies. Shortly after liberation, the dominant theoretical paradigm was a "big push" from the protection of the state and its nascent industries, owing to the weakness of the national industrial sector (Sindzingre, 2003). Unfortunately, the rapid globalisation phase, coupled with the lack of any form of integration (political or economic) that would give Africa one voice has not accorded the continent such benefits of relying on protectionism first before opening up to a free economy.

It should be noted that after the attempt of industrialisation phase, African states under the umbrella of protectionism immediately after independence, opened up for foreign trade and investment due to the deregulations and privatizations of the 1980s and 1990s. Generally, these reforms meant lowering of tariffs and abolition of capital control, with the result that the emphasis upon Africa's export of primary goods was maintained while African industries experienced a relative decline and its economies were subjected to volatile inflows and outflows of foreign money (Wengraf, 2018: 70-73). Thus, the growing influence of multilateral institutions and transnational rules governing world trade and financial activity during the 1990s radically changed the model of domestic accumulation and regulation in developing countries. Because WTO accession and trade liberalization commitments are included in the agreement, countries have less freedom in their development strategies. Their sovereignty is limited by "global governance", i.e., increased interaction between multilateral bodies, particularly the WTO and the BWI. SSA countries are also members of several multilateral and regional agreements, such as the Cotonou Agreement or the CFA Franc Zone, linking the EU and ACP countries. They change or add new rules to existing rules and require significant investment in human resources to process them (Sindzingre, 2003).

Agreements like the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the EU that have been signed by some countries are only suffocating the African industrial capital to the benefit of the European transnational exporters. African leaders blame these agreements to

be good on promises but not on delivering on the promise of economic development and poverty reduction. EPAs are predominantly aimed at re designing opportunities to open up opportunities for European capital in Africa (Wengraf, 2018: 110-116).

Studies show that with the signing of EPAs, African countries would ultimately have to eliminate tariffs on eighty percent of imports from the EU which would consequently deprive African countries of vital income, where on average they rely on import taxes for twenty five percent of many countries would lose millions of dollars in revenue. This would keep these countries in debt, and they would subsequently spend time paying off debts than developing their infrastructures. Thus, EPAs are viewed as a form of economic recolonisation (Wengraf, 2018: 100-101). The former president of Senegal H.E. Abdoulaye Wade protracted negotiations and refused to sign the EPA in 2007 which he characterised as ‘a strait jacket’ marred with confining and restricting Africa’s economic development (Wengraf: 2018: 100-101).

The other key mechanism in form of economic globalisation that was adopted by Africa as to expand growth has been the US-led African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of 2000. According to the deal, trade agreements that helped pave the way for this new boom will provide incentives for African countries to strengthen their economies. The pact "offers tangible incentives for African countries to boost their economic development, create jobs and prosperity for families," according to the AGOA goal. Experts contend, however, that AGOA gives African countries the freest access to the US market of any nation or region with which the US does not have a Free Trade Agreement. Be as it may, these are the effects of economic globalisation (Wengraf, 2018: 114).

Arguably such agreements with the developed countries weaken African states’ economies further as they ultimately provide unequal terms of trade reinforcing export, reinforcing export-based economies, heavy emphasis on primary commodities, and the import of US capital goods. Due to a lack of capacity, African states often export more raw resources to these nations, which are then converted into expensive finished commodities and returned. In fact, the deal is "coercing African countries into total trade and financial liberalization," as Michael Besha of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity aptly put it (Wengraf, 2018: 114). Africa suffers from uneven development because of this. These are, nonetheless, the inevitable results of economic globalization. This causes uneven

development for African countries. However, these are the unavoidable consequences of economic globalisation.

Africa has opened its trade to the global economy, however within the continent, there is still a challenge for the states to benefit fully from economic globalization. there is a lack of free movement of goods except for regional economic institutions' agreements like ECOWAS among others and most recently AfCTA. Although, the operational phase of the AfCFTA was launched on 7th July 2019 and the beginning of trading under the AfCFTA Agreement subsequently began on 1st January 2021, no trade has yet taken place under the AfCFTA regime. As a matter of fact, not all countries have signed or ratified the agreement. Like Kissinger claims, that a stable equilibrium is impossible without even levels of economic development or complete political integration, the delay in the operation of AfCFTA is attributed to some countries' fears of significant tariff revenue losses and an uneven distribution of costs and benefits within the continent.

Regional groups have been attempting to integrate their economies more recently. Examples of these groups are the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the East African Community. The goal is to make sure the new methods they choose are successful and put into practice by member countries, and most importantly to acknowledge that economic growth alone will not solve all the challenges facing the continent. Although the AU seems to front political integration to facilitate economic integration, (Qobo, 2007: 2) disregards the validity of the notion that Africa's political integration connects to its thriving of economic integration arguing that the *old model of regionalism cast on the ideological paradigm of Pan-Africanism with its primary focus on politics rather than economics, is incompatible with the new challenges of globalization*. Thus, Africa should utilize the available avenues to improve economic integration if it is to benefit fully from economic globalization, rather than tying the two together i.e., economic, and political globalization.

Africa's small market and the low purchasing power is a continuous challenge that hinders the continent's full potential of benefiting from economic globalisation. The graph below shows Africa's trade share in the global trade, and it is evident how insignificant the improvement over a span of 30 years has been. While the developed countries have and continue to benefit from the economic liberalization came with globalization's own development is stagnant, and levels of poverty are still high.

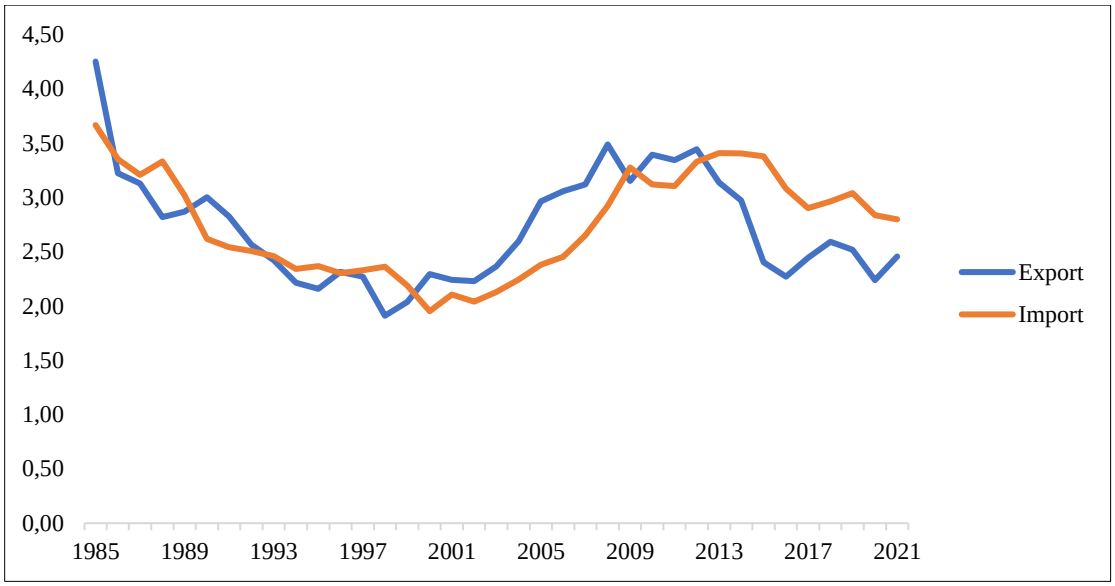


Figure 3.1. Africa's Export and Import Percentage Share of World Total Trade

Source: A computation based on UNCTAD -2022

For Africa to benefit from these agreements the first step would be to transition from raw materials into finished or value-added goods to more complex production. This can be realised through regional integration which is already in progress. Although some of the African regional organisations have integrated economically, non-have political integration. The fact that AGOA does not give agricultural products preferential treatment when most of the African countries are rely on agriculture, it is a major setback for the for the expansion of the main industries. This also affects development considering that over fifty percent of Africa's GDP still rests on the informal sector most of which is Agriculture. Circumstances like the high levels of poverty coupled with a lack of manpower back home and poor governance leave African states with little or no options than to trade with these countries despite the uneven conditions. Although such developments of multilateral agreements are as a result of globalisation, the uneven terms in such agreements cannot be solely attributed to economic globalisation (Carmody, 2016: 48-53; Wengraf, 2018: 99-101).

Evidently, Kenyan economic Strategy consultant Ken Gichinga argues that Africa is yet to benefit from globalization as extensively as other continents have (Marshall, 2019). He contends that from 1945 to 2016, globalization was essentially seen as big multinationals working with the G7 economies to spread their influence across the world. From an African perspective, it seems like a new horizon, to begin a new conversation on what is the place for Africa. Globalization can only work when nation-states are in a stable equilibrium which

is not the case now. This means that Africa as a continent is still far from integration, whether it's economic or political integration. Visa acquisition for example is a prerequisite for many African citizens to visit various African countries.

As discussed above, the trade and tariff agreements leave Africa at a loss. Average tariff rates in Sub-Saharan Africa were c. 10% in 2008 and thus among the lowest in the world (Carmody, 2016: 25). Trade has increased from US$ 217 billion in 1995 to US$ 1.2 trillion in 2013 (Carmody, 2016, 4) while foreign direct investment increased by the factor of 19 between 1990 and 2013 (Carmody, Kragelund, Reboredo, 2020: 23 note 18). Conversely, about 40% of Africa's private wealth is estimated to be invested abroad (Carmody, 2016: 26). Africa's high economic growth during the 2000s and 2010s was driven by a high demand for natural resources from not only the west but also increasingly from China and BRICS. This has resulted into Africa's manufacturing sector to shrunk in relative terms due to the competition of imports.

The idea of establishing a single global market mainly associated with free trade has since raised public and academic debate, viewed by some as a bid to exploit the weaker economies. With most of the African countries falling in the category of weaker economies, the continent is thus exploited in this bid of economic globalization. The establishment of the new rules of international trade was viewed by many economists from the developing world as a creation of a dependency or peripheral system (Ferraro, 2008). What African diplomats need to do is to seek with one voice under their auspice of African Union to mitigate such exploitation or fight it away all together as already discussed above.

At the peak of economic globalization, in the 1990s, financial transactions were largely liberalized, large public institutions privatized, and interest rates deregulated which saw most of the African currencies weakened. The effect of this economic transformation that saw a liberalization of the global economy resulted in African countries being 'forced to open their borders for trade, which consequently meant that African consumers would then have access to more products at a lower cost which affected the locally produced products and local industries. It also contributed to a greater potential for the export of raw materials. While this might be good on the face of it, the effect is, these same developed countries return with finished goods from these cheaply exported raw materials to be sold at expensive prices. This takes us back to the exploitation of the weak economies in this global economy and therefore, it is pertinent to stress how important it is for the African diplomats to represent

and protect the interests of the continent and its people with a collective voice persistently and consistently.

On a global basis, however, trade liberalization has helped Africa just like it has other regions. The Human Development Index (HDI), which measures education, health, and income, shows that all nations have advanced in these areas, according to the United Nations Development Programme (2020) report. Despite this, African nations continue to be ranked quite poorly, with Uganda coming in at number 159. Even while African nations still rank poorly, their economies are becoming more interconnected and improving (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

Although the UNDP under looked at the social consequences of trade liberalization like underfunded education, health services, and retrenchments from the formal sector all resulting in abject poverty, it also recognized the uneven progress within this region. But the report also warns that progress is uneven within and between regions in Africa (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

One could argue that with diplomacy, the diplomats have helped change the image of Africa which has generally improved over the years drastically shifting from being perceived as a hopeless continent to the continent on the move. However, the economic growth is set to face challenges considering that Africa has the youngest population yet mainly multinational, and the African elites are tapping into the benefits of globalization. According to the United Nations Population Fund Division, the continent will account for about twenty-nine percent of the world's population aged fifteen to twenty-four years by 2050 (United Nations, 2022).

Although globalization has facilitated growth in some ways in Africa, the poor have seen their share of development sabotaged and their share of income shrink. There is rising inequality which has reduced the rate at which growth reduces poverty. While globalization opens a window for diverse opportunities in terms of goods and services, without even distribution of resources and with the high levels of corruption among African governments, the creation of employment and the increased government revenue will only benefit a few.

The requirement that all nations adhere to a standard set of economic policies, regardless of the nature of their economies, their level of development, or their position in the global economy, is the limit of economic globalization. When viewed in this light,

economic globalization is a deliberate plan to restructure international economic relations in accordance with a specific set of goals and objectives. Some people believe it to be nothing more than a new system of marginalizing the African continent.

Without a doubt, globalization originated in the west, and as a result, its universalization undermines Africa's capacity for self-determination rather than inspiring fresh development ideas (Akindele, Gidado, and Olaopo, 2001). Pan-African organizations and regional organizations on the continent should take proactive measures through closer economic cooperation to define and implement the necessary reforms for Africa to better benefit from globalization, much like Rwandan President Paul Kagame frequently encourages African leaders to find African solutions for African problems. The African Union has begun implementing its strategy to tackle the continent's struggling economy and bring its people out of poverty through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD, 2001) (Kotzé, Steyn, 2003).

3.1.2. Political Globalisation

Political globalization refers to the growth and influence of international organizations such as the UN, WHO, AU, as well as other kinds of non-state actors in world political decisions. This means that government action takes place on a worldwide scale mostly through the voices of the non-state actors (Hyden, 2020) and that political decisions are now largely influenced by NGOs INGOs, TNCs and civil society groups. Thus, non-state actors are now largely involved in the international relations and politics.

The international relations arena had from the beginning been dominated by state actors or their equivalent in form of kingdoms before sovereign state formation. However, this has slowly changed as the interconnectedness by globalisation intensifies. As some scholars would argue, blurring the sovereign state boarder boundaries. Presently, the more the world gets interconnected the more non state actors emerge and are actively participative in regulating and checking states' excesses.

The non-state actors come in form of international organisations, like the UN, WHO, OIC, they can also be transnational cooperations, regional, non-governmental organisations or civil society organisations. The AU is the Africa's largest organisation that was initially

the OAU formulated to unite Africa against colonialism. This later changed its name and its constitution after it was realised the main objectives in the first charter.

In its capacity as a non-state actor, the AU has been seen actively engaged in state elections as it sends its observers, sanctioning countries that change governments through unconstitutional means among others. This is a textbook example of how states are no longer the monopoly of international relations.

In promoting peace, security and good governance, the AU has the AU-PSC which is almost like the UNSC. Through this, peace keeping missions are sent to regions or countries that are at war. Important to note is that the AU-PSC actions are approved by the UNSC. Further this is a result of globalisation where there is a chain of organisations working together with state actors for a common good. This is so, because due to globalisation, a security threat in one country can be a global security threat if not tackled well. Security threats can no longer be confined in s states' borders.

NGOs are actively involved in state matters now. These come in as watch dogs that oversee the states' actions and have them checked and balanced. In other instances, these NGOs have been seen to supplement the government's policies through sensitisation of masses. In other instances, they work parallel to the state. All in all, they are involved in international relations almost as much as the states are. Based in Uganda Centre for Food and Adequate Living Rights (CEFROHT) is an example of a non-state actor that has been involved in East Africa's and Africa's human rights advocacy, promotion of justice and protecting the environment among others. As a matter of fact, this organisation is party to a lawsuit in the East African court of Justice suing Uganda and Tanzania for the oil pipeline they claim is a danger to animal habitat and the environment (Reference No. 39 of 2020 Centre for Food and Adequate Living Rights & 3 Others vs The AG Uganda, Tanzania and Secretary General EAC).

These non-state actors are also involved in promoting democracy, a case in point is the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA). Established in 1996, the organization which is based in South Africa is a non-governmental organization that started with focusing on only elections in South Africa. It now works beyond South Africa and Africa as a whole. Their aim is not limited to election but other governance related issues

like democracy, constitution making process and political party support. They are promoting democracy and popularizing amongst the masses a role that used to lie with the state.

Transnational Corporation (TNCs) are also undeniable non state actors that have risen and continue to rise due to globalisation. A case in point is ExxonMobil. Revealingly, under its oil contract with Equatorial Guinea, the latter only gets 12% of the revenues (Carmody, 2016: 54, 132), thus showing the power that some of these TNCs have vis-à-vis the state. Another example is Avea, a French-based company, which also pays a 12% royalty for its uranium mines in Niger and has a turnover which is four times that of Niger's budget (Carmody, 2016: 165).

Known for taking economic risks especially in Africa, China invested heavily in South Sudan at a time when everyone was running away from the war-torn country. China National Petroleum Company invests in Sudan but rips the country of a lot. For example, by the end of 2020, Sudan owed USD 2.5 billion to China National Petroleum Corporation. (Carmody, 2016: 100).

There is Vedanta Resources, which owns Zambia's most important copper mine while paying the state a royalty of only 0.6% (Carmody, 2016: 108). MTN, a South African based multinational mobile telecommunications company which is used all over Africa pays a handsome revenue to the governments. In Uganda alone, in 2019 MTN -Uganda paid over four hundred Million USD to Uganda (MTN Financial Report, November 2019). The presence of such organizations confirms that globalization is no longer Western-centred.

There is also a presence of violent non state actors that the state has to look out for. These are majorly terrorist organisations that threaten a country's democracy. These organisations, however, are no longer confined in state borders. They spread across regions beyond thereby requiring multilateral or regional cooperation to contain them. A case in point is Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko haram in Nigeria spreading to Cameroon and LRA in Uganda. These are terrorist organisations and rebel groups that unlike non-violent state actors who work with the government, they work parallel to the government with the aim of overthrowing the elected government. These violent state actors are harder to deal with than the NGOs, TNCs among others.

The continuous growth of influence of the African Union in the sovereign states' political matters is proof that Africa too is rapidly tapping into the effects of globalisation in

its politics. Beyond the continent, the influence of the many NGOs and INGOs like the UN, WHO etc are especially viewed as a representation of the western voice due to the historical ties such organisations have with the west. In my own view, organisations like the UN's involvement in African politics is more of an effect of neo-colonialism than a result of globalisation. This is in view of how the UN peace keeping missions are grouped with French forces largely deployed in Francophone conflict countries like Mali, Central Africa Republic (CAR) among others.

The topmost consequence of globalization has by far been the radical 'deterritorialization' of politics, rules, and governance (Steger, 2020). The trending development in political globalization now is where international and regional institutions are being strengthened and dictating conditions, processes, and strategies of political institutions within countries. A case in point is how the AU charter not different from the UN charter dictates how countries are to react collectively in case another country's civil and human rights are threatened. The concept of R2P in the AU charter is a replica of how sovereignty of a state is no longer absolute.

The continuous growth of non-state actors in the politics of states and beyond in figures of governmental and non-governmental organizations tend to form a different kind of arrangement of politics where all political engagements, arrangements, strategies, policies, and the effects thereof go beyond nation-states. The role that the CSOs played in the North African Arab spring (Halaseh, 2012) can never be forgotten. This is attributed globalisation because it was through the advanced modes of communication that the wave swept through North Africa toppling governments of Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya in 2011. This resonates with how much the non-state actors are now involved in State's affairs.

The rise and impact of transnational institutions and associations that share common standards and goals today is the most obvious manifestation of political globalization. According to Robert Cox (Cox, 1999), this type of global government is a deliberate political endeavour with intellectual legitimacy that includes a statement of inevitability.

Since the 1990s, international institutions have linked economic development with the implementation of 'good governance' strategies through basic Western democratic principles. This is not surprising since most of the available literature on globalization is Eurocentric and indeed the kind of political ideas and governance being promoted under the

globalization umbrella are western ideas (Osaghae, 1999). African scholars have debated back and forth the question of democracy in Africa where it has been reduced to either accepting the western form of liberal democracy or rejecting it for its inadequacies. In the absence of an alternative form of democracy to counter the western liberal democracy its proponents have adopted it on account that it is better than nothing. The rise of democratic transnational social movements is thought to be facilitated by political globalization based on Western principles, according to several globalization specialists. The majority of critics centre on the claim that such a vision engages in an abstract idealism that ignores recent political realities (Steger, 2020).

While there is obvious political unrest across the continent, there is also evidence of a movement to enlarge the political sphere, alter power dynamics, and assert individual and collective rights (Olaitan, 2006). As a matter of fact, the AU as the biggest African non state actor, has been fighting towards this through its regional bodies by denouncing the change of government under unconstitutional rules. In extreme cases, we have witnessed regional bodies like ECOWAS getting fully involved in its member states political affairs specifically where there are claims of election rigging by the incumbents or change of government through unconstitutional means (Gandois, 2007)

Although Africa is undergoing a progressive and dynamic political transformation, it is important to monitor and assess whether this transformation corresponds to the developments and difficulties brought about by globalization. It is crucial to monitor and assess the evolution and development of good governance on the continent and to better understand the impact, if any, that globalization has had on this political change, which is taking place gradually and dynamically. It is clearly established that by political globalisation introducing and giving a space of voice to non -state actors, it changes a part in diplomacy where on state actors were seen as active participants in diplomacy and thus debunks Sander’s (1989) definition of diplomacy as only being among nation states.

An expanding "global civil society" that primarily challenges and opposes globalization is also influencing the framework of emerging global governance. 'Anti-globalist' ideas have started to gain more prominence in the public discourse since the turn of the new century. This is made worse by the way that excessive corporate profits are causing growing wealth and well-being gaps worldwide. Many feel that they must defend others, as well as themselves, from the harmful effects of globalization (Shiza, Diallo, 2015:

5). They use different types of arguments and means to advance their political agenda. These groups range from the likes of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria who claim that they are protecting their culture, religion, and identity by fighting off western influence that is largely spread by the government in the south.

Social movements such as those vying for land in Botswana, water, and electricity in Soweto, or against oil companies destroying the Niger delta's environment call into question the viability of globalization and urge a reconsideration of subsistence economies and local democratic politics as alternatives (Shiza, Diallo, 2015). The desire and efforts of the many excluded to preserve their identities, defend their fundamental rights, and investigate political options that promote greater social justice will not be deterred by globalization.

It is clear these non-state actors have no set borders and therefore they work beyond the borders of their confined addresses. However, although this may be interpreted as a deterritorialization of state actors' sovereign borders, the power of these state actors are not as yet strong to constitute that they have as well *deterritorialized* the powers of state actors as well. The dictatorship in most African countries suppress some of these non-state actors especially the NGOs. Therefore, although they may have the voice and the platform, their demands or work may not be actualized.

In African politics, at the end, state actors as still powerful amidst the rise of non-state actors. The AU has had its orders violated while NGOs are silenced and sometimes outlawed on mostly partisan grounds if they dare call out the human rights violations or election malpractice of the states. However, the state actors have the ability to silence and control non state actors, a power the non-state actors do not possess. Thus, state actors remain the most relevant and are most important in African politics.

3.1.3. Communicational Globalisation

Technology has greatly improved in Africa as well and it has greatly contributed to democracy, consistent with the inherent freedoms of democracy, today more and more Africans can access the Internet, use mobile phones, and share information with the world. The total population of sub-Saharan Africa with internet access nearly tripled, from 7% in 2010 to nearly 22% in 2017. Similarly, the number of mobile subscribers in sub-Saharan Africa grew from 388 million in 2010 to 764 million in 2017, reflecting the relative

economics of mobile plans and increasing consumer purchasing power. Smartphones are expected to account for 50% of the African market by 2030 (Runde, 2019). The higher the number of internets and smartphone subscribers, the easier for Africa to fit in its diplomacy in the new phase of globalization.

Africa's internet penetration stands at 39% compared to the rest of the world which stands at 62.9% as of 31st March 2020. It should also be stressed that the world average internet penetration stood at 58.8% in March 2020, which leaves Africa way below the average internet penetration percentage.

The diagram below shows the statistics of Internet penetration in Africa against the world.

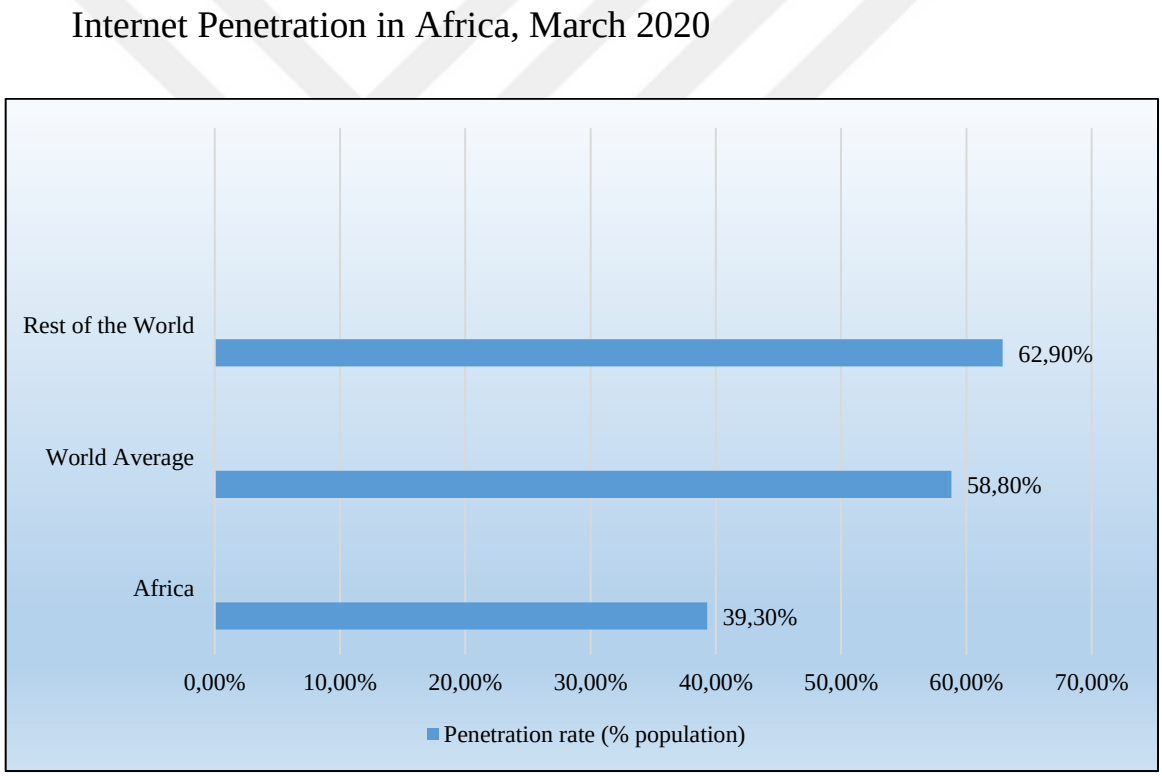


Figure 3.2. Internet Penetration in Africa, March 2020

Source: Internet World Stats (2022).

Internet penetration however doesn't equal to internet usage. Because most of the internet usage in Africa is paid for, mostly through mobile data and post and prepaid Wi-Fi routers, the penetration which means the availability of the internet may be there, but its usage may be lower considering its high price. There was five hundred twenty-six million, seven hundred ten thousand, three hundred and thirteen (526,710,313) estimated internet

users in Africa as of March 31, 2020, against four billion, five hundred eighty-five million, five hundred seventy-eight thousand, seven hundred and eighteen (4,585,578,718) internet users in all the world in march 2020. (Internet world stats, 2022). Therefore, Africa's internet usage stood at 11.5% against the rest of the world's 88.5%.

The figure below shows the percentage of internet usage in Africa against the rest of the world.

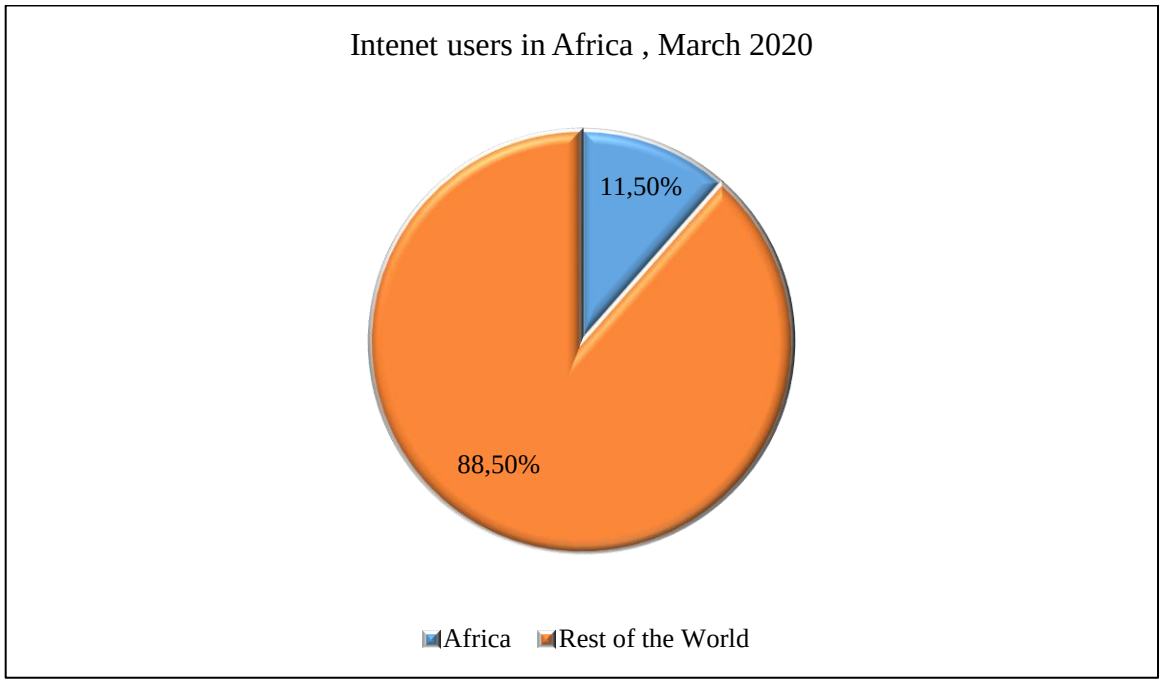


Figure 3.3. Internet users in Africa, March 2020

Source: Internet World Stats (2022).

By country, Nigeria tops the rest of the African countries at 109.2 million internet users as of 2022 and Uganda ranks in at 12th position with over 13.92 internet million users. With a population of 47.77 million people, Uganda's internet usage stands at 29.1% of the total population.

In communicational globalisation in relation to this research we focus on the use of social media as a medium of communication between the citizens and their foreign representation. This can be elaborated by looking at the statistics of social media usage in African in general and Uganda in particular.

The number of social media users in Africa has increased continuously together with the internet usage percentage. As of 2022, there was three hundred eight four million social

media users in Africa against 4.6 billion social media users in the whole world. This means that Africa's social media users are about 8.3% of the total social media users in the world which is a very small fraction. Social media penetration is considerably hinger in Northern Africa and southern Africa than the rest if the region, except for Nigeria in West Africa which tops the rest of the continent.

The most preferred social media platform in sub–Saharan Africa is WhatsApp whereas the North Africa is Facebook. Such information is important for diplomats to know so that they are well acquainted with which social media platform to be used more effectively in their diplomatic duties per region. Other social media platforms widely used in Africa were Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, snap chat among others.

As discussed above, Africa's internet penetration and internet usage is short of the world average as well as social media usage. This is a setback for communicational globalization that relies on internet to thrive, and it also poses as a challenge for some parts of digital diplomacy that uses internet and social media for communication. Thus, even for African diplomats serving outside Africa, their information will not be widely received in their continent which leaves us with an information deficit.

Besides the internet penetration being below average, many African countries still face internet blockage from time to time especially in situations of political turmoil or fear of the same. African states are known to cut off the internet during election periods which is a way of cutting off these countries from the rest of the world and to mitigate oppositional forces. However, it is also viewed by many observers as an infringement on the freedom of speech and access to information at the same time, a way for the countries to rig elections with no trace of evidence.

The sabotaging of free internet usage by many African governments especially during elections is a resistance to communicational globalisation which can yield nothing but bad publicity for these states. In a world where information is faster than before, this a is a great challenge to both the governments and their representatives abroad. In January 2021 during and after the general elections, Ugandans saw themselves off social media and accessing the internet was a struggle as well. Whereas digital rights activists termed this as censorship, the government of Uganda like many other African governments that do the same insist that internet blockage in such times is for security reasons (Giles, Mwai, 2021).

Uganda is not an isolated case as discussed earlier, during the elections in Tanzania in October 2020, there was restricted access to social media applications. In June 2020, Ethiopia also imposed an internet shutdown that lasted for over 18 months following unrests due to the killing of Hachalu Hundesa, a prominent Oromo singer activist. Again, the government claimed this was for security reasons as the use of internet is known to give a platform for escalating violence. Zimbabwe, Togo, Burundi, Chad, Mali and Guinea also restricted access to the internet and social media usage at some point in 2020 (Giles, Mwai, 2021).

These internet shutdowns vary in severity ranging from restrictions to certain social media platforms, all media platforms, or a complete shutdown of the internet. It is always done through government directive to the service providers. It is becoming a trend with each year countries that block internet increasing. Because it is done prior to general elections or during protests, the governments often defend themselves that the censorship is justifiable for security reasons. Most African governments culminate on a few internet users that misuse it in such times to shut down the rest of the country.

Accessnow a civil society organization that fights what they call digital authoritarianism documented a spike in internet shutdowns in 2021 where Africa accounted for almost half of all the internet shutdowns in 2021 alone. Below we look at a graph showing this trend of internet shutdowns.

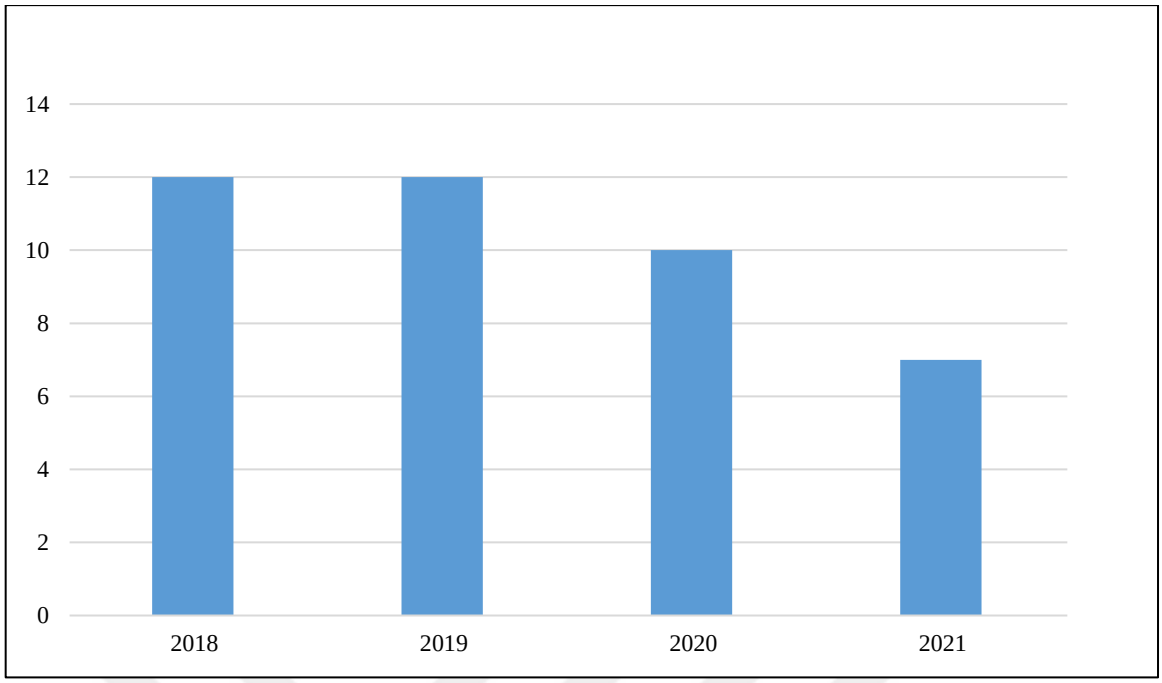


Figure 3.4. Internet shutdowns in Africa

Source: Accessnow (2022): 7.

The decrease in internet shutdowns in 2021 was associated with a low number of elections on the continent not the fact that the states are doing any better. Uganda is among repeated perpetrator of internet shutdowns has often been criticized by civil rights groups calling it an attack on democracy considering the timing of these shutdowns. We see how internet usage and the blockage thereafter in a way connects to a country's democracy which is a key part in forming sovereign states and thus points to diplomacy. It should be noted that the rapid increase in internet usage and the power of information technologies are changing the mode of international relations both on domestic and foreign levels. Seib admitted that the future of diplomacy is very much dependent on the media specifically on the speed at which information travels (Seib, 2016:60) which is no doubt greatly facilitated by the internet. Therefore, the censorship of the internet in some states in Africa though seen as resistance to communicational globalization, no doubt it also poses a greater risk to the future of diplomacy.

3.1.4. Cultural Globalisation

Cultural globalization refers to the intensification and expansion of ideas, customs, and social behaviours of people across the globe. Cultural globalization extends to

converging global consumption patterns through food, sports, mainly due to immigration, trade, media among other things. Africa is a continent with cultural diversity, and it is indeed difficult to discuss African culture since, within the continent, every country has a unique culture.

The spread of language, the arts, food, economic ideas, and technology are just a few examples of the cultural phenomena that are impacted by cultural globalization, which affects nearly everyone on the earth. Despite being a broad subject, culture refers to the symbolic production, articulation, and transmission of meaning. According to Meyer and Hannan (1979), "world culture" is what ties society and individuals together in terms of economy, politics, culture, and interpersonal relationships. The cultural proponents of globalization have a strong impact on people's lives across the world.

African cultural globalisation therefore means that while the African culture may be distorted or influenced by various other international cultures that are met on the continent, it is also shared beyond its borders. This has been done mainly through social media platforms, travelling and tourism. The effects of globalisation on Africa’s culture and social norms are felt through the exploding network of cultural interconnectedness and interdependency in the last few years which makes it seem like cultural practices now lie at the heart of contemporary globalization. This has largely been fuelled by the robust internet and other technological advancements which have consequently put the dominant symbolic systems of this era such as individualism, consumerism, and various religious discourses out in the public and made them more popular than ever before.

The challenge of cultural variety, which has been a feature of our global age, is one that Africa must face. There is a connection between culture and development; culture may even act as a barrier to progress. This would involve looking at the connection between culture and imperialism and globalization in light of Africa's current place within the globalization process. Under the influence of technology advancements, local contexts around the world are increasingly merging into a global network of exchanges.

The emergence of "global culture" has led to several debates on globalization. According to Appadurai, a Western "culture industry" is supporting the emergence of an increasingly homogeneous popular culture. Globally, Western norms and practices are gradually being adopted as the most appropriate conduct. The mainstream media, social

media, and other means of contemporary communication have contributed to the globalization of western ideals and lifestyles as the norm for all people and cultures. It is incredibly simple to accomplish this, whether willingly or inadvertently, because most mainstream media outlets and nearly all widely utilized social media platforms are owned by the West. The rise of individuality and consumerism is evidence of this. Olasunkanmi (2011) argues that today, individualism has replaced the unity of purpose that was very common in Africa, and it has become a destructive element in African society.

Globalization actively supports a global culture with no local specificity or validity in its current forms and stages, which has the potential to destroy African cultural identity. However, the widespread use of mass media encourages both receptivity to and resistance to cultural pressures. However, Africa as a continent must take advantage of globalization to promote its culture and raise awareness by dispelling the stereotypes that the whole population of the continent is made up of malnourished, destitute people. Due to the relevance of the relationship between globalization and diplomacy, this in a little manner constitutes cultural diplomacy. This can be fostered through modern technological and communicational tools, or what is referred to as communicational globalization in this theory.

Whether globalisation results into a reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization and diffusion of a wide array of culture as Olasunkanmi argues is a point of contention. Globalization may indeed cause cultural homogenization and it is through the same process that it may generate the opposite through each culture dominating over others resulting into formation of a different culture also known as hybridization of culture which almost like cultural heterogenization.

Global tech companies like google have with time included traditional African languages into google translate. Luganda, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Uganda was among the very recent languages to be added. International giant media houses like BBC also promote the African languages like Swahili which is widely spoken in East and Central Africa through BBC Swahili, Hausa which is widely spoken in West Africa through BBC Hausa among others. All this points to the wave of globalisation that interconnects culture, language, and food across the globe.

Through globalisation, cultural exportation is greatly realised through the migration of people from their home countries to other countries thereby forming the diaspora community. Restaurants are opened thereby exporting their food beyond borders, language, and the like. The diaspora is a great source of cultural globalisation. The African Union (AU) Commission defines the African diasporans as all people of African origin living outside the continent irrespective of their citizenship that are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and building of the African union. As a matter of fact, African Union considers the 'African diaspora' as the sixth region of Africa.

Africa's migration has been increasing year by year. This can be attributed to globalisation in a sense that the interconnectedness has opened them up to better opportunities and a comparative world that makes them seek for better elsewhere than their countries and their continent in this case. They migrate for different reasons, but in the end, the effects culturally are more or less the same. The African languages, traditional and culture is spread in their destination countries whether intentionally or not.

Number of African Migrants per year.

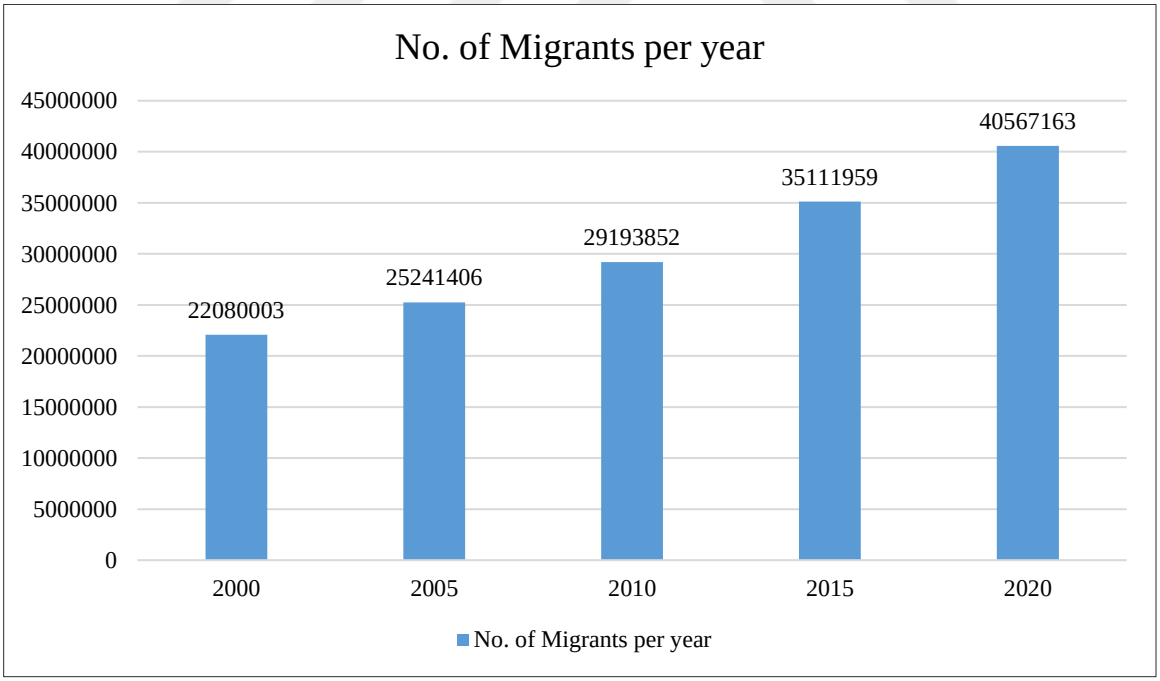


Figure 3.5. No. of Migrants per year
Source: Statista 2022

The table above shows how significantly the number of immigrants from Africa to other parts of the world increases tremendously every after five years. In 2020, nearly 41

million people emigrated from Africa. The number increased significantly compared to 2000, when it amounted to around 22 million. In 2020, emigration out of Africa originated especially from Eastern and Northern Africa.

These movements are no doubt fuelled by the interconnectedness not only because of the advanced means of transportation but also the regional integration that eases movement. As a matter of fact, most emigrants in Africa move within the continent. Nevertheless, the rich culture different from each country, language and traditions are still shared among and spread all over. Statista reports that more than half of all African migrants who left the continent in the first half of 2019 did so within Africa. More specifically, out of the 40.2 million migrants from Africa, 53% went to neighbouring African nations. Europe is the second most frequent destination region, and Oceania is the least frequent. However, some of these migrants use some African nations as their connecting points to Europe and beyond (Statista, 2022). The chart below shows the main destinations for African migrants.

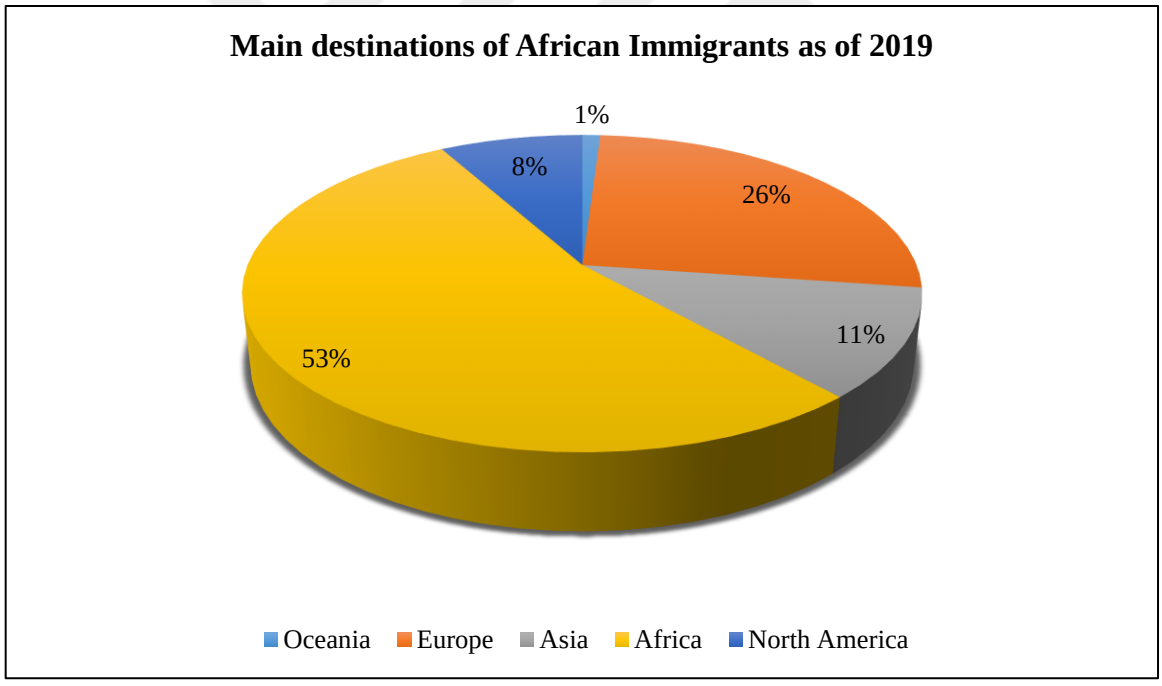


Figure 3.6. Main destinations of African Immigrants as of 2019 (Statista, 2022).

In this globalisation era, people in the diaspora no longer lose touch with their home countries except by choice. The easy and fast communication and transportation makes it easy for the diaspora to not only promote their imported culture but also give them a larger platform to sell it further. In their de facto role as cultural ambassadors the diaspora by far plays the biggest role in cultural diplomacy. In their role as a virtual state like Seib refers to

them, they are involved in various forms of cultural diplomacy and there is a need for the diplomats to get them involved more than they currently are for more effective results.

3.2. Diplomacy in Africa

Diplomacy is about the art and profession of managing a country's international relations, it brings out boldly the issue of sovereignty. By 1945 at the formation of the UN, Africa only had four member states out of the fifty-one-founding member-states. Only Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa were sovereign states in Africa at the time. Being that these were the only independent countries at the time, their sovereignty was clearly defined, and thus able to register as members of the UN.

This situation has however drastically changed with Africa having more sovereign states than any other region thus composed of 25 percent of the UN membership.

3.2.1. Pre-colonial Diplomacy

The African Continent is the cradle of humanity, the site of the earliest human settlements, and the location where language as a means of communication was first developed, according to confirmed oral histories and anthropological evidence, despite the absence of written sources of evidence during the stone and iron ages.

Ancient cuneiform writings on engraved clay tablets that describe Egypt's ties with its neighbours, including commercial agreements, political alliances, and peaceful conflict resolution, are the first records of diplomacy in Africa. The first formalized peace treaty in human history is widely accepted to have been signed between King of the Hittites and Pharaoh Rameses II of Egypt in around 1260 BCE (Marsh, 2013). The use of symbolic gestures in diplomacy then spread throughout the entire world. These included carefully thought-out gifts, marriages, and high-profile visits.

The diplomatic norms and practices that date back to antiquity and continue to define civilized relations between groups and states around the world were shared by state-like entities like Egypt and Aksum, two of the first in the world. Before sovereign state diplomacy was established in Africa, diplomatic practices such as the use of intermediaries, ceremonial

protocol, the presentation of credentials, and adherence to common law principles like the sanctity of treaties and the inviolability of envoys were developed in antiquity.

In the first century BCE, when it was at its most powerful, the Aksumite Empire maintained diplomatic ties with kingdoms far and wide, including those on the Arabian Peninsula. A crucial geopolitical link on the commercial route connecting the Roman Empire and India was established when the state began issuing its own money. Early proto states in central and southern Africa featured chiefdoms with a decentralized or non-existent bureaucracy. Nevertheless, some of these proto states, like throughout the rest of Africa, evolved into sophisticated empires that expanded through conquest, migration, trade, alliances, and the incorporation of neighbouring countries. (Spies, 2018)

Africa's burgeoning interactions with explorers, missionaries, and traders from Europe and Asia were accompanied by a thriving intracontinental diplomacy. Africa hummed with commerce from coast to coast, and governments frequently reaped economic rewards from their geographic proximity to a specific trade route. As a result, at that time, governments like Mali, Ghana, and Songhai—the biggest state in African history—were empires and kingdoms that made the most of the Saharan trade routes. This is a sign of early economic diplomacy as well.

The enormous Oyo Empire in West Africa enforced tribute relations with neighbouring kingdoms, particularly the Dahomey Empire in present-day Benin, between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the many foreign occupations of this Islamic seat of learning was the unilateral incorporation of the renowned city of Timbuktu by the Songhai Empire in 1468. A later example would be the Zulu kingdom, whose harsh but skilful empire-building transformed the political climate of southern Africa in the nineteenth century.

Other state-like entities were the Sultanates of Zanzibar in present-day Zanzibar and other sultanates in the horn of Africa which include the Sultanate of the Geledi, Sultanate of Hobyo, Majeerteen Sultanate, among others that were all under the Ottoman Empire. All these States-like entities are related to each other in what is known as diplomacy today.

It is clear, then, that far from being a chaotic, backward 'dark continent' as portrayed by early colonial historians, pre-colonial Africa had a highly developed political organization, ranging from empires and kingdoms to city-states and chiefdoms. Diplomacy

between these centrally organized political units resulted in a rich web of relationships and was facilitated by vigorous trade and the existence of customary law.

Figure 3.7. Pre-colonial Africa map
Source: Miller (2017).

3.2.2. Colonialism and its Legacy

Diplomacy is one of the tools through which foreign policy is implemented. Although these two words are often used interchangeably, they are not the same. Whereas the foreign policy of a country is the substance of its foreign relations, diplomacy is a process by which these policies are carried out. The instrument or process by which foreign policy attempts to

achieve its goals through negotiation as opposed to conflict is diplomacy. The majority of African countries' foreign policies are heavily influenced by their colonial past, and as a result, these nations' diplomatic alliances are frequently built on that history.

Foreign people and groups, together with explorers and investors from as a long away as China, had touched Africa all through human history and thus sovereign entities have related premodern diplomacy. The earliest overseas agreement on the continent took place all through the seafaring of the Phoenician city-states (1500 BCE - 539 BCE), which hooked up diverse colonies in North Africa. One of those colonies, Carthage in what's now Tunisia, was conquered by the Roman Empire in 146 BCE. In February 1985, the mayors of the towns of Carthage and Rome signed a symbolic treaty to stop the two-millennia-vintage conflict (Spies, 2018).

The spread of the Muslim lifestyle into North and East Africa started in the seventh century and continued into the thirteenth. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to permeate the continent as part of a larger politically structured effort. In the developing Saharan and Sahelian states, this created Islamic cultural and diplomatic traditions (Spies, 2018). The region's common religion and legal system made it possible to exchange communications within North Africa and the Arab world, fostering a diplomatic brotherhood that still exists today. This demonstrates the connection between colonialism in Africa or earlier interactions with their rulers and current international relations.

The maximum lasting and profound effect on Africa's international relations, however, becomes Europe. Post-Renaissance imperialism had a devastating effect on the political corporation of the relaxation of the world, and international relations as a group become additionally a casualty: European mercantilism, primarily based totally on advanced guns and transportation, overrode the standard norms of worldwide behaviour. Africa becomes partitioned through the colonial powers as though the continent has been terra nullius (no man's land), a preparation shamelessly abused during the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, in which the so-called 'Scramble for Africa' became formalized.

Even though most of the modern-day African states are young, pre-colonial Africa’s diplomacy was between kingdoms that were state-like, which were later transformed into what is known as modern-day African countries. The partition of Africa that saw most kingdoms merged and some divided into sub-regions largely took place during the *Scramble*

for Africa that took place from 1885 to 1914. During this period, which is also referred to as the Conquest of Africa, seven European powers invaded, occupied, divided, and colonized most of Africa. It should be noted that the occupation of Africa by European countries went on after 1914, seeing Ghana, the first sub-Saharan country gaining its independence as late as 1957 (Spies, 2018).

It should be noted that, although some writings show Ethiopia, Egypt, Liberia, and South Africa gaining their independence around and before 1910, some African scholars have dismissed the colonization of these countries as a short-lived or otherwise failed attempt to be invade or occupied by the West. Except for South Africa, which even after the said independence in 1910, was under apartheid rule until the 1990s and only got their first black president in 1994, all the other three countries were never or briefly colonized.

The new, arbitrary borders destroyed the social and political concord of African societies, and intra-African international relations in large part ceased to exist because the continent's inter-nation members of the family have become an extension of international relations among European powers. Colonial rule in Africa lasted a good deal longer than everywhere else withinside the world, and its diplomatic vestiges continued even after the colonies have become nominally sovereign. Colonial obstacles have been ratified through the OAU in 1964, for example (a political compromise tries and preclude continental chaos), however, the degree becomes set for several territorial conflicts.

The colonization of Africa was a European plan, but the relationship between the continent and the United States, another former European colony, is important. In January 2009, when Barack Obama became the first African American president of the United States, he created a wave of pride across the continent. Not only is Obama's father African (Kenyan), but Obama's ethnicity indicates a long and powerful transatlantic history. The slave trade between Africa and the United States was particularly brutal. Thousands of African men, women, and children died on ships heading west. By the end of the 18th century, the rise of liberal ideas and humanism in Western philosophy gave impetus to the global effort to abolish slavery.

Freed slaves in the United States started the "Back to Africa" movement, which resulted in a massive migration that gave birth to a new country on the west coast of Africa in 1847. In honour of the fight for freedom that served as its impetus, it was given the name

Liberia. Liberia was not a colony of the US, but its distinct history and demographics show a close relationship with the US, evoking the asymmetric political loyalty between colonialists and colonies to the extent that the flag, constitution, and currency were similar to the US national flag, constitution, and currency.

Although the world superpowers have always strongly opposed colonization, these close ties have allowed the United States to exercise lasting diplomatic influence in West Africa. France, Britain, Belgium, and Portugal have arguably left behind Africa's longest-lasting diplomatic legacy. Of course, they were not simply European colonialists, but because of the special history of the 20th century, their rule lasted until after World War II. After the war, the global impulse for decolonization was overwhelming and the liberation of the world's slave regions was unstoppable.

The extent of decolonization in the second half of the 20th century, mostly as a result of the rise of numerous African nations, resulted in the only UN Security Council revision. The elected (non-standing) directors' number rose from six to ten in 1965 as a result of pressure from the General Assembly's ever-expanding membership. The deep-seated expertise of the European powers in the former colonies of Africa (including investments, military bases, and sizable expatriate communities) has made sure that diplomacy between African and European countries is still dictated by sponsorship relationships. The bureaucracy that was established by the colonial authorities institutionalized cultural distinctions evocative of colonial division and reinforced by the political culture in which African officials were educated prior to independence.

The importance of the involvement of former colonial powers in the political affairs of African countries cannot be under looked. During the decade of Zimbabwe's crisis (2000-2010), Britain played a leading role in isolating the Mugabe regime diplomatically, making significant investments in other former colonies such as Ghana and Botswana, which showed good governance. One of the former African colonies France, maintains a strong military presence in French-speaking countries, where this involvement has on several occasions led to interventions in former French colonies approved by the UN Security Council, such as Mali, Ivory Coast, and the Central African Republic. In the case of the Great Lakes region of Central Africa in question, Belgium deployed special diplomatic resources, such as the establishment of an additional Belgian ambassador as a special envoy to the Great Lakes

region, to resolve conflicts between states as colonial rulers like the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Foreign influence in Africa is not limited to former colonial powers. During the Cold War (the most intense period consistent with the decolonization of Africa in the 1960s), the continental states were used as proxy battlegrounds by superpowers and allies. As the world was divided along ideological lines, Africa became a centre of ideological movements, aided by precarious leaders from fledgling nations that were unstable thanks to the continent's abundant natural resources. African elites, whether in government or opposition parties, were rewarded for being courted and choosing one side, above all in training client country officials in foreign capitals. African officials lucky enough to study abroad during the Cold War had ideological rhetoric rather than bureaucratic skills to cater to national needs. Ideological sponsorship gave little consideration to the legitimacy of the government. Predatory regimes and dictators were generously rewarded for their loyalty to the bloc (including in power and power) and, in some cases, popular leaders such as Patrice Lumumba (Congo, Belgium). Eduardo Mondlan (Mozambique) died with support from foreign intelligence agencies.

The problems of young nations in Africa were exacerbated by the Cold War, and as a result, the intergovernmental organization on the continent was also weakened. In 1975, the OAU allowed Cuba to intervene militarily in Angola (George, 2004: 106). A signature stating that neither the organization nor its member states can resolve internal conflicts.

Africa’s connection with its colonies influences how they deal with such countries diplomatically in modern-day international relations. For example, when there is a conflict in Africa that requires UN peace enforcement missions, mostly the army deployed has a connection to the colonial masters of such a country, especially former French colonies.

However, it is pertinent to point out that the effects of colonialism on Africa’s foreign policy and diplomacy are not always positive. In February 2022, Malians took to the streets to protest continuous presence of the French military in their country. The French envoy was subsequently expelled from the country. The protests were mostly pointing to the fact that their former colonial masters were continuously meddling into the country’s domestic affairs (Lorgerie, 2022).

3.2.3. Pan Africanism

Pan Africanism is the idea that people of African descent share similar histories and struggles, a common destiny and process for forming cross-cultural unity in areas of history, politics, and the economy (Falola, Essien, 2014). It promotes the notion that African problems should have African solutions and that the continent, and its descendants should unite as one for a common good. The renowned advocates of Pan-Africanism are Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Professor Ali Mazrui, Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya among others. All these advocated and fought for a united Africa that is independent of foreign interference and neo-colonialism.

Pan Africanism and multilateral diplomacy, therefore, look at how states that are focused on a common goal and unity can remain sovereign states and deal with each other within their sovereignty. The vulnerability of African countries has become a powerful motivator for the collective expression of international relations on the African continent. From a diplomatic point of view, this equates to favouring multilateralism, a modern diplomatic method known for its multilateral participation and transparent procedures (Falola, Essien, 2014).

Indeed, the global diplomatic influence of post-colonial Africa can be almost entirely due to collective efforts through multilateralism rather than individual national diplomacy. It is also an object of historical compensation. Just 100 years ago, after the mass killings of World War I, multilateral diplomacy gained momentum on the world stage.

Disappointment over the secrecy and exclusivity of traditional diplomacy and the manipulation of international relations by the European powerhouse clubs have sparked a devastating war between them, sparking a call for new diplomacy. US President Woodrow Wilson expressed the sentiments of the entire colonial world when he called for norms and justice in international relations in his famous "14 Items" address to the US Congress on January 8, 1918. Wilson also promoted the idea of the League of Nations, a permanent international organization founded by General Ian Smuts, an African politician of the South African Union (UN Geneva, n.d).

The League of Nations was then established at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 to discuss post-war issues. At that time, Africa was still in a state of massive colonization and continued to do so for the 20 years of the League. Thus, until the advent of decolonization

in the late 20th century, the continent played a minimal role in official global diplomacy (UN Geneva, n.d).

However, African intellectuals were mobilized outside the state-centred diplomatic system to lay the foundation for institutionalized African multilateral diplomacy. In this process, the African diaspora, born out of a desire for liberation from foreign powers, was deeply involved. Trinidad Henry Sylvester Williams' British lawyer coined the term "pan-Africa". While living and studying in England in 1897, he founded the African Association for the Advocacy of the Rights of African Americans. It was Williams who organized the first Pan-African conference in London in 1900 (Sherwood, 2012). It was the first of a series of conferences (later called Congress) that brought Africans and diasporas together by people like African American scholar WB Dubois and more radical Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey. The 5th Pan-African Conference, held in Manchester in 1945, detailed Africa's plans for the post-war world order (Working Class Movement Library, 2013).

From the point of view of African diplomacy, this meeting was as informative as the discussion in San Francisco about the creation of the United Nations in the same year. Ironically, Ian Smuts, the intellectual architect of the League of Nations, was once again involved in the UN's plans (he wrote the full text). But just as the vast majority of blacks were excluded from government and diplomacy in South Africa at the time, much of Africa was then excluded from the new international phenomenon of global governance at the United Nations.

Under Kwame Nkrumah's leadership, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan nation to achieve independence in 1957. As a fervent Pan-Africanist, Nkrumah praised the theories of anti-colonial thinkers from the African diaspora, such as Franz Fanon, who was instrumental in the Algerian Revolution. Nkrumah was the leader of the "Casablanca Group," a group of African leaders that included Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea. They thought that extreme African union should occur after decolonization, all the way down to supporting the Confederation of African Nations (Emerson,1962.). In order to counteract marginalization, it was argued that Africa needed to communicate with the rest of the world in unison.

A moderate alliance of African leaders known as the Monrovia Group promoted close cooperation rather than unification among the continent's newly independent republics. They

were supported by the Brazzaville Group, another alliance of leaders that effectively comprised the African Francophonie, which included significant nations like Liberia and Nigeria. The Organization of African Unity was founded on May 25, 1963, notwithstanding the divisions amongst the groups. The OAU office and the African Union (AU), which it succeeded, will be presided over by the host city, Addis Ababa, starting in 2000 (Emerson, 1962). Addis Ababa has evolved over the years into a hub of African multilateral diplomacy, drawing observers from nations and organizations all over the world.

Pan-Africanism was initially the driving force behind African diplomacy, at least on a rhetorical level, but the continent's goal for integration has shown itself in a variety of smaller integration initiatives. With both the oldest and largest customs unions in the world—the South African Customs Union, founded in 1910—this may be a reference to Africa's ambition to transcend a history of division entrenched by arbitrary borders. That would make it a metaphor. There are at least fourteen such Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The OAU's Lagos Action Plan for African Development (UNECA, 2016), published in 1980, deemed RECs crucial for advancing regional economic integration. Although they have sparked African diplomacy, they are not without problems. Most African nations have entered the integration process with enthusiasm.

Institutionalized Pan-Africanism was revived after the end of the Cold War to escape the interference of war superpowers and pursue a more pragmatic and intensive continental integration. When Tanzanian diplomat and politician Ahmed Salim became OAU secretary-general in 1989, he immediately commissioned a report on the changes in the world structure and suggested ways for Africa to take control of its fate. His vision was expressed when the OAU adopted the Treaty of Abuja in 1991, establishing the EAC (Spies, 2018). However, it became clear that the OAU was neither empowered nor delegated to implement the accord's economic integration agenda under its 1963 charter. After transitioning to a majority in South Africa in 1994, the OAU has substantially exhausted its political emancipation program and has faced an unsatisfactory reputation for promoting good governance, peace, and security on the continent (African Union, 2023).

Although there was a number of catastrophic interventions that failed during the Cold War (such as Western Sahara, Katanga, Biafra, Somalia,) the Rwanda genocide of 1994 became a turning point for the non-intervention policy. As Africa dominated the post-Cold War agenda of the UN Security Council, new broader mandates and a much more dynamic

transnational organization were needed. A generation of new African leaders, such as Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo and South Africa's Thabo Mbeki, began to discuss successor organizations and further took initiatives with then-Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi who supported a significant portion of pan Africanism (Sherwood, 2012).

In 2000, the continent's heads of state adopted the Constitution of the African Union, and the new organization set itself on a mission to foster a peaceful, integrated, united, and prosperous Africa. Ironically, the AU member profile itself did not reflect a single continent. It retained the same membership as the former OAU, in which Morocco ceased to be a member on 12th November 1984 after the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic was admitted to the organisation as the government of West Sahara in 1982.

3.2.4. Development Issues

African diplomacy has not only influenced the global diplomatic agenda but has also greatly changed the demographics of international relations. After independence, African countries campaigned for equal treatment in a world facing enslavement. The acquisition of sovereignty provided equality in international law, but it required something more than an abstract status. To break the vicious cycle of asymmetric relations with other countries, it was important for the new country to develop socio-economically as well. This goal was even more serious because African resources contributed to the rapid industrialization of developed countries.

The desire to equalize the economic conditions of the game has become a pivotal concept in development in African national diplomacy. This was communicated through an unprecedented new style of diplomacy. It is active and antagonistic rather than reconciled, using public speakers under the leadership of the executive rather than the prudent and formal negotiations that are the norms of traditional diplomacy.

On September 23, 1966, at the annual meeting of the UN General Assembly, Senegalese Foreign Minister Doudou Thiam came up with a new of idea of a right to development. He was of the view that development of a country should be made a basic right. Such development can and should be considered right (Whelan, 2015). With support from the rest of the 77 developing countries, Africa's diplomatic momentum has been built to rebuild the global economic order, financial relations and to further eradicate exploitative

trade and make development a reality across the globe for the communities that need it the most.

However, in the 1970s, the continent's development was halted due to a surge in oil prices, a recession in developed countries, and weak raw material prices. African countries (the debtors of other countries) were humiliated by the fact that their creditors dictate political as well as economic characteristics. The wave of restructuring programs imposed by global financial institutions is inflicting massive social and political damage to Africa and adding yet another bitterness to the post-colonial diplomatic discourse. African diplomacy was disappointing until the end of the Cold War, opening new opportunities for fundamental change in the struggle for development.

In 1986, exactly 20 years after Dudu Tiam's call, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights to Development, which described the development as *an inalienable human right* (UNGA, 1986). In 1996, ten years later, the African multilateral bloc continued lobbying with global institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank came up with an initiative to pay off the debt of the world's most indebted countries. Thirty three out of the forty-four countries listed were in in sub-Saharan Africa, an indication that world's youngest countries are still far from development (CADTM, 2016).

Ghanaian Kofi Annan, who took office in 1997, served as the United Nations' second Secretary-General from Africa, took office in 1997. During his two terms in office, development challenges were permeated into all his reports. In his Millennium Report 2000 (Annan, 2000), sustainable development was described as a fundamental human freedom. World leaders later in the same year adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) unanimously and committed to forging a global partnership for development. In 2015 this inclusive strategy was reaffirmed by the UN adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was adopted as a successor program to the MDGs.

In changing the rules of war around the world, collective diplomacy in Africa has been the most successful in terms of development. Diplomacy involving the traditional development aid debate has tended to be hierarchical and supportive, and African countries disagreed on the terms of effective aid and the idea of political intervention in the guise of economic aid. In 2001, AU adopted NEPAD's New Partnership for African Development as a key economic development agenda to ensure African ownership of all development

programs affecting the continent. The strategy of engaging the world (both donors and other developing countries) through horizontal relationships, partnerships, and collaborations has given Africa's collective diplomacy new credibility and maturity.

After the end of the Cold War, recognition of Africa's collective diplomatic identity and established and emerging powers, including organizations such as the European Union, became a trend to attract Africa as a diplomatic unit. Diplomatic documents dedicated to the "Africa Summit" hosted by certain external donors have gained popularity, and some of these summits have received official recognition. The African Development Conference TICAD in Tokyo, Japan, initiated by the China-Africa Cooperation Forum (FOCAC) in 1993, first held in 2000, first held at the Indo-African Forum summit in 2008, and most recently by the United States in Washington DC in 2014.

3.2.5. Security and Human Rights Issues

The post-colonial political environment in Africa was very unstable. Security disasters range from domestic wars and foreign intervention to predatory rule. A new paradigm of global security, which has been dabbed human security, recognizes the extent to which economic poverty fuels political conflict and emphasizes the relationship between peace, security, and development, and some Africans have always been at the forefront of the efforts to put human security at the centre of the world probably because Africa is among the most hit continents by this vice.

Boutros Boutros Ghali announced the Agenda for Peace (UNGA 1992) during his tenure as UN Secretary-General and said that the resolution of UN conflicts should be a holistic and long-term project that promotes peacebuilding, not a one-time peacekeeping. claimed. The Sudanese diplomat Francis Deng pioneered a regulatory regime in the mid-nineties that would later become known as R2P.

R2P is based on the belief that the principle of national sovereignty should not hinder governments from humanitarian protection, and therefore the African Union adopted this new rule in its founding legislation in 2000. This is five years before world leaders endorsed the same principles on the 65th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in 2000. The 2005 World Summit results document. Another North African diplomat, Algeria Lakhdar Brahimi, was chairing the United Nations Commission to explore ways to

strengthen UN peacekeeping operations. The Brahimi 2000 report (UNGA, 2000) contained a wide range of recommendations for institutional reform, many of which were included in the World Summit's Millennium Declaration (UNGA, 2000) adopted later that year.

The then-UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, was fully aware of the fact that his homeland had suffered a series of conflicts among states that were often characterised by humanitarian crises and abuse of human rights. Thus in 2005 he advocated for the creation of a UN Peacebuilding Commission. In the same year, Kofi Annan proposed several reforms to the UN Security Council to ensure that Africa, the continent that continues to dominate the UN Security Council's agenda, would have permanent. In this regard, Africa has achieved another outstanding multilateral feat.

The 2005 AU agreement on Azulwini made Africa the only continent to maintain a collective policy of Security Council reform. AU is also unique in that it is the only regional organization under its authority to face the International Criminal Court. African countries, which have largely supported the establishment of courts under the 1998 Rome Statute, have been by the fact that the attention is unfairly focused on the continent. They point out that just as superior military and economic power protects itself from interference from other states, a superior permanent member of the UN Security Council has the institutional power to deny itself or its allies when it comes to accessing the ICC.

Thus, AU has challenged the structure of world power relations by becoming a diplomatic spokesperson not only for Africa but also for the developing world. Ironically, unification diplomacy tended to be elitist in Africa. Partners between incumbent African leaders continue to advocate for illegal regimes and question the pioneering success of African collective diplomacy. Subsequently, the hegemons in the African subregions like Egypt, South Africa, Algeria and Nigeria, have often been put on spot for harassing the smaller economies. Thus, despite Africa's success, collective diplomacy in Africa is not influenced by the actual politics of the continent.

In Africa, AU strives to surpass the sum of its parts, and the organization's continental credibility will probably be confirmed by the wider international community than its membership. As the first hybrid UN Security Council peacekeeping mission approved in 2007 and deployed in Darfur in cooperation with the African Union, UNAMID is hailed as a ground-breaking joint security venture with local organizations. But the independent

African Union peacekeeping missions across Africa are rife with contention and are often stillborn at the rhetorical level. As many critics have argued, the biggest problem with AU is that it ignores both the material and moral considerations of its members (Abatan, Spies, 2016).

In the bid to maintain peace and security on the continent, ECOWAS stepped up to avoid a possible civil conflict or post-election violence in the Gambia in 2017 (Aljazeera, 2017). This was done through ECOWAS' negotiations for a peaceful handover in its regional capacity. Although the results were not immediate, Yahya Jammeh, the then incumbent later peacefully handed over to the then president elect Adamma Barrow all overseen by ECOWAS representatives. Agreements on the maintenance of a post-election peace and stability in the country were then made through ECOWAS a move that signified diplomacy on a regional level. The result can be viewed in a sense that ECOWAS being mainly an economic regional body, the economic interdependence and interconnectedness that has come because of globalization fuelled the initiative. Thus, such changes have not only been witnessed in West African states but elsewhere in the world. The instability in one west African state is viewed as a threat to both economic and political instability to other states in the region because of the interconnectivity and thus the ECOWAS could no longer solely rely on Senegal's delayed diplomatic role in solving the crisis (ECOWAS, 2019).

The objectives of African unification continue to be undermined by fractured loyalty, and the governing classes place a higher priority on their ties to former colonizers or other foreign partners than on their close neighbours on the continent or across its borders. However, in the twenty-first century, there has been no decrease in foreign involvement or diplomatic wooing in Africa. On the other hand, a growing number of new countries have allied with established powers to interact with the continent, with motives ranging from security concerns (terrorism, illegal immigration, and transnational crimes) to economic gain. China is one of the foreign nations that has invaded Africa diplomatically in recent years, most famously after it gave the African Union its new headquarters in 2012. Africa's diplomatic skill will be put to the test in the upcoming conflict not only

3.2.6. Diaspora Issues

Africans in the diaspora are categorised into two groups: the Historical diasporas, and the contemporary. The Historical are the black people who were forcefully taken during

slave trade and ended up in the Caribbeans, America and elsewhere. This diaspora's *Africanness* is fictive, as most of these have no allegiance to any specific African State. There is a group that maintains the African American community which the AU claims their relationship with the continent can further be strengthened. The second group of the contemporary Africans is of those who have voluntarily dispersed outside their home countries in the last sixty or so years mainly for education and in search for greener pastures (Palmer, 2000).

In the African diasporic diplomacy, the diaspora is brought into the diplomatic mainstream to participate and address diplomatic and foreign policy. It should be remembered that Diaspora is not a sovereign state with boundaries and therefore the boundaries of these African diasporas is their descendent attachments to the continent and their willingness to develop it.

Diaspora diplomacy aims to strengthen and sustain ties between diaspora members and residents of the home state, but its major goal is to encourage the diaspora to get involved in the political and economic life of their own nation. This is made easier by establishing legislative incentives for diaspora participation in politics and business by lowering administrative barriers. This can be accelerated by setting up offices that focus on diaspora concerns, such as diaspora divisions in the ministry of foreign affairs or a diaspora desk at relevant embassies. These goals can be achieved if managed by a group, even though it could seem like a stretched opportunity that leaves the historical diaspora without loyalty to a particular state (Pan African Council, 2022).

To enable the formal participation of the diaspora in official programs and processes, the AU and its organs, notably the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), are reforming their laws and procedures. While AU diplomacy with the diaspora is both diplomacy with and about an external player, it is also diplomacy with an internal actor in that the AU sees the diaspora as the continent's sixth economic area.

The AU envisions that with its Agenda 2063 vision of poverty eradication, sustainable development, and prosperity, the African diaspora are at the helm of helping the AU achieve this. They stress that African nations, regional economic blocs, and continental governing entities such as the African Union must increase Diaspora engagement to use their skills, talents, and resources (The Pan African, n.d). It is further clear that now more than ever, it

is easy and quicker to tap into the African diasporan potential through the advanced means of communication and technology.

Targeting the current diaspora of member nations may lead to a conflict of interest, hence the African Union should only focus on the historical diaspora. The AU should focus primarily on establishing and strengthening links with the historical African diasporas, which includes people who may not have ever visited Africa but who have historical and romantic ties to the continent and occasionally with particular countries on the continent. In addition to giving member states of the AU inspiration and direction as they each start their own diaspora diplomacy efforts, this style of engagement by the AU will present a more comprehensive picture of diasporic ties and diplomacy.

The member states, on the other hand, must put their attention on their individual countries and their citizens by fostering and solidifying ties with these modern-day diasporas of Africans, not only by remitting money but also by allowing participation in the formulation of policies and programs as well as the implementation of items on the diaspora diplomacy agenda. Diaspora diplomacy is the art of employing a nation's diaspora to pursue the growth of the home country in international relations and negotiations (Gonzalez, 2010). This could apply in terms of the economy, culture, society, or even politics.

With globalisation, most countries now tap into the diplomacy of the diaspora as their strategy for enhanced growth and development. The African Union representing African interests as a regional body has for the last several years engaged in the diplomacy of the diaspora for the same cause. Though the African Union's foray into diasporic diplomacy may be seen as a sign of the continent's growing awareness of the need to find new alliances for its development, it also runs the risk of pitting itself against other member states who are also attempting to use their diasporas to accelerate development. The African Union therefore needs to clearly define its agenda and be understood as far as its quest for diasporic diplomacy is concerned to avoid any conflict with its member states.

3.2.7. Problems of African Diplomacy

Most African countries declared their sovereignty on a specific date, unlike the rest of the world, which generally evolved into units of sovereignty over the centuries. In most cases, the institutional training of the colonists and the training of local officials for post-

colonial autonomy were hastily carried out. The autonomous conduct of diplomacy by states in the international arena (a highly competitive practice) also requires the basis of forms of civil servants functioning at the national level, and thus the initial state of the state is a serious drawback. New African nations are at a disadvantage when trying to enter the global diplomatic scene due to a very underdeveloped foreign policy infrastructure, bureaucratic know-how, and skilled human resources (Spies, 2018).

Africa's impromptu diplomat was, for the first time, required to represent a country operating with a strong international identity. Most of the new governmental units were created through the coerced annexation of disparate ethnic groups and former enemies. As a result, political elites and newly appointed ambassadors frequently have closer relationships to other elites in neighbouring nations (especially if they have common ancestry or other historical ties).

It is not uncommon to find such diplomats from neighbouring countries having the same language and culture which makes it easy for them to communicate more homely and work on joint projects easily where the need arises. This also extends to informal diplomacy of the citizens in the diaspora who find themselves with their neighbouring countrymen that share more than a language in common. For example, People from Southwestern Uganda will have a lot of similarities with Rwandese just as Northern Kenyans are a lot similar to Somalis. Another example is the Rwanda and Burundi, who have both the Hutu and Tutsi, and diplomats from both post-colonial countries have emerged (as they have so far) as arbitrarily distinct political units beyond their primary transnational ethnicity to represent their states.

The first generation of African leaders tended to be authoritarian in order to forge a sense of national identity and guarantee effective control over full sovereign territories. Their military ancestors were frequently the targets of political and diplomatic assistance when they achieved political leadership, which was further supported by the history of armed liberation struggles. The paramilitary government has threatened to do horrible actions in foreign diplomacy; thus, this might not have been a wise response to intra-state (and frequently racial) problems that emerged in the new nation (Spies, 2018).

Authoritarian governments also impact diplomacy in a way that they sometimes use political summits to achieve what is usually done through bureaucratic and orderly

intergovernmental channels. Ultimately, the culture of professional diplomacy and infrastructure is ignored. Ebenezer Debrach, a former ambassador to Ghana, explains that there was a period after post-colonialism that French-speaking countries did not exchange ambassadors in West Africa. This created a kind of dictatorial tendency in which France was extending neo-colonialism and having puppet leaders for such African states. One could argue that this is largely still the case.

Another implication of diplomacy in authoritarian countries is that when diplomatic posts are created, they are probably more likely to demonstrate nepotism as opposed to professional non-political state service. This means that the government will subsequently employ a career diplomat (commonly as a permanent secretary of the mission) to fill the gap of the inexperienced head of mission. This is an unnecessary extra cost for the government paying an extra stuff that may not be needed in cases where the head of the mission himself is a career diplomat. In other instances, when a regime changes, especially through a coup, the new regime, and its officials would have to start over. Political instability is not only a curse on the socio-economic well-being of a country but also a serious concern for professional diplomats' trust.

In the digital era, the threat is bigger as people can receive and transmit messages easier than before. The information of which diplomats, how and where they are sent is readily available for the masses not only through mass media but also various internet outlets. This helps people to follow up and are consequently able to question circumstances under which they were appointed. Having nepotism is bad and can causes instability but it is worse when this information is a public secret which is the case with diplomacy in the digital era.

In most of the African countries, there are steps taken to improve the professionalism of public services, particularly when waves of democratization swept the continent after the Cold War ended. However, facing enormous socio-economic challenges, governments (navigating in inner circles in need of measurable improvements in living conditions) will not devote scarce resources to building the capacity of diplomatic services, an area of government that can be seen as elite and mysterious.

The absence of diplomatic training facilities in Africa was one of the main barriers to the development of diplomatic capacity. With a few notable exceptions—Cameroon, Kenya,

Nigeria, and South Africa—the majority of sub-Saharan African nations have little or no capacity for domestic diplomat training.

A minority has the opportunity to study at a donor country's diplomatic training institution and benefit from these networking opportunities and skill acquisition. However, the results of foreign diplomatic training can be distorted. Unskilled diplomats, who must learn how to represent their country, draw themselves into the sphere of strategic influence of foreign sovereign bodies. For African states like Uganda that largely depend on foreign aid, they do this in hopes that they can acquire later be an influence to acquire foreign aid for their countries, either from the donor states themselves or NGOs. On the other hand, if the training institutions are government aided, this becomes an opportunity for the sponsoring government to establish a permanent relationship with such diplomats who may at some time be used to foster strategies that may be otherwise unpopular among the sending countries. This is easier with digitalisation of diplomacy where the relationship created can be easily maintained and followed up through digital communication.

In general, most African States that cannot afford to participate or better yet organise diplomatic theme trainings, and economic forums, partly because of limited resources or otherwise like failing to or struggling to meet the membership fees, they find themselves in positions where they are dictated to rather than consulted on many diplomatic issues. African nations struggle to engage in the numerous concurrent committees and sessions that characterize the multilateral diplomatic climate of today, even if they maintain a multilateral presence. There is a lot of pressure on multilateral diplomacy especially for diplomats stationed on bilateral missions.

A few African countries have the resources to sustain a well-staffed mission, which places tremendous pressure on the workforce to fulfil the full range of geographic and functional responsibilities of a given embassy.

The habit of African political elites attending the elite European universities well into the post-colonial period persisted, perpetuating colonial patriarchy. As there are no diplomatic training facilities in sub-Saharan Africa, this also applies to African diplomats, many of whom received their training in the capitals of former colonial powers.

While these learning opportunities are valuable, they also have the opposite effect. Diplomats must represent the nature and interests of the sending country, but immersion in

overseas training programs can equate to the goals of the donor country. For example, Gabonese diplomats trained in the prestigious French national administration, Ecole, are more likely to represent French diplomatic positions more powerfully than their government. Political divisions along European linguistic lines are particularly evident in Africa, between the two largest official groups in Africa, the French and English-speaking countries. When South Africa's candidate Nkosazana Dlaminizum ran for African Union committee chairperson (she took office in January 2012), she was challenging the then incumbent French-speaking president (Jean Ping of Gabon) and there were rumours that she would be elected.

3.2.8. African Diplomacy in the Age of Digital Communication

Africa, like many other parts of the world have embraced the internet usage in their diplomatic practices. Most countries now have social media platforms, official websites for their MoFA. On these websites, countries promote their foreign policies, foster their government policies, engage the citizenry, and defend the government's positions. The MoFA of Uganda for example uses its twitter handle and other internet platforms to announce the official state visits, and further give a brief of what transpired. It is therefore pertinent to note that in the digital age, African diplomacy has taken a shift as it is no longer purely the diplomacy of secrecy.

The diplomacy used by information and communications technology (ICT) platforms and capabilities has grown significantly especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. This is partly due to the fact that digital technologies are becoming increasingly important as a means of conducting foreign policy work. This brings us to what we have termed as digital diplomacy otherwise known as open diplomacy. In this kind of diplomacy, diplomats, state, and non-state actors use the internet to foster their countries' national interest, explain policies and give general information about states and their agenda. A case in point is the massive use of social media by various high level African politicians and conducting online meanings through the popular zoom meetings.

States and non-state actors alike are increasingly relying on social networking platforms, like tweeter, face book, LinkedIn etc, creating websites to reach various stakeholders easily and fast. This kind of diplomacy is more involving and interactive. Ordinary citizens get to express themselves and their opinions on certain policies and in most

cases, they are responded to. Even though the states may not follow through to the ideas of the citizens, they roughly get the position of their citizens and stakeholders on certain issues which may help shape the future policies (Fletcher, 2016).

In today's interdependent and globalized world, digital diplomacy is essential, especially when it comes to modernization and technological development. To strengthen political and economic ties in this competitive world, Africa must use modern cyber-tech tools, printed and electronic media to compete favourably and make its voice heard globally since Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has contributed significantly to levelling the diplomatic rules of games around the world.

Because anyone can access the same information from anywhere, Diplomats can communicate with each other and conduct business anywhere today but are also put to task to think and act faster than ever before. They also face a challenge of having to interact with a larger audience. This however is mitigated by the fact that globalisation has shrunk the distance and therefore diplomats need not to travel to deliver the message to their ever-increasing audience. However, like Fletcher stresses, the easy ways of communication do not come with no challenges, Diplomats not only have to think faster and be well updated but also, they must not bend down to the pressures of internet audience that sometimes requires quick and immediate responses.

In such circumstances, the non-state actors are often seen raising their voices challenging the governments' position and tasking it to explain the relevancy of shutting down the internet. We also see countries beyond and far participating in such debates which shows how digitally, diplomacy has changed, and it is no longer bilateral in many ways.

Diplomats must be given new tools to make diplomacy much more effective and efficient in this digital era. Under these circumstances, diplomats, especially in Africa, need to become ICT masters to fully utilise the potentials of digital diplomacy. Personal diplomacy which is done through visits and correspondences of high-profile state representatives and diplomats has grown in importance as a hallmark of modern international relations as digital diplomacy sometimes makes it competitive (Hedling, Bremberg, 2021). The habit of African political elites attending the elite European universities well into the post-colonial period persisted, perpetuating colonial patriarchy. As there are no diplomatic

training facilities in sub-Saharan Africa, this also applies to African diplomats, many of whom received their training in the capitals of former colonial powers.

Pictures of such visits are widely shared on various official social networking sites like Facebook, twitter, or WhatsApp. In Africa where most superpowers are competitively trying to outdo one another through signing of agreements that promise investments, trade, development projects and financial assistance, since within the digital era, diplomacy of secrecy is slowly fading away (Shizha, Diallo, 2015).

These official visits, the speeches which also serve a public diplomacy role, and correspondences are publicised as leaders establish contacts but also improves the country's bilateral and multilateral relations. However, this may come as a challenge in situations where the competing powerful states in Africa, knowing which country is strong in which region sometimes use the small economy countries in Africa to fight their proxy wars.

The growth in personal diplomacy is majorly fuelled by changes in modern communication as discussed above, for example Rwanda's President Paul Kagame is an avid Twitter user, accounting for 81% of responses to users on other platforms as tweets (Nguru, 2020). Other leaders active on Twitter include former Kenyan President Uhuru, and Dr. William Ruto who is the current president of Kenya and he run most of his campaign using his twitter handle.

With more politicians adopting the micro-platform to mobilize and expand their constituents, the political scene in Africa is with no doubt being transformed by the use of social media. Social media has become a virtual non-state actor with a multitude of actors that express their voice virtually. Most voters have found that having easy access to social media has helped them advance a political agenda and hold elected officials responsible. They use various hashtags on social media platforms to popularise their agenda. The #FixtheCountry movement in Ghana and the #ZumaMustFall movement in South Africa are some of the many successful protests that started on social media, probably second to the Arab spring uprisings. This is one of the reasons politicians have now taken it upon themselves to increase their following on social media to reach out to as many people as possible in a shortest time and perhaps counter such virtual non state actors.

According to the data collected by *Africa No Filter* between 2020-2021 showed that the top 10 most influential serving African politicians have a combined following of just

over twenty-four million on Twitter however, a January 2022 data collected by Africanews showed that the following had jumped to twenty-seven million which shows a general increase in social media usage. Currently the most followed African politician on twitter is the Egyptian president Abdel Fattah Elsisi with over 5.5 million followers, followed by the Kenyan President William Ruto with 4.4 million followers. However, the president of Egypt's page is not constantly updated but the issues posted range from health, economy, and education. H.E. Ruto, however, is among the most active pages with almost hourly updates of mainly official duties (Kwadema, 2023).

The former President of Nigeria Buhari, stood in at the third place with over four million followers and like his counterparts, his page has official duties engagements but lacks updates. However, being a president of the most populous country in Africa, this is a less than expected following. Thereafter was the president of Rwanda Kagame with 2.5 million and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni at 2.4 million followers. All these have constant updates on national events and sometimes personal messages to the masses like wishing them well on national or religious holidays. Other politicians with a bit of a following who also use these platforms to project government projects and plans are Ghana's Nana Akufo-Addo with 2.1 million followers and South Africa's Cyril Ramaphosa at 2.1 million followers (Kwadema, 2023).

Most politicians in Africa have deployed aggressive digital policies and means to either gain supporters or engage their opponents due to the growth of social media. Some employ bloggers who engage supporters and opponents on their behalf others through pseudo accounts. In fact, when Facebook and twitter closed many of Ugandan government supporters accounts, they alleged that these were duplicate accounts and handles used to spread false information and fake news. Because of how coordinated social media protests can be, the continent often faces social media shutdowns in times of intense political situations like elections.

Digital diplomacy comes with as many advantages as it comes with challenges. In Africa, most diplomats do not fully utilise the digital space which leaves an information gap in the global relations with Africa. Most of the websites are outdated, power outages and high charges on the internet are some of the biggest challenges. Digital diplomacy also faces cybersecurity, risks posed by anonymous online users and online scammers, deepfakes as Wiki Leaks shows. Diplomats have the media to compete with daily as they must constantly

communicate to the stakeholders. While ICT should be considered and fully embraced as an asset of diplomacy, it does not replace all aspects of diplomacy. Traditional forms of diplomacy are still an integral part of interstate and intercontinental relations.

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is a strategic resource that diplomats from developed and developing countries in Asia and South America take for granted. By its very nature, diplomacy depends on the gathering and sharing of information. In the new digital diplomacy, Africa is at a disadvantage due to widespread technological shortcomings. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the first African UN Secretary-General, referred to the so-called "digital divide" as an economic and technological "iron curtain" towards the conclusion of the Cold War (1992:1). These differences are still preventing complete diplomatic representation of Africa on the international scene in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

3.3. Conclusion

Even with AfCFTA which was Kwame Nkrumah's dream to see African nations integrate not only politically but also economically, most African states did not sign off immediately. It was finally signed to get into effect in 2021 with still Eritrea refusing to sign. The slow process of getting African countries to sign and ratify the agreement, the resistance of others all point to the fact that even if economic globalization only meant free trade, Africa is still slow on this train.

In terms of political globalisation, the introduction of non state actors and they're somewhat weakening of state role in intenational relations is arguable when it comes to Africa as seen above. Althought the International organisations' presence is greatly felt on the continent, one could argue that is because of their behind forces of the West that still has a presence of neocolonialism in many African countries. This is so because most African states do well on supressing the voice of civil society organisations and NGOs they can control unlike the INGOs. It should be noted that although countries need approval of the UN security council to intervene military in other nations, this is to the benefit of Western powerful countries.

The swift response largely relies on the relationship of the country in need with the owerful western states like the USA. This can be viewed in how the world reacted to Bosnia

and Rwanda genocides by the UN intervening in Bosnia whereas Rwanda faced 100 days of killings while the world was silent. Another example is how NATO launched an offensive on Libya amidst a division of opinion in AU but authorized by the UN (United Nations Security Council, 2011). This subsquently resulted into the extra juducial killing of Muammar Gaddafi the then president of Libya whose perpetrator was never brought to book.

Thus, the civil rights organisations and NGOs that the states have the capacity to control have only as much influence as the states allow them to have. The INGOs strength is also not measured in their capacity as non state actors but the influence western powerful states hold against them. The violent non state actors on the other hand have thrived on the use of media and internet outlets on the continent like other places of the world. Therefore, as seen above, non state actors have indeed blurred state boundaries and have changed African politics but not in the exact way they have affected othe parts of the world.

The diaspora has existed for a long time along side diplomacy. The difference with globalisation is that the diaspora has been given a platform and means to keep up with their countries of origin. This is nolonger limited to their contribution in economics but goes as deep as being involved in the civics of their countries of origin. The internet with advanced means of communication and social media platforms has made this easy and consquently put the current diplomats on the spot whenever the diaspora use their platforms to adress the challenges facing their countries of origin like human rights concerns.

Furthermore, the lesser degree of internet penetration and the tendency for governments to block the internet shows how Africa lags behind in terms of globalisation considering how influential internet usage is and its role in the current international relations. It should be clear however that internet blockage is not only in Africa as many other countries face these kinds of censorship. Nevertheless, African internet blockage is singled out in this case not only because of its common trend (blocked during major elections) which is a clear censorship of the press and violation of the freedom to information depsite what the states' reasons may be, but also because Africa has a big percentage of these blockages and where they are few it is because there were not as many elections held.

Diplomacy in Africa on the other hand had a pre modern form just like other world regions including Europe , however this tradition was however cut off during the scramble for Africa. With African states gaining independence, the continent's diplomacy had to then

start from scratch. Post independence, African diplomacy faced and continue to face neocolonialism which is seen in the continous political and economic dependence. African diplomacy is particularly concerned with issues like African unity, development and human rights. The link between African diplomacy and globalization is particularly strong in the case of the diaspora, which is not only important today but which is also the origin of the pioneers of Pan-Africanism.

Therefore, the aspects mentioned by Steger and by Seib can indeed be found in the case of Africa, for example: increase of trade and financial flows. This is also due to Africa's low customs and the African elites' tendency to invest their money abroad, as Africa is a particularly globalized continent. The importance of non-state actors (regional org., IFIs, TNCs, NGOs, terrorist networks); the diaspora and widespread internet penetration (even if it is below the global average). Pan-Africanism also has a globalized aspect in that its pioneers were Black Americans. As particularly with respect to Seib, one can argue that African leaders do public diplomacy and that some of the problems he mentions (political appointees, diplomatic training) apply to African diplomacy. We now further narrow down globalisation and diplomacy to Uganda in particular in the next chapter.

4. GLOBALISATION AND DIPLOMACY IN UGANDA

4.1. History and Politics of Uganda

Uganda is an East African landlocked country in the Great Lakes region with a total area of roughly 93,263 square miles. To the north, it shares a border with South Sudan; to the east, with Kenya; to the south, with Tanzania and Rwanda; and to the west, with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The largest tropical freshwater lake in the world, Lake Victoria, which is part of Uganda's border with Kenya and Tanzania, is not far from the coasts of Kampala, the city's capital, which is constructed around seven hills.

Like the rest of Africa, pre-colonial Uganda consisted of various Kingdoms with the Buganda Kingdom being the largest Kingdom with a more politically organized structure and influence. It is no wonder therefore that the first president of Uganda was also the King of the Buganda Kingdom, Sir Edward Mutesa II. The name Uganda was derived from Buganda.

Uganda was a relatively tranquil territory with the Kingdoms and various chieftaincies dealing amongst themselves peacefully. This however ended with the coming of missionaries in the Eighteen Hundreds that led to a spark of religious wars. Most of these wars were centred on the Buganda Kingdom having more influence and being the largest kingdom. Four religious groups—Ugandan Native Religion adherents, Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims—were fighting it out for political dominance in the kingdom by the 1880s. (Griffiths, 2001).

King Mwanga II was overthrown in a coup in 1888, which was organized by the Muslim faction and put Prince Kalema in charge. Early in 1889, a coalition of Protestants and Catholics was formed in order to depose Kalema and install Mwanga II as ruler. In order to remove Kalema and reinstate Mwanga in 1890, this coalition struck a deal with the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) (Griffiths, 2001).

The early external forces of diplomacy were witnessed in Uganda in 1890 when the IBEAC sent Frederick Lugard as its chief representative to Uganda in a bid to restore and maintain peace between the competing factions at the time. Mwanga concluded a treaty with Lugard in 1891 whereby Mwanga would give the IBEAC control over his territory and tributary states (Gray, 1960).

When IBEAC formally ended its involvement in Uganda on March 31, 1893, Christian missionaries under the leadership of Alfred Tucker asked the British government to take over the country's administration in its place, arguing that a complete British withdrawal would only prolong the civil war between the various religious factions. Following that, Sir Gerald Portal, a British government official in Uganda, advocated a system of double chieftainships, under which each chieftainship would have a Protestant and a Catholic chief, as these were the main groups at odds at the time. The British administration and the chiefs of Uganda signed a pact on April 19, 1893, putting this strategy into action (Griffiths, 2001).

IBEAC gave the British government the ability to administer a region that was primarily made up of the Kingdom of Buganda in 1893. The limits were expanded from the Buganda kingdom to other regions that generally approximate to modern-day Uganda after the Uganda protectorate was founded in 1894.

In picture 1 below is the rough sketch map of Uganda showing the various kingdoms under the British Protectorate from 1894 up to independence in 1962, October. It should be noted that despite what is shown on the map, Neighbouring Tanzania was known as Tanganyika, Rwanda as Ruanda-Urundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo which was known as the Congo free state between 1885 -1908, and as Belgian Congo Kingdom (1908-1960), and Uganda as Buganda during the colonial era.

Figure 4.1. The The map is based on data given in A History of East Africa by Odhiambo, Ouso and Williams (Odhiambo, E. A., Ouso, T. I., & Williams, J. F. M. 1977).

Source: Wikimedia (2023).

One would argue that Uganda's internal diplomacy was since then shaped by this given history. It would later be enshrined in the 1995 constitution of Uganda that cultural and traditional leaders were not to be involved in partisan politics unless they relinquish their traditional or cultural leadership (1995 Uganda constitution, Article 246 (e)). At the same time, religious leaders are viewed as a strong block in promoting peace and stability and they often use their platform as such. Under the umbrella of the Inter religious council of Uganda, Uganda's mainstream religions use their platform to promote peace, co-existence, and stability (The Inter Religious Council of Uganda, 2022). The IRC of Uganda has often used its platform to call out the government on its excesses. This is typical example of a non-state actor participating in the countries' policies.

Another great step into diplomacy was the famous 1900 Buganda agreement (Wild, Lubowa, 1952) that was signed in March 1900 after a few years of crisis. According to the agreement, the Kabaka was to reign directly over the people of Buganda, dispensing justice through the *Lukiiko* and his agents. Additionally, it strengthened the authority of the predominantly Protestant *Bakungu* client-chiefs, led by the Katikkiro of Buganda Sir Apollo Kagwa.

The British foreign rule in Uganda officially came to an end on October 9th, 1962, when Uganda was declared independent. However, Uganda retained the British Monarch Elizabeth II as a nominal head of state and Queen of Uganda. Her constitutional roles as the head of state were generally delegated to the then governor-general of Uganda Sir Walter Coutt.

The Queen's role as a head of state and any links to the British monarch were abolished in 1963 when the new constitution of Uganda was adopted which saw the first prime minister of Uganda as Dr. Apollo Milton Obote as well as the head of government business. The first president of Uganda was the then King of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa II. However, until 1966 when Obote forced the president into exile, Uganda was not known as a republic but rather as a state which meant that constituent native kingdoms continued to exist, and Uganda was like a federation of tribal kingdoms.

Because of this, Uganda's modern diplomacy has been influenced by the policies of its former colonial rulers, Britain, who declared Uganda a protectorate of Great Britain in 1894 and maintained it until Uganda gained independence in 1962. Although foreign relations have always been unstable and frequently chaotic, they have been evolving and changing with the post-colonial administrations 12 and on the regional and international front.

The foreign policies of Presidents Obote and Amin were conflicted, ranging from working with the Soviet Union (SU) to develop military capabilities to participating in the Palestinian hijacking of Israeli citizens. Uganda has not experienced a democratic change of administration since its independence. When Amin was removed from power in 1979, Uganda experienced a period of unrest and instability. Within two years, there were four presidents, starting with Tanzania-backed Professor YK Lule who governed for just 68 days. He was succeeded by President Godfrey Binaisa, who ruled for 11 months before being deposed by Army Commander Oyite Ojok in May 1980. To govern Uganda while it prepared

for elections, the military established the Military Commission. Milton Obote became President for the second time in December 1980 through the elections that were held on multiparty basis. However, the elections were challenged as being rigged by then presidential candidate YK. Museveni.

Obote then avenged his ousting when he came to power by hunting down Amin's clansmen and the southerners (particularly the Baganda) accusing them of celebrating his downfall. These ethnic categories of the south (particularly the local leaders) were tortured and killed on grounds that they harboured anti-government forces. The Batoro, Banyankole, Banyarwanda (Batutsi Refugees), Bakiga and Banyoro are the ethnic groups in the Southwest. From these hunted groups emerged a rebel group known as the National Resistance Movement which plunged a serious guerrilla warfare on Uganda throughout Obote's second period of rule and eventually in 1985 the Army Commander then Tito Okello Lutwa overthrew President Obote (Mwagiru, 1997). President Tito Okello attempted to have talks and dialogue with the various rebel groups after taking office, but he was also deposed by NRA on January 26, 1986.

For six years, from 1980 to 1986, it was challenging to describe a functioning administration because the civil service had collapsed, all government agencies were in disrepair, and insurgency was pervasive in the countryside. Due to sporadic allegiances to the incumbent government and the rebel movement (NRM) led by President Yoweri Museveni Kaguta, Uganda during that time was what was referred to as a "failed state" (Dorff, 1999). As a result, diplomatic contact was suspect.

The NRM government, having been in power since 1986 has ruled the country to date boasting mostly of bringing peace which argumentatively was the case for the first years which followed a relatively thriving foreign policy. Unlike the previous Presidents Obote and Amin who largely adopted the non-alignment policy in their foreign policy, Museveni came in with the intention to sway the western powers to his side right from the beginning.

The non-alignment policy especially by Obote meant that Uganda was not aligned to any specific western power and as a result this positioned Obote as a head of an autonomous state with independent sets of freedom and rights. As a matter of fact, even during the cold war, Uganda maintained its neutrality by opening embassies in various countries irrespective of their alignment to or against USA. The previous leaders also maintained pan Africanism,

which was aimed at helping other countries gain independence, maintain unity and adopt proper democracy for a fast socio-economic development. However, this was barely achieved specifically in the case of Uganda which has never experienced a peaceful transfer of power since independence, in 1962.

With Museveni's rule, continued pan Africanism and regional peacebuilding by practically getting involved in both peace keeping missions often collaborated by the UN and peace enforcement missions. Museveni has often been elected as an arbitrator in regional conflicts including South Sudan's, Burundi to mention but a few (Aljazeera, 2015). Museveni's foreign policy and general rule however faces more challenges and criticism. Although this could be tied to his long rule marred with his often-contentious re-election, accused of massive rigging, torture and unlevelled ground with other candidates, it is also partly because of the extensive digitalization of the mass media that gives people a platform to express their frustrations.

4.2 Globalization in Uganda

4.2.1 Economic Globalisation

Uganda has one of the youngest and fastest-growing populations in the world, as well as a market-based economy that is abundant in natural resources. Uganda continues to operate under free trade and foreign exchange rules. Uganda is attracting more foreign investors due to its comparative advantages in agriculture and estimated recoverable oil reserves of about 1.5 billion barrels. The main drivers of Uganda's economic diplomacy are incentives for foreign investors and free trade agreements with a select few nations. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uganda, 2021).

The tables below show that indeed Uganda's imports and exports are thriving better in countries with which it has free trade agreements. Out of the top five export countries, four of them are in the East African community and thus with free trade.

Table 4.1. Uganda Top five export Countries in 2018

Country	Export (US $m	Share of Total Export (%)
Kenya	580	18.79
UAE	562	18.22
South Sudan	356	11.52
Rwanda	212	6.85
Congo, Dem. Rep.	204	6.62

Source: World Bank's World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021

Out of the top five export countries with Uganda, four are from the East African Bloc, an economic regional bloc that affords free trade for East African countries accounting for 43.78% of Uganda's total exports in 2018. This shows that with free trade tariffs, countries are bound to trade amongst themselves more, thanks to globalisation.

Table 4.2. Uganda Top 5 Import Countries in 2018

Country	Import (US $m)	Share of Total Import (%)
China	1,184	17.60
India	817	12.14
UAE	784	11.65
Saudi Arabia	605	8.99
Kenya	516	7.67

Source: World Bank's World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021

Uganda's top five import destinations only have one east African country with the other four coming from the Middle East and beyond. Uganda imports mostly from China because of the cheap prices. However, some of the commodities imported from China and other countries can be equally produced in Uganda. Unfortunately, due to high costs of production because of less advanced technology, the same commodities will be more expensive in Uganda and thus consumers would rather buy the imported ones. This has been a great challenge by many African countries facing strong competition from the big economies due to economic liberalisation.

The top three countries exporting goods and services to Uganda.

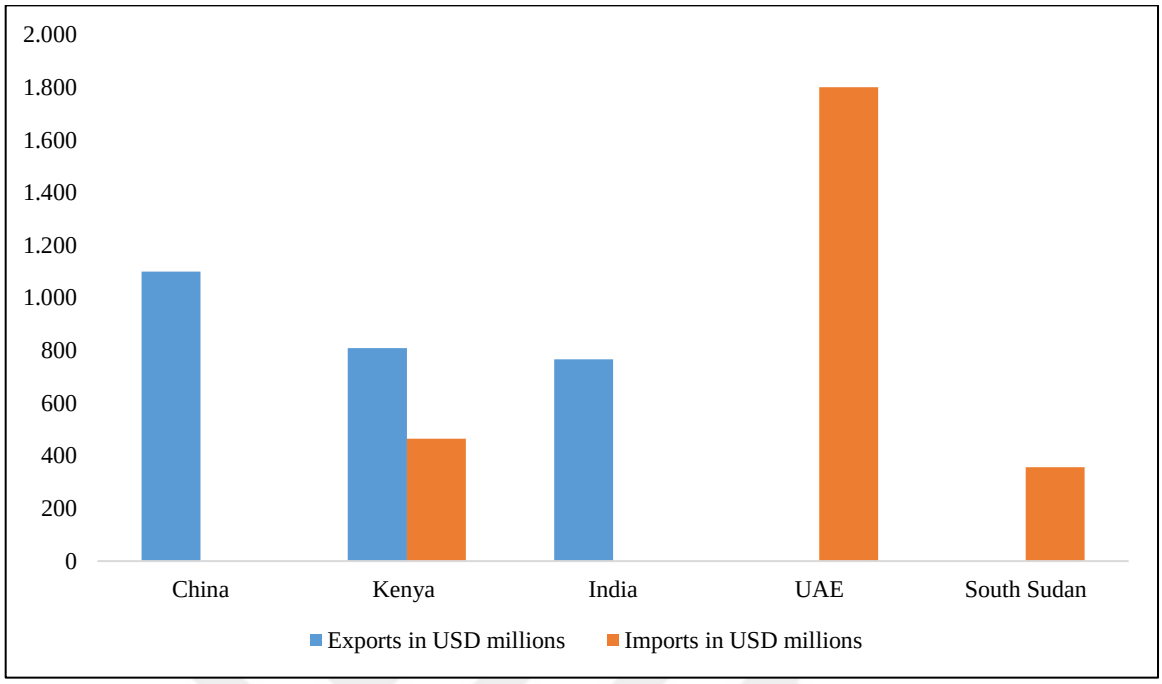


Figure 4.2. The top three countries exporting goods and services to Uganda (UBOS, 2021)

The Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS,2021) show that in 2020 China, Kenya and India were the top three countries exporting goods and services to Uganda at $1.1 billion, $809 million, $767 million respectively. In the same year, United Arab Emirates ($1.8 billion), Kenya ($465 million), and South Sudan ($357 million) were the top three countries importing goods and services from Uganda. The United States imported goods and services worth $53 million from Uganda. Unfortunately, there is a deficit on the information UBOS provides as shown in the **figure 4.2** above leaving out information on some countries' exports and imports. Like we later highlight in the recommendations, most of the websites in Uganda have half or no information at all on many subjects which is a setback for diplomacy in the era of communicational globalisation.

China, Kenya, and India were the top three exporters of products and services to Uganda in 2020, contributing $1.1 billion, $809 million, and $767 million correspondingly, according to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS,2021). The top three nations importing products and services from Uganda in the same year were South Sudan ($357 million), Kenya ($465 million), and the United Arab Emirates ($1.8 billion). $53 million worth of goods and services were imported by the United States from Uganda.

However, since the US signed a TIFA with the EAC and COMESA in 2001, and Uganda is a member of both these regional organizations, she can benefit under those agreements. Uganda also ratified her agreement formally establishing the Africa Continental Free trade Area (AfCFTA).

4.2.2. The Emergence and Role of Non-State Actors

Globalization has changed or reformed most, if not all, aspects of life. In Uganda, its diplomacy and other aspects that have been swept by the wave of globalization that has transformed many ways as traditionally known. In this part of the research, we explore how globalization has changed diplomacy in Uganda, with violent and non-violent state actors, which also covers our main research topic.

Established in 1995, The Council for Economic Empowerment for Women of Africa (CEEWA)-Uganda (CEEWA Uganda, 2022) aiming at promoting the economic empowerment of women. The achieves this through educating the youth and women about their rights and encouraging them to participate more in their local communities. This kind of empowerment and inclusion of women and the youth who are a marginalized group in Uganda helps inform the communities about Uganda's gender policies. This is in hope that eventually there will be a shift in Uganda's predominantly patriarchal cultural structure to an all-inclusive system. This type of cultural diplomacy not only does it promote the socio-cultural understanding of the population but also increases economic development and a positive view of the country's national interest beyond borders.

Diplomacy has changed in a way that bilateral relations have now greatly shifted to multilateral relations. Countries that do not share borders and sometimes even geographical locations now get involved to solve political instabilities miles away from their border. This is because, due to increasing global threats, instability anywhere may result into instability everywhere.

Uganda does not share a border with Somalia, however almost a third of AMISOM's twenty thousand troops are from Uganda's UPDF, making it the biggest national contingent (AMISOM, 2021). With globalization, the instability in Somalia can as well cause instability in Uganda whether economic or a general regional political-security threat. As a matter of fact, In two places in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, on July 11, 2010, suicide bombers

attacked crowds watching a screening of the 2010 FIFA World Cup Final. Al-Shabaab later claimed responsibility for the attacks (BBC News, 2010) the insurgency that AMISOM fights against in Somalia. Such security threats in the region require countries to move beyond bilateral to multilateral diplomacy to tackle them.

The threat of the LRA in Northern Uganda, which has been identified as the longest ongoing conflict in Africa spread to neighbouring South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and later to the Central Africa Republic. This points to the emergency of violent non state actors in international relations. To resolve such a conflict or minimize the threat required Uganda to move past bilateral diplomacy to multilateral and regional diplomacy. The conflict that started in Northern Uganda in 1987 later spread to neighbouring countries and beyond (Dolnik, Butime, 2016).

The rebels looted markets in South Sudan, forced villagers to carry stolen items through jungles in the Central African Republic, and ambushed people and soldiers in isolated areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The affected countries later coordinated to fight the insurgencies and although still remotely active, the once fearsome Lord's Resistance Army, in the broad swaths of Central African land, has now been reduced to a tiny remnant of militants who are camped out in the bush. In later stages, the US Special Forces, the African Union counter-LRA task force, and the UN peacekeeping mission were all involved in the pursuit of rebel commander Joseph Kony (Dolnik, 2016).

The LRA insurgency shows the introduction of non-state actors in resolving state conflicts, a shift from bilateral to multilateral diplomacy that is not only limited to the region in which the conflict, but beyond. This is so because, with globalization, the borders of sovereign states are blurred as much as the world becomes closer and closer. A security threat in the small country in East Africa can easily be viewed as a threat to global politics and thus requires global intervention.

The Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) is yet another non state actor in Uganda’s diplomacy. Formed in 1995 through an agreement with a section of the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU) and a small section of the Tabliq community, it is a rebel group formed to fight President Museveni’s Ugandan government (Schwikowski, 2021). They are thought to have received early training from the Sudanese government and used this knowledge to carry out violent attacks starting in 1996. These attacks included a string

of incidents in Kampala in the late 1990s, including the bombing of a bar and restaurant on Valentine's Day 1999, which left four people dead and 35 injured (The Guardian, 1999).

Such a rebel group which is also believed to be aligned to the infamous ISIL are violent non state actors that the states now must deal with in their diplomacy. These violent non state actors can communicate and coordinate their attacks easily and faster now with advanced communication and thus they put diplomats to task to catch up with the speed of this ICT developments. To neutralize such violent non state actors, States must not only counter them digitally but also shift from the traditional bilateral to multilateral and regional diplomacy.

Besides the rebel networks and the NGOs, there are also some other non-state actors active in Uganda worth mentioning: An example of a sub-state actor is the Indian state of Andra Predesh, which made an agreement with Uganda concerning sending farmers (Carmody 2016: 104). But particularly important are the TNCs. Examples: Bidco (Kenya) and Wilmar (Singapore) run a palm oil planation (Carmody 2016: 149-152). A consortium led by RT Global Resources applied for a refinery operation tender while Total (France) and Tullow (UK) want to build a pipeline (Wengraf, 2018: 117-118). Together with CNOOC (China), Total and Tullow signed a memorandum of understanding concerning investments into the oil business with Uganda in 2014 (Wengraf 2018: 138). But there is also a Ugandan TNC, i.e., Madhvani, which deals in sugar and chemicals (Carmody, Kragelund, Reboredo 2020: 23).

Several civil society organizations and pressure groups have since emerged in Uganda and helped shape the government policies. NGOs like Chapter four promote human rights and keep the government in check. The Uganda Law Society, the Uganda Land Alliance, the National Association of Women in Uganda (NAWOU), Action for Development (ACFODE), the Ugandan Gender Resource Centre (UGRC), The Uganda Human rights commission (UHRC) among others are some Organizations that range from promoting good governance, protecting women and children’s rights and human rights. Such non-state actors not only reflect in the country’s domestic policies but also the international relations of Uganda.

In 2020, Natural Justice, Centre for Food and Adequate Living Rights, Africa Institute for Energy Governance and the Centre for Strategic Litigation in Tanzania filed a case in the

EACJ seeking a temporary injunction on the works of the East African Crude Oil Pipeline citing massive environmental and the violation of human rights[1]. The case is still before the EACJ, however this raises two issues on the role of non-state actors in today's international relations and diplomacy. Both Uganda and Tanzania's parliaments which are a representation of the people and thus the state okayed the EACOP project, however, non-state actors in the name of NGOs are trying to halt a fully approved state project (Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, 2020; Mukeredzi, 2022; NTV Uganda, 2022)

It does not matter whether a temporary injunction is issued against the EACOP project or not, what matters is, the non-state actors have a platform to halt, delay or otherwise oppose a duly approved two state projects. The fact that the non-state actors are not just from the two contracting countries (some of them are from Kenya) and further suing the two involved states, not in their state courts but in a regional court further shows the introduction of regional diplomacy and how this facilitates the introduction of non-state actors as well.

In September 2022, the work on EACOP was called out to be postponed for a year by the European Parliament and to halt the drilling in the "protected and sensitive" ecosystems to "study the feasibility of an alternative route" that would "consider other projects based on renewable energy" and most importantly to preserve the environment. The EU parliament also called for the governments to accord a "prompt, adequate and fair " compensation for those expropriated or deprived of access to their land by the EACOP project. While the Ugandan government maintained that they were not moved by the European parliament's outcries, and that the decisions were not binding, all this is bad publicity for the project and there are consequences stemming from the engagement of such non state actors (Garric, 2022; The Citizen, 2022)

We see here a non-state actor interfering in a sovereign state's decision to build a crude oil pipeline. Furthermore, this is not strange and cannot be condemned by many as state interference as the concerns of environmental degradation are considered global concerns in this globalization era.

It should also be noted that the bad publicity that comes with such cases and statements issued against the project could scare away or delay potential investors or financiers which

[1] Application No. 29 of 2020 (Arising from Reference No. 39 of 2020) Centre for Food and Adequate Living Rights (CEFROHT) Limited & 3 Others vs. The Attorney General of the Republic of Uganda, The Attorney General of the United Republic of Tanzania, and The Secretary General of the East African Community.

could consequently delay the project. A case in point in Standard Bank which had initially promised to finance the EACOP project. After a series of protests by the NGOs citing environmental degradation and human rights abuses, the Standard Bank management although has not pulled out the project, it is now an issue of 'the idea is still on the table' (The Independent, 2022).

Environmental campaigner Andreas Malm, author of *How to Blow Up a Pipeline* argues that due to the environmental risks the project possess, they had successfully managed to have many financiers back out of supporting the project, He said: "*At least 20 banks have agreed with us so far. We have had eight insurers committing that they will not be underwriting this project. And they are not doing it because they like us, they are doing this because they see sense in the arguments we are making*" (Mitchell, 2022).

This above shows the extent to which non state actors can influence states' decisions and policies and their unwavering contribution in international relations. Thus diplomats, as all the interviewees agreed are expected to devise means along with the states to handle or counter such violent or parallel non state actors. The findings are in tandem with work of Kathryn Hochstetler (2013) who opined that modern-day diplomats may often find themselves in a situation where they must meet with quite several nonstate actors and are expected to interact with them constructively to help demystify issues from various angles.

Below is the map of the EACOP project. The map shows the pipeline and therefore clarifies the would be concern of the environmental activists considering it will pass through conserved areas and therefore, it may displace animals and in other instances, it will displace people and leave them with no land to cultivate thus causing famine. Looking at the map below, for a person who knows the geographical area may side with the non-state actors' argument.

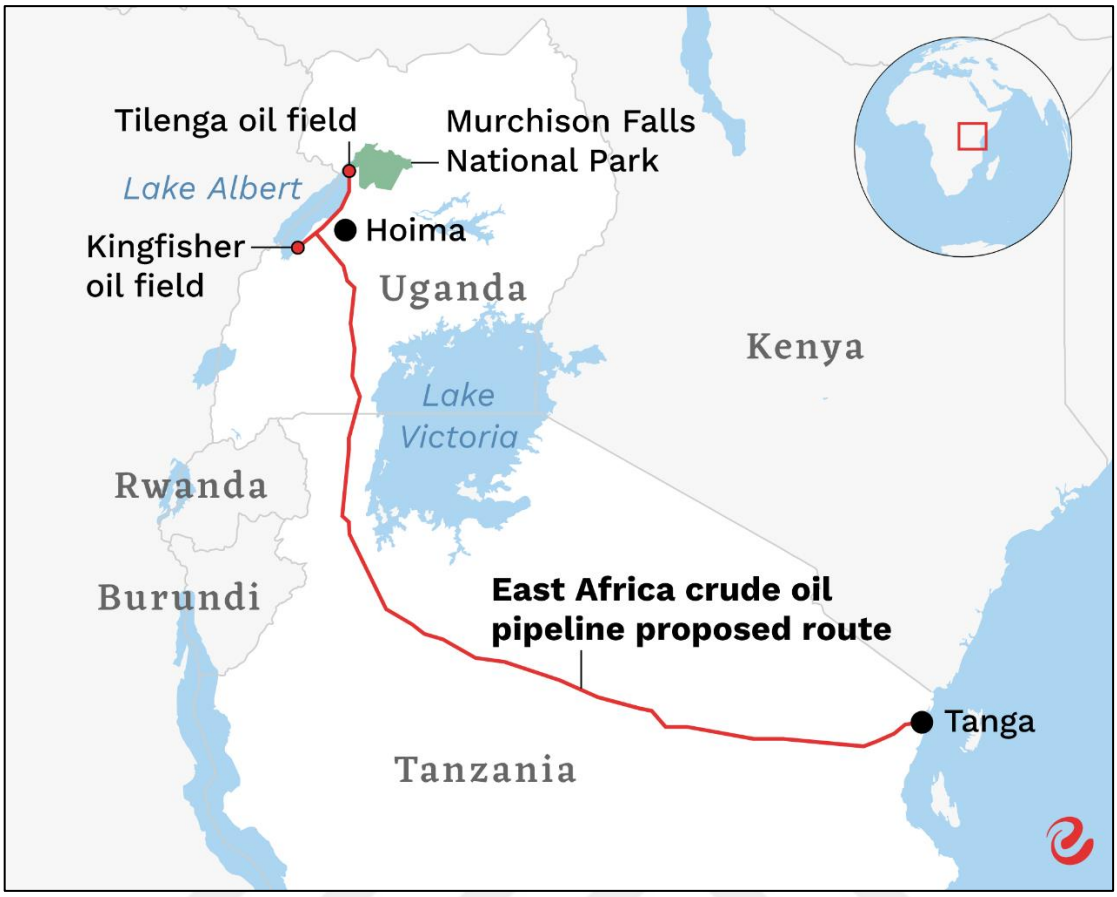


Figure 4.3. The Map showing the proposed route for the EACOP from Uganda to Tanzania

Source: EACOP (2023).

It is pertinent to note that non-state actors are in many instances controlled by the states especially in non or less democratic countries. In Uganda for example, in 2021 over forty-four NGOs were suspended citing relevant reasons ranging from expired permits to failure to file returns. However, many of the NGO officials categorized it as political persecution and related it to their criticization of the government's human rights violation specifically in the then just concluded presidential elections. Most of the affected NGOs were those involved in defending the rights of political activists and people affected by a crude oil production project in western Uganda. (Biryabarema, 2021).

The suspension was later lifted through a court order. This points to how state actors are still more powerful than non-state actors despite the changes that globalisation have brought that give a bigger platform and voice for the non-state actors.

4.2.3. Cultural Globalization

Uganda has a rich cultural heritage in its sixty-five indigenous communities each with its unique food, language, dance, and drama. Although Uganda was under British colonial rule for more than seventy years, the Ugandan culture as a form of diplomacy remained a pertinent part of Uganda's foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy was necessary for the sixty-five indigenous communities to co-exist even during colonial times. Preserving the diverse cultural identities of the population has been a government priority even after the country gained independence in 1962 as this can be reflected in Article 37 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda which states that everyone has the right to belong, practice, and promote their culture. The participation and cooperation of the Ugandan government in the various projects that promote cultural diplomacy as discussed above is proof that the country is committed to this soft power tool.

The Ugandan government understands culture as the totality of how society preserves, defines, and organizes, maintains, and sustains its uniqueness. The government of Uganda strives for social cohesion, cooperation, and participation of all citizens while respecting their diverse cultural identities. One of the challenges the governments face in promoting culture is the historical legacy of colonialism that saw most peacefully coexisting tribes and clans turn against each other through the divide and rule tactics of the colonial powers. The traditional socio-political attitudes, knowledge, and traditional health care systems towards indigenous peoples were ignored and underestimated under colonial rule.

However, the government has made an effort to acknowledge, preserve, and maintain the culture and customs in order to give future generations a solid cultural foundation on which to develop their identity. The preservation of native languages presents another difficulty in Uganda's efforts to promote cultural variety. It is necessary to translate information and artwork from regional languages into English and vice versa, which frequently results in distortion and meaning loss.

The Ugandan government is also aware of the widespread ignorance on the importance of incorporating cultural policy into national governance. It emphasizes the necessity of putting more effort and organization into promoting Uganda's cultural legacy in order for the country to achieve its development objectives. Peace and social cohesiveness require an appreciation of the nation's cultural variety. eventually, through tourism exhibitions in

Uganda and elsewhere, Miss Uganda contestants who go on to compete in regional and eventually international beauty pageants, this preserved tradition is promoted. The state frequently takes use of these exposure opportunities to promote its music, language, and culture.

Traditional cultural institutions like Kingdoms and Clans are regarded as being crucial due to their substantial indigenous knowledge and strong feeling of cultural identity. Occasionally, the Kabaka of Buganda travels to the Buganda diaspora, and presentations are made to promote the Buganda language, cuisine, music, and dancing. The Ugandan government has created an effort called Vision 2025 to serve as a roadmap for Uganda's progress toward cultural development. Through the involvement of a wide range of partners from local governments, the commercial sector, and civil society, the initiative's main goals are the strengthening of unity in diversity, national pride, respect for and conservation of cultural heritage.

The Uganda National Cultural Centre (UNCC) is another project through which cultural diplomacy is exhibited in Uganda (UNCC, 2022). UNCC which is supervised by the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development was established by a statutory body under the Uganda *National Cultural Centre Act* in 1959. The UNCC is directly responsible for building and maintaining national institutions and associations in the arts and cultural sector. UNCC also ensures the promotion and maintaining Uganda's culture on the national agenda and further takes responsibility for preserving, promoting, and documenting many of Uganda's cultural traits and traditions.

The UNCC, found in a nation with much distinctive cultural diversity, guided by the notion of unity in diversity, integrity, and relevance to national development, play a major role in promoting and preserving Uganda's culture. The UNCC is a platform where cultural diplomacy is showcased through theatre, dance, and film. The organization also promotes the awareness of different Ugandan cultural groups in providing them with a means to perform at a national and international level, thereby facilitating Uganda's cultural diplomacy. Here we recognize the role a ministry other than the traditional MoFA plays in diplomacy, yet again.

The organization works in partnership with the Ugandan Ministry of ICT, the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development, the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic

Development, the Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries, the World Bank, and DFID. All these foster cultural diplomacy as explained above. This shows how diplomacy is no longer a reserve of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as it traditionally used to be.

Cultural globalisation casts a larger net in diplomacy that creates relationships with influential members of foreign societies who may not be otherwise reached by traditional diplomacy sometimes due to a difference in government policies. All this is done through a universally acceptable and understood media of music, dance drama, food, art, sports, tourism filmyy among others. It targets an audience that even when the foreign relations with a country are strained, it is never affected.

For Steger, cultural globalization is, among other things, the world-wide spread of a homogenized popular culture dominated by the West which he refers to as the 'McDonaldization' but can also refer to the way local cultural elements persist and mix with non-local elements also known as cultural hybridization. The UNCC promotes Uganda's culture through cinema and theatre plays, artistry among other things. In a way, Ugandans are often reminded of their traditional values whenever outside forces try to set in. Children in schools celebrate and uphold their culture through things like wearing their traditional outfits on special days, plays and learning their mother tongues in classrooms.

An example of cultural hybridization in Africa is the introduction of Africa's own fast foods. In Uganda for example, although there is a KFC franchise, there are local lookalikes like Kitchen to night, Café Javas, Nando's among others. Traditionally, Ugandans are known to prefer their traditional foods to fast foods, however, as glocalization sinks in, these faced a competition of western fast foods' culture. This thus created an introduction of home-based fast foods that are affordable with a sense of locality as well. Street foods are also largely a means of accommodating the western lifestyle of fast foods as they serve almost a similar purpose of access to quick affordable meals. The most famous street food in Uganda is famously known as *Rolex* which comes from rolled eggs as it is a vegetable loaded omelette rolled up in a chapati or flatbread (See Africa Today, 2022).

Most African music has greatly shifted from traditional folk music to westernized pop or Jamaican dancehall. As a matter of fact, the population is now more driven to western music than the African traditional music. In Uganda for example, artists that want to be

driven to a large gathering sing in local languages but with a western genre. The local genre which is popularly referred to as *Kadongo kamu* has lost touch in Ugandan base and is sometimes referred to as backward. In the recent representation of the famous Ghetto kids in Britain's Got Talent, - a popular international talents show held in Britain, we see the young lads dancing to western music in a popularly known western dance moves with a touch of what has come to be known as the afrobeat moves (Williams, 2023). This is also another example of cultural hybridization, because although they are representing and holding a Ugandan flag, the music and dance s not purely Ugandan.

Thus, with globalization, however, Uganda's traditional values faces strong competition from the western ways that are considered by many as a more civilized mode of life. The free and easy flow of goods, services, and people have affected Ugandan culture by being penetrated by foreign influence. From Language to clothing, a lot has changed. Today, it is very common to find an average teenager in Uganda who can only communicate in English with little or no knowledge of their mother tongue. This, from one end, eases communication considering that Ugandan local languages are not spoken beyond the borders of East Africa, on the other hand, Uganda's cultural diplomacy must reluctantly distort some of the important forms of the Ugandan culture like languages.

A great example of fighting *"outside forces"* is the largely condemned Uganda's stand on homosexuality. Homosexuality was first criminalized under the Uganda's Penal Code Act (CAP 120 Laws of Uganda, 2000, section 145) under offences of sexual acts against nature. Uganda has been making headlines being condemned against its strong stand on homosexuality the latest being the current law that criminalizes just identifying as gay with the punishment as a life imprisonment (Atuhaire, 2023).

In many interviews, President Museveni refers to homosexuals as 'deviant from nature' and asks for a medical opinion on whether their sexuality is by nurture or nature (Africanews, 2023). He has also in one interview asked the West to stick to their values and let Africans stick to referring to the West continuously asking the government to decriminalize homosexuality and acknowledge homosexuals. In Uganda's laws, marriage is defined as a union between man and woman, and looking at social media discussions, it is awash with massive support of Ugandans for the government's position labelling homosexuality as an alien behaviour being forced onto Ugandans.

After the parliament passed the Bill that imposes death as a punishment for aggravated homosexuality, the president went ahead to congratulate the members of parliament and called upon the whole of Africa to save humanity by rejecting homosexuality. He said: "*Africa should provide the lead to save the world from this degeneration and decadence, which is really very dangerous for humanity. If people of opposite sex [sic] stop appreciating one another then how will the human race be propagated?"* (The Guardian, 2023). In all this, most claim that Uganda's traditional values have to be protected from the onslaught of the west and indeed it does not look like the government of Uganda is about to backdown from the largely condemned homosexuality. Through the technological communications and the interconnectedness, although Uganda fights hard to ward off what is deemed *un-African* or *non-Ugandan* culture like homosexuality, all this is faced by bigger challenges of the inability to control the narrative with so much on the internet.

4.2.4. The Diaspora as a Virtual State

The diaspora is like a state of its own living away from home. A virtual state as Seib refers to it, the diaspora's involvement and participation in their home country politics is one of the obvious ways that shoe how blurry the state borders have become. The diaspora has always existed, however the biggest difference between the current diaspora population and the earlier times is their ability, if they choose so, to keep in touch with their countries of origin (Seib, 2016: 85-87). The advanced communication technology which is both fast and affordable makes it easy for the diaspora to keep in touch with friends, family and up to date on their family's politics.

The easy and fast communication facilitates not only individual or personal communication but also makes it easy for the diaspora population to keep in touch with homeland's civic life and consequently boasts online activism. This creates a group of actors in international relations and since most of their activism is online or at least begins online and they do not reside in one location, they are the virtual state as Seib refers to them (Seib, 2016: 89). On many occasions, especially prior to the 2021 presidential elections, Uganda has had the diaspora protest in their host countries against the brutality regime of the government (The Independent, 2021). These protests are mainly held in front of embassies or official buildings like the UN offices. The most recent such protests are of a section of Ugandans that were opposed to the homosexuality bill and therefore took to streets in

London like was the case in 2013 when a similar bill was proposed (Peter Tatchell Foundation, 2013). These protests are mostly not covered by Ugandan media but rather through online outlets.

The diaspora is indeed not ignored by Uganda's diplomats, and it is not always deconstructive activism. The diplomats ensure to tap into the diaspora potential and as a result, in some embassies, there is a diaspora desk, a full department that solely deals with Ugandans in the diaspora. At the Ugandan embassy in Washington DC the department of the diaspora's coordinates, tailor-made activities, and conventions, and special town hall engagements, and for those in distress, they are provided with medical help (Katende, Personal communication, 2021). The diasporas also promote Ugandan culture through food, music, a rt, and dance. The embassy liaises with the receiving states' embassies in Uganda to get visas for Ugandan artists who go and perform in these foreign states thereby promoting Uganda.

The embassies also engage Ugandans in the diaspora in their respective receiving states to participate in the functions they organize, the key to these being Independence Day. Sometimes the independence celebrations are postponed to a more convenient date to attract bigger participation of Ugandans. In participating, being active on social media, they will share a lot of information about the event, which information will be popularising the country.

Ugandans abroad also promote the country through using Ugandan products like coffee, printing t-shirts with Ugandan information, using the Ugandan flag in their homes and workplaces, among others. However, for these Ugandans to play a positive role in public diplomacy, the mission has a responsibility to keep them informed with accurate information and make them part and parcel of promoting Ugandans in their areas of accreditation because in many ways they do promote Uganda whether voluntarily or involuntarily. In west Africa, students participate in cultural diplomacy, the most recent one being in Ghana.

In Turkey too, the Federation of International Students Association (UDEF) holds an annual International Student Gathering where various international students grouped into their countries are given a booth at the chosen venue to showcase their country (UDEF, 2022). This year's gathering was held online at the beginning of November. Before Covid-19, the program was always held in open spaces with millions of participants who range

from businessmen to government officials, media houses, and the like. Being a great opportunity to showcase Uganda's potential, economically and especially in the tourism sector, the Ugandan embassy in Ankara often liaises with the students' association to provide them with adequate items to showcase. This is an aspect of cultural diplomacy where the embassy collaborates with private citizens to promote Uganda, appreciating the fact that diplomacy in the face of globalization is no longer a monopoly of the official sent diplomats.

4.2.5. Communicational Globalization

Uganda's population is currently at 48,214,729 million with more than half of the population below the age of eighteen years (internetworldstat, 2023). There are various internet usage data sources which ae unfortunately not uniform. Furthermore, various statistics are given on different platforms with no single source with all the data at once. Therefore, we use different sources depending on what data is provided.

Thus, according to internetworldstat 2023 statistcis UCC puts Ugandan internet users at 18.6 million as of December 2021 accounting for 38.4% of the entire population. Out of the over 18 million internet users, 2.9 million users were Facebook subscribers which is at a penetration rate of 6.0% of the population (internetworldstat, 2023). Facebook is often singled out because for a long time it was the most used social media platform in Uganda. Furthermore, Facebook is the most used social media app both in Africa (81.93%) and the world (65.7%) (statcounter Global stats, May 2023).

Internet worldstat does not provide for other social media users like Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram, among others. Therefore, we rely on Globalstat which provides for a more detailed account of social media usage statistics in Uganda. The statistics show the highest used social media currently to be twitter at 41.08% of all social media users followed by Pinterest at 16.44%, Facebook at 12.4%, YouTube at 9.36% and Instagram at the lowest accounting for 6.88% social media users.

Below is the statistics shown in Figure 4.4

Social media stats Uganda, May 2023

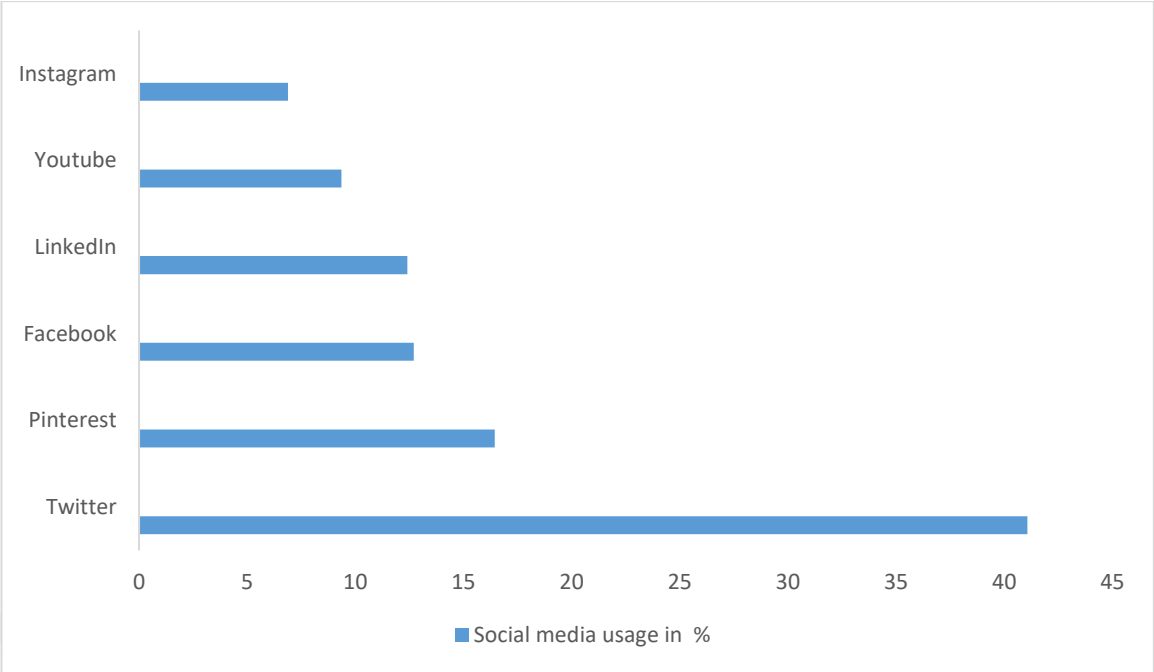


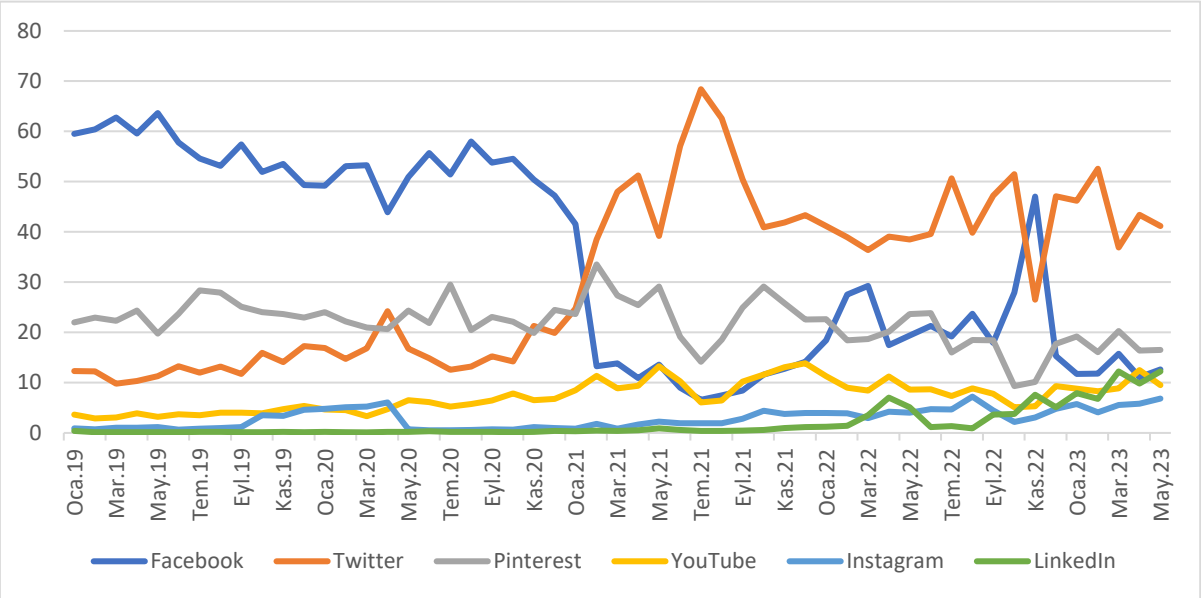
Figure 4.4. Social media usage in Uganda

Source: Statcounter Globalstats.

It should be remembered that before 2021, Uganda just like the rest of the world had Facebook as the most used social media platform, however, after the 2021 presidential elections that were marred with internet blockage and the official shut down of Facebook in Uganda, Twitter has taken over. For example, between January 2019 and December 2020, Facebook usage ranked high at 54.53 % of all social media users with twitter in the third place at 14.67%. But then we see twitter usage spike high when Facebook was shut down. What this means for the diplomats relying on communicational globalisation in Africa and Uganda in particular, is that they must keep up with such political changes and know which platforms to rely on the most, when. Ambassador Alp for example, admitted having shifted from overly relying on Facebook to twitter once Facebook was shut down.

Below we look at the statistics o social media usage in Uganda over a span of just over four years and we see how much changes are shown. It is shown in the figure below that although Facebook was officially shut down between from January 2021 up to October 2022, there was minimal usage. This was through the usage of Virtual Private Network (VPN) a private secure mechanism that is often used to bypass website or any internet site related bans.

Figure 4.5. Uganda's Social media usage comparison pre and post 2021 presidential elections



The table above shows how Facebook was ranking highest among the social media platforms used in Uganda and it went at its lowest in January 2021 due to the shut down by the Ugandan government. The sudden spike in October 2022 is when the ban was lifted, but perhaps people were already used to twitter where they had drastically shifted to after the shutdown. Thus, the curve goes back to its lowest in three years even after the ban was lifted. Twitter continues to rank high and; therefore, majority of the diplomats and government officials are more active there. Such changes are the unique challenges that the non-western countries like Uganda face when it comes to communicational globalisation as compared to countries where human rights are more protected including the right to information that now falls under internet usage (Statcounter Globalstats, 2023).

Uganda has been in the spotlight for repeatedly shutting down the internet on the eve of presidential elections citing security reasons with the last general election seeing Facebook specifically shutdown for several months. In the age of digitalisation where diplomacy has partly shifted to digital means, shutting down the internet in such critical periods sends a bad message to the rest of the world. Aside from that, it cuts away Uganda from the rest of the world to communicate fast and easily as these are widely used social media platforms (BBC, 2021). Needless to say, the reaction of the international media like

BBC on Uganda's internet shutdown is a clear sign of how non state actors are active participants in international relations and that globalisation has indeed shrunk boarders.

Cutting off the internet and social media usage during elections has become a norm in Uganda (Accessnow, 2022). In 2021, during the presidential elections, the Ugandan government ordered the shutdown of all social media apps citing 'arrogance' from Facebook and accusing the tech giant of targeting pro government accounts. Facebook however clarified in its transparency report that the removed accounts were duplicates that were taking part in a Coordinated Inauthentic Behaviour (CIB), which Facebook viewed as coordinated efforts to manipulate public debate for a strategic goal. Some of the accounts Facebook claimed were linked to the Ministry of ICT of Uganda. In retaliation, the Ugandan government blocked Facebook in Uganda from early January 2021 until recently when it secretly restored it (Aljazeera, 2021). However, many have been using the VPN to access Facebook. It should be noted that this is not the only time the government of Uganda has shut down internet during presidential elections. This has in fact become something people wait for and even prepare for by downloading the apps that can bypass such blockage ahead of time.

Considering that the Arab spring, from Egypt were primarily propagated through the giant social media platform, Facebook, perhaps that is why Ugandan government is known to shut down the internet not only during general elections but whenever serious protests erupt in the country. Indeed, through social media platforms a big global population can be communicated to. With globalisation, social media has become a great pillar for diplomacy which is however a two-edged sword to be handled carefully (Khondker, 2011).

Social media plays a big role in mobilizing the diaspora and helping them keep in touch with their civic roles and duties. There are many self-proclaimed human rights activists on the internet, most of whom use their social media platforms to preach their message, and this indeed catches the state's attention. In the case of Uganda, most of these online activists are in the diaspora as they face little or no chance of censorship by the host states. In October 2021, a known Museveni critic a one Fred Lumbuye was rumoured to have been detained in Türkiye following his continuous attacks on the president and consequently announcing him dead (Wandera, 2021). Lumbuye had been influential on Facebook with a huge following often predicting scenarios against the government that came to pass, like the attack on the transport minister General Katumba Wamala's life who was in fact later shot at with his

daughter who died on spot (BBC News, 2021). Lumbuye had connected this attack to the government accusing the government of wiping out the *'good guys*. This and many others of his posts made him a sworn enemy of the government and when he was later arrested in Türkiye on completely different immigration charges, it was easily sold to his Facebook following that the government of Uganda was behind it.

The case of Lumbuye is that of an ordinary Ugandan whose activism on Facebook when got sour involved the government and ambassadors both of Türkiye to Uganda and of Uganda to Türkiye to confirm or deny the government's involvement. Notwithstanding the (in)authenticity of Lumbuye's accusations, the fact that his detention got diplomats talking with the shadow minister of foreign affairs (Wandera, 2021) travelling to Türkiye and later giving a report in parliament goes to show the extent of the effects of the involvement of these virtual state citizens in their homeland civic duties. The *netizens*, a term commonly used to refer to internet citizens, called upon the UN and other countries willing to grant Lumbuye asylum citing political persecution. Seib discusses the power of social media (Seib, 2016: 90) while at the same time cautioning its use and indeed the case of Lumbuye in Uganda's diplomacy is one of the many that resonates well with Seib's arguments on the virtual state and the social media activism.

4.3. Diplomacy in Uganda

4.3.1. The Foreign Service

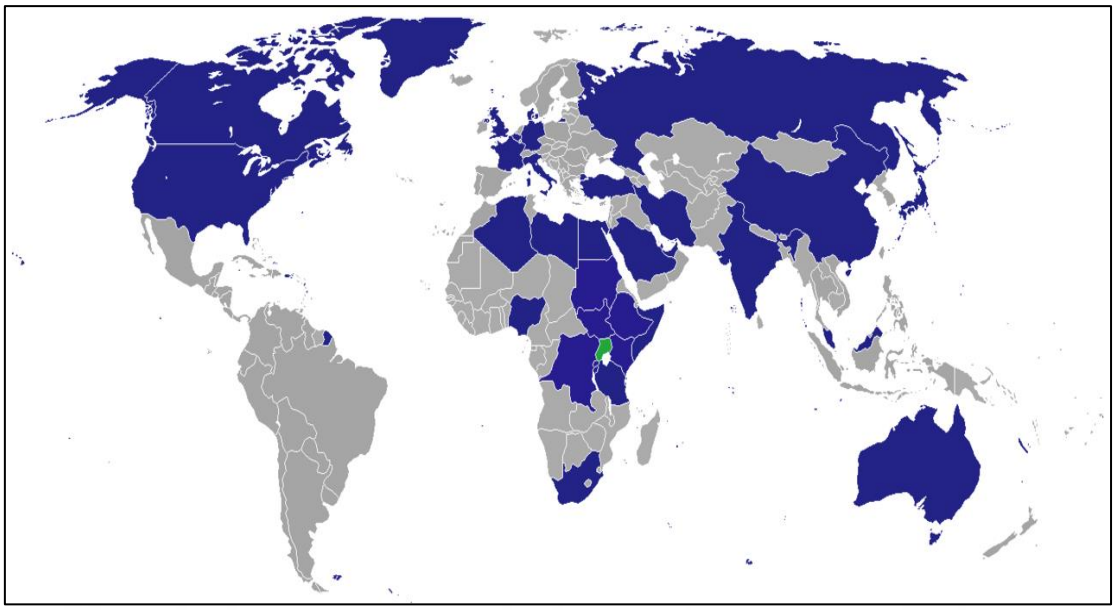
Telegrams and the exchange of envoys who travelled by ship or road were the primary means of contact between Uganda's colonial masters in Britain and the kingdom leaders in Uganda from the start of their diplomatic relations through the kingdom ship. The usage of technology—telephones, fax machines, and computers—generally followed global trends, with the majority of its advantages just recently reaching developing nations like Uganda. In Uganda, the use of telephones dates back to the 1970s, and that of the internet to the late 1990s.

Currently, the ministry of foreign affairs is directly in charge of diplomacy and the president is the chief Diplomat, just like in any other Republic. To date, Uganda maintains thirty-two embassies and high commissions abroad as well as a total of forty-six consulates. The Ugandan capital Kampala on the other hand hosts forty-three embassies and high

commissions, with forty-one consulates and one other representation. Uganda has maintained diplomatic ties with various countries and has representation in at least every region across the globe. In east Africa, the Ugandan Ministry of foreign affairs maintains diplomatic missions with its immediate neighbours which it refers to as ring states. It has a presence in all African regions, in Europe, the Middle East, America, and the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uganda, 2021).

In Khartoum, Sudan lies a diplomatic mission that serves neighbouring countries like Chad, Central Africa Republic, among others. In Southern Africa, the mission in Pretoria carries its diplomatic missions and engagements in the Republic of South Africa, and other Southern African countries like Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and the Royal Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland. In west Africa, the embassy in Nigeria carries out diplomatic missions and engagements in the whole ECOWAS region. In America and the Caribbean, Uganda has its diplomatic representation in New York, Washington, and Ottawa. In Asia, there are foreign missions in Beijing, Canberra, Kuala Lumpur, New Delhi, Tokyo, and Guangzhou. Uganda has a vast diplomatic presence in Europe, the Middle East, and the Pacific-Rim (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uganda, 2021).

Below is the map showing Uganda's foreign missions abroad. For example, in Uganda, has is a total of thirty-two foreign missions abroad. It is common in all regions but does not occur in all countries. And in some regions, we provide services to the entire region, except countries with political differences or strained diplomatic relations. Saudi Arabia's embassy, for example, serves neighbouring countries in the region, except Iran. For example, in Africa, the Ambassador of Khartoum represents Chad and Eritrea as well, Ambassador Nigeria represents all ECOWAS countries. The South African Ambassador to Pretoria serves throughout South Africa.



Key

Countries with established foreign missions

Countries with no Established foreign missions

Uganda

Figure 4.3. Uganda's Foreign Missions abroad
Source: Wikipedia (2023).

The United States (Office of the Historian, 2021), China, and Japan are some of the countries that established their diplomatic relations with Uganda as early as 1962. The United Kingdom, being a former colonial ruler of Uganda of course maintained its relationship with Uganda even after independence and has had a high commission in Kampala as well as Uganda having its high commission in London.

When it is particularly weak in authoritarian countries, power usually belongs to several individuals rather than to government bodies. The impact on diplomacy lies in the fact that external actors bypass experts, key stakeholders, and technocrats in favour of rulers and their inner circles. The friends of the state are often favoured with for example tax waivers, interest free loans often without due process. An example of by-passing key stakeholders is the recent withdrawal of the Ugandan government from the International Coffee Agreement, consequently awarding tender to a suspicious investor whom the parties to the contract including the ministry of finance oof Uganda, cannot seem to explain why she was handpicked and not gone through an official scrutiny of awarding tenders. Although the National Union of Coffee Agribusiness (NUCAFE) supports the idea, it should be remembered that this consists of mostly elites and friends of the government. Many other

coffee farmers claim they were never consulted. As if that was not enough, the government is practically forcing them to sell to one Company (Eagle Online, 2022).

4.3.2. Regionalized Diplomacy

Regionalized diplomacy has seen Uganda particularly participating in resolving regional political conflict on several occasions. In July 2015, Uganda's president was chosen by regional leaders to mediate Burundi's political crisis ahead of presidential elections scheduled that saw the opposition contest the nomination of the (now late) incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza's controversial bid for a third term (Aljazeera, 2021).

During the conflict in South Sudan, Uganda's Museveni, and Sudan's Al'Bashir were at the helm of reconciling the two conflicting groups. It should be remembered however that before the peace talks, there was a joint operation of the UN and African Union jabbed the Darfur peacekeeping mission to end the crisis. This points again to both regional and multilateral diplomacy in resolving a conflict. Globalization tends to make such developments inevitable as countries often benefit from the stability of their neighbours and subsequently suffer the consequences of politically unstable neighbours. As of October 2021, out of the one million, five hundred thousand refugees that Uganda host, around nine hundred fifty-three thousand refugees were from neighbouring South Sudan. Clearly, apart from curbing the refugee insurgency, putting an end to South Sudan's internal conflict does not only benefit South Sudan but also of great importance to Ugandan interests, including the security of its citizens and border, reducing refugee flows, and the protection of its economic investments and trade (Abdi, 2017).

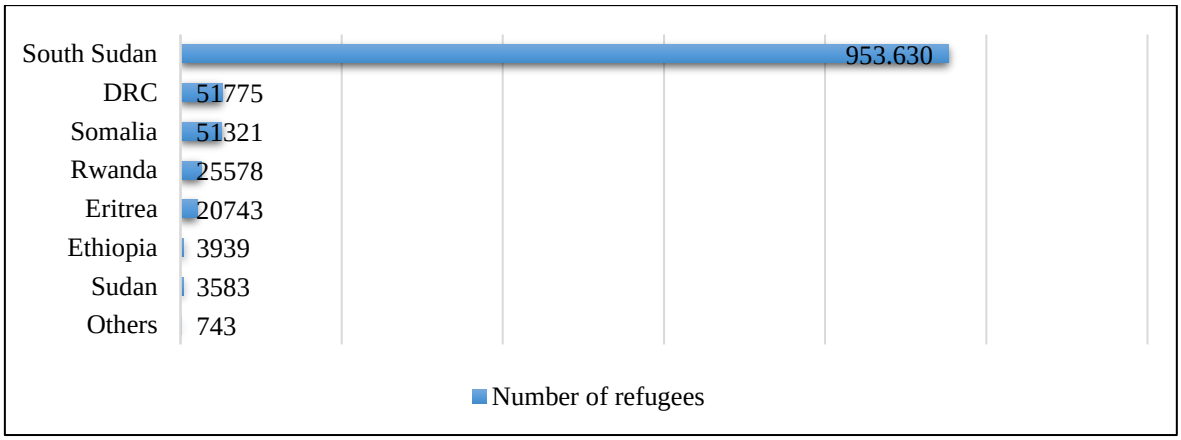


Figure 4.7. Below shows the refugee crisis in Uganda per country.

Source: Computation based on UNHCR Uganda data November 2021.

4.3.3. Diplomatic Training

Indeed, the political advantages of training foreign diplomats have led to a growing number of established and emerging powers worldwide offering diplomatic training as part of their development support. In 2016, the French embassy in Uganda partnered with Victoria University a Ugandan Private University to train diplomats in the country. Sophie Makame, the then French Ambassador to Uganda emphasized that the training, the first of its kind, was intended to deepen the relationship between France and Uganda and expand room for equipping diplomats with professional skills in the country. Pertinent to note is that the training, which was to show how social media was affecting diplomacy and equip diplomats, mainly drawn from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the emerging digital concepts of diplomacy, was to be coached within the diplomatic framework of the French National School of Administration.

In Türkiye, the Diplomatic Academy of the Republic, which was established in 1967, founded on the deep-rooted legacy of the Ottoman diplomacy trains young career diplomats from countries all around the world whose training has a touch of multicultural setting. Uganda has benefitted from this program as well through which on top of the wide array of disciplines which includes diplomacy, economics, international relations, negotiation techniques, protocol matters, regional and multilateral affairs. The academy also promotes the Turkish Language and culture in a bid to give a balanced understanding of Türkiye to the foreign audience (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, 2021). Had such a program been carried out in Uganda, it would mean a soft power tool for Uganda.

4.3.4. Open Diplomacy

Open diplomacy is the use of digital means in diplomacy especially in communication the most common being the media and the use of social media. Seib, as stated earlier preferred the term open diplomacy, rather than digital diplomacy because he attributes later to giving more importance to technology than it really deserves. Diplomacy at its heart is about a process dependant on policy and people and technology- digital or otherwise comes with tools to ease this process. However, technology is soulless and therefore its importance in diplomacy is limited, thus the use of the term digital diplomacy blurs the extent of technology in diplomacy (Seib, 2016: 15).

Communication technology has over time evolved with the most recent being the use of smart phones with internet which brings the world closer and information at out fingertips. Seib contends that the importance of a telephone in the political context is that it facilitates communication about ideas and events bringing government agents closer and states too in a broader context like he affirms in his preface that the "global village" is now moving from a cliché to reality. (Seib, 2016: 21).

Seib also shows concern about the safety and security (Seib, 2016: 31-33) of these modes of advanced technological communication, the scope (Seib, 2016: 60-66) asking to whom the diplomats should listen to or reach out to and the empowered public that has given rise to many voices (Seib, 2016: 33). These are challenges that diplomats across are facing or to face. The use of social media especially is on the rise with government officials using the platform for mainly official engagements. Even though Seib mostly refers to the West, the case in Uganda, has not been different either.

The Ugandan government uses the social media to communicate its policies both on a national and international level. The President of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni has an official Twitter account (https://twitter.com/kagutamuseveni) which he uses to make official announcements and generally communicate with the nation. In some instances, the president invites his followers to participate in the discussions he raises in his posts.

The ministry of foreign affairs of Uganda and other ministries own official social media accounts and websites. The ministry of foreign affairs communicates the ministry's engagements, correspondences and foreign visits on its social media platforms which are later shared on the website. Official statements, full speeches of dignitaries and photos of

the high state visits are often shared on these platforms as an easy way of communication and in a bid to reach a larger audience.

Currently, Ugandans both abroad and home can be easily involved in discussing government policies beyond the walls of the parliamentary buildings and diplomatic doors. The most recent social media discussion was about the alleged mortgaging of the only international airport (Entebbe International Airport) by the government of Uganda to the government of China. A section of Ugandans on the internet put the government to task to explain the alleged mortgaging of the Ugandan international Airport which was supposedly to be taken over by the government of China. Purported agreements to prove this claim were shared on the internet and the parliament was put to task to challenge the authenticity of those documents.

The Government of Uganda (2021), through its official twitter account, clarified that all this was false information. The spokesperson of the Uganda Civil Aviation Authority also took to twitter to clarify that these were false allegations. However, all this was after various news outlets both in Uganda and beyond had published the story claiming that China was taking over the Ugandan airport. Whether the allegations were true or not, the rate at which information spreads on the internet in this age is alarming and thus diplomats have to be always ahead of such issues. Some of this information is so well packaged that one may even second guess the official position they were previously so sure of. A case in point is the Uganda's speaker of parliament who after seeing a photoshopped picture of welcome to Entebbe international airport changed to welcome to Entebbe China international airport, admittedly had some doubts and thus sent a delegation to physically go to the airport for avoidance of any doubts.

Such debates, running back and forth sometimes baseless and false, yet the government takes to its official social media platforms to clarify points to how the advanced communication has changed the mode of diplomacy. Not only has it introduced many actors, some of which are hostile, but it also requires continuous engagement of the large audience by keeping them up to date and feeding them the right information to be spread.

Currently, Uganda has been dragged in the middle of a conflict oceans away- in Sri Lanka. This all started with a tweet on February 23, 2021, where Sri Lanka's Airline Pilot's Guild tweeted that it had flown three planeloads of cargo to Entebbe International Airport in

Uganda. This was at a time when coronavirus pandemic was raging, and air travel had collapsed across the world. To top it all, it is argued that, of Sri Lankan Airline's 117 destinations at the time, none was in mainland Africa. Uganda is accused of helping the Sri Lankan leaders hide huge sums of cash while their country is at the verge of economic collapse (The Daily Monitor, 2022). Such information, whether true or not can cause unnecessary diplomatic tension or political instability in countries. This is another example of how open diplomacy must be countered with utmost care but also swift speed.

Open diplomacy is critical in a way that sometimes, the leaders' social media platforms' posts are hardly differentiated from the official position of the country. In the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, while Uganda abstained from taking a vote, the president's son, Lt. Gen. Muhoozi Bosco Kainerugaba, who is also the commander land forces in Uganda continuously tweeted about Uganda's support for Russia. In one tweet he said that "*majority of mankind (that are non-white) support Russia's stand in Ukraine*", exclaiming that" Putin was right!". He further added: *"When the (USSR) parked Nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba in 1962, the West was ready to blow up the world over it. Now NATO does the same, they expect Russia to do differently?"*

Figure 4.8. General Muhozi's Twitter screeshot

This sent mixed messages across the internet and beyond with many taking the President's son's personal tweets to be the government's position since he holds second-highest military office in Uganda. Subsequently, the Foreign affairs Minister Okello Oryem, came out and disowned the first son's tweets and made the government's clear position and the reasons there to (The Independent, 2022). The fact that the foreign affairs minister had to come out and reassert Uganda's position even though Uganda had officially abstained at the UN general assembly is proof that indeed diplomacy in the digital era is critical and often needs clarity, sometimes repeatedly. This is double the work more than what pre social media awash diplomats had to deal with.

In March 2022 shortly before Lt. Gen Muhoozi visited Rwanda to meet with the president Kagame, he had tweeted that he would travel to Kigali *"to solve all outstanding*

issues between Rwanda and Uganda". Later after the three-day visit, he tweeted about it, referring to President Kagame as his uncle, shortly after Uganda's bilateral relations with Rwanda that had broken since 2019 were restored. It was however not clear whether Lt. Muhoozi's visit was an official visit or not since there was no correspondence from the MoFA or the office of the president for that matter. As a matter of fact, not even the Ministry of defence under which he directly works made any such communication (Iliza, 2022).

This raised two diplomatic issues. On one hand, the opposition were disturbed by why a country that Uganda was not at war with was represented by a military official to restore bilateral relations and on the other hand, it goes to show how diplomacy has shifted from its traditional ways as we knew to be limited to elected heads of missions and foreign affairs ministry. This debate was sparked off by the fact that, the first son's visit was neither disowned of confirmed by the MoFA as an official state visit. Thus, it was not surprising that later when the first son tweeted about Russia it was considered the government's position because it was assumed that he sometimes represents the government. This also points to that fact that in this contemporary diplomacy, hardly anything stays hidden anymore. The diplomacy of secrecy is slowly by slowly fading.

Another case of digitalised diplomacy which Seib refers to as open diplomacy is how Ugandans in the diaspora are involved in Uganda's politics to an extent that often they protest together with Ugandans at home from their respective countries of residence (The Independent, 2021). As discussed earlier, the president of Uganda himself uses social media often to communicate with the masses or clarify some matters. He however only uses a twitter handle after Facebook closed some Facebook accounts belonging to the ruling part (National Resistance Movement-NRM) during the last general elections in Uganda in 2021 accusing them of spreading false news. In protest the president gave the social media giant an ultimatum to reopen those accounts or Facebook be suspended in Uganda. The company did not bite, and consequently, the government ordered Facebook to be switched off in Uganda which was done. However, a big percentage of the masses including government *big wings* kept accessing the platform through VPN.

In a recent development, meetings to admit Democratic Republic of Congo were held by the East African Heads of state digitally. Even after the travel bans were lifted across all these countries, meetings were continuously held online and as matter of fact, the DRC was eventually admitted to the East African community through an online meeting.

The Figure below shows EAC Heads of State at their 19th Ordinary Summit held on Tuesday, 29th March 2022 that admitted DRC following recommendation by the Council of Ministers making it the 7th member of the East African community on top Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and South Sudan.

Figure 4.9. EAC zoom meeting admitting DRC to the community.
Source: East African Community (2022).

4.3.5. Public Diplomacy

Dealing with foreign publics has always been a thing as far as diplomacy is concerned. Public diplomacy which is defined as a soft power tool that is commonly used by many countries to promote their image abroad and beyond me. As Joseph Nye suggests, Public Diplomacy and soft power cannot be conceived separately as one promotes the other (Nye, 2008). Save for a few countries like North Korea which do not care what the foreign public thinks of it, public diplomacy is important because to an unprecedented degree, the public matters in diplomacy (Seib, 2016: 41).

The main source of public diplomacy lies in the media, social media, and other forms of public communication mainly online. Apart from the media, governments employ more personalised ways like public relations officers, diplomats among others. For any nation that

values global influence, there is no longer a choice but to engage and invest heavily in public relations (Seib, 2016: 43).

Because public diplomacy opens diplomacy to the public, it is as a result of such developments that non-state actors have increased drastically and thus, states now use public diplomacy to counter the increasing non-state actors that have recently emerged. Under public diplomacy, the states employ other formal and non-formal forms of interacting, communicating, and forming relations with foreign sovereigns and their masses (Melissen, 2005).

In Uganda, the ministry of foreign affairs has a public diplomacy department whose aim among others is to promote Uganda's image both at home and beyond by practically engaging various stakeholders like the media, civil society, the private sector, and the international community at large. One of the tools Uganda is using under this type of diplomacy is Uganda Airlines through which Uganda's relations and image are intended to blossom in the world. Uganda airlines were first operated in 1977 but the company later collapsed in 2001. It was revived in 2019 and so far, flies to East Africa, West Africa, South Africa and Dubai with plans to expand its wings wider (Uganda Airlines, 2022).

The department also aims at ensuring that the both the audience abroad and the domestic publics access accurate updates on Uganda's foreign policy developments and domestic economic social policies in a bid to promote, encourage investment and subsequently uplift the image of Uganda.

Under Uganda's department of public diplomacy, there is an outreach, culture, and student exchange program which is intended to promote Uganda's culture as a tool of soft power diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a tool of public diplomacy through which a country's image is promoted through its culture, music, art, and literature. A foundation of trust with or among people especially the foreign publics is created through Cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a soft power foreign policy whose impact can be felt beyond the change of governments.

Another department under public diplomacy would be the media and public relations division which oversees setting the agenda in the media on anything relating to Uganda's foreign policy and public image (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uganda, 2021). The guiding principle today, is to set the agenda and use any news event or story as a platform to promote

Uganda and the Ministry rather than waiting for others to break the news. However, Uganda relies on media personnel like the pro-government journalists and the government spokesperson to promote its image. There is only one national TV and Uganda has no international broadcasting channel. Again, to this end, the country counts on its mouthpiece or government-leaning journalists and personnel to be invited for interviews and talk shows on international media like Aljazeera, BBC, or TRT World.

The media department is also meant to monitor Social Media activity in line with the agreed social media Marketing Plan. It is expected to collect any media reports trending about Uganda. The handlers of this department are also expected to follow up on negative mentions of Uganda on any platforms, mitigate the damage and turn the narrative into a better image that promotes Uganda. The ministry, therefore, has official social media accounts that are handled in a way that promotes Uganda's image and further expects updates on any emerging negative trends or problems (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uganda, 2021).

In this form of diplomacy, an open audience is targeted. It is through globalization that this mode of diplomacy has been revamped. States no longer solely rely on their professional diplomats to represent them and foster their foreign policy abroad. The advent of public diplomacy that includes education, culture, and art is a new form of diplomacy that has emerged and developed massively with the advent of globalization because of the interdependence and rapid flow of information it has brought along.

Uganda's foreign missions abroad remain a strong pillar in promoting the country's Commercial (promotion of Tourism, Trade, and Investment.) and Economic Diplomacy. To this end, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) takes it upon itself to train its officers in specialized trade negotiations, multilateral diplomacy, political and commercial, related topics among others for them to meet this task. The embassies always have career diplomats and in limited circumstances other attachés, like defence attaché, trade, among others. However, due to limited resources, not all embassies are afforded such attachés (Extracted from Ambassador Kinobe's interview: Interview on phone, 2021).

Because of how globalization has introduced non-state actors in international relations who not only engage sovereign foreign states but foreign masses, diplomacy has transformed in a manner that can counteract such a development. Aljazeera for example for Qatar, or TRT World for Turkey, and BBC for Britain are all public diplomacy tools that have

emerged to engage and fit in the globalization era. Such institutions are a means to counter other non-state actors that may be critical of a certain country. The state media houses also help pass on the information and counter critics in a rather informal but effective manner. In Uganda for example we have Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) TV. In the case of Uganda, government-leaning journalists use already known international media to promote and defend the interests of Uganda. The government also utilizes social media platforms to propagate the country's interests.

States had a monopoly on sovereignty before the current phase of globalization, whether it be in terms of communication or the economy. However, as was already mentioned, states today seem to have lost that monopoly, and non-state players are more active and have become "diplomatic agents" than in the past. These include civil society organizations, journalists, and NGOs, among others. Despite the information and role played by non-state actors, states continue to regard and prioritize the official declarations made by their diplomatic personnel. The States' initiation of soft power (Nye, 2004) tools like media houses, education, or cultural centres to counter the non-state actors in an informal diplomatic way is proof that diplomacy has transformed.

Another form of public diplomacy is the diplomacy exhibited through music, art, and language. It can be done by individuals, institutions or even government agencies. This can also be termed as cultural diplomacy. Today, a musical group of two Ugandans called the *Ganda boys* is traversing the world organising chois across six continents to sing the Buganda anthem (*Ekitibwa kya Buganda).* All this is done in a bid to promote Luganda and Uganda all around the world through music. Furthermore, Ugandans participate in International Musical awards where they promote Ugandan traditional languages and dances through music, dance, and drama (The Kampala Sun, 2023).

Uganda has put in place various projects to promote its cultural through public diplomacy. Among them is the Mbale Tigers Table Tennis Club (MTTTC) Project (Mbale Tigers, 2021) located in the Eastern region of Uganda. The project which was founded in 1993 jointly sponsored by the government of Uganda and the Swedish International Development Agency Organization Description (SIDA) has over time, won recognition as the most successful youth table tennis club in East Africa, and players from the club have represented Uganda in several international tournaments, such as The Commonwealth Games and All African Games.

Locally, youths from different ethnic groups and social statuses come together to play table tennis and learn from each other while internationally, there are some exchange programs for table tennis players from Kenya and Sweden that have over time given youths from the three countries opportunities to visit other nations and experience new cultures through their sporting activities. These exchange programs, together with international tournaments and educational activities have given the youth of MTTTC exposure and understanding of cultures outside their everyday life and subsequently promoted their own to the world.

The project's relevance to public diplomacy is that it brings all the youths from various cultural backgrounds together under the universal umbrella of sports. Through their interaction with youths from other countries, they get to learn about other cultures, at the same time creating lasting relationships. The project is like a forum where cultural meetings take place naturally.

We therefore argue that through travel, musical concerts outside Uganda, plays and other exhibitions, the culture cultural practices of Uganda are no longer confined in the walls of Uganda and her neighbouring states, it has indeed "*escaped the prison of fixed localities such as town and nation, eventually acquiring new glocal meanings in interaction with dominant global themes"* (Steger, 2020:93).

Outside Uganda, the country mainly relies on the Ugandans in the diaspora who promote the country in different aspects. Through Students' Associations and business associations, the Ugandans in the diaspora participate in various activities that are also broadcasted on various social networking sites, thereby promoting the country's image through public diplomacy.

With globalization, cultural diplomacy is even promoted on different platforms of social networking, websites of cultural organizations, and the ability for *cultural ambassadors* to travel across the globe fast and easily. Although many organizations operate independently of the Ugandan government, they are registered and recognized by the Laws of Uganda, and this shows the implied support from the government.

The projects discussed above, and many others demonstrate the efforts of the Ugandan government to make as much impact as possible in various sectors of society. So far, these projects have been successful and have had a positive impact on where they have been

implemented. Globalizations improve their effectiveness and they have become a part of diplomatic tools in Uganda's foreign policy. Through sports, language, dance, and drama, the country uses advanced modes of communication, technology, and transport to foster its national interests.

However, to increase the impact of cultural diplomacy in Uganda, NGOs must be encouraged to partner, rather than exclude, governments from these activities. Such cooperation can lead to increased spending on cultural activities and the development of policies for cultural activities because of long-term planning and value creation. In most cases, NGOs and civil society organizations tend to exclude the government for fear of not working independently without undue government influence.

While some countries can form cultural institutions beyond their borders to promote their language, like Turkey's Yunus Emre Institute, Uganda lacks both the mandate and the ability to put up such an institution. For Countries like Turkey, Japan, the USA, or China, being homogenous linguistically eases putting up institutions that promote their language. However, for countries like Uganda whose largest ethnic group is (Baganda) is only 16% of the population, it is hard for the government to promote anyone's local language without backlash from others. However, Ugandans abroad especially the Baganda have often organized programs that promote their language and culture with the most recent being the Ganda boys who are singing the Buganda anthem alongside world class choirs in six continents. On Uganda's independence celebrations in most embassies, Uganda showcases a few of its traditional dances and foods. This is only as much as it can do.

4.4. Conclusion

Uganda ‘s diplomacy, like Seib and Steger mentioned has seen the effects of globalization through the high degree of trade and investment, especially within the context of a regional economic organization; non-state actors; both violent and non-violent, the diaspora and the spread of digital media. Like Seib states, the case of appointing ambassadors from the political elite is prevalent in Uganda as well as is in the rest of the world. Uganda is involved in both open and public diplomacy and the threat of open diplomacy has already been experienced numerous occasions, from governments officers uttering unfortunate statement that cannot be separated from their personal opinions to false statements that had to take the Speaker of parliament to clarify. Again, there are the issues mentioned by Seib (political appointments, training).

Chapter three discusses in detail globalisation and diplomacy in Africa whereas in this chapter the discussion is narrowed down to Uganda in particular. The overview of globalisation and diplomacy in Africa lays a foundation for understanding the same in specific terms of Uganda. In many ways, this gives us an opportunity to find if any, similarities in how diplomats in Africa execute their duties as compared to Uganda and whether the changes faced in Africa are any different from those faced in Uganda. Thus, in the next chapter we look at the changes globalisation has brought to diplomacy in Uganda.

5. HOW GLOBALIZATION HAS CHANGED DIPLOMACY IN UGANDA.

To substantiate the effect of globalization in Uganda, interviews were conducted, and the main target was Ugandan diplomats. A few non-Ugandan but African diplomats too were interviewed considering they face the same challenges of globalization. Non-African diplomats serving in African countries too preferably Uganda were a target of this research. Randomly selected according to their schedules and availability, the diplomats were asked assorted questions to establish how globalization has changed diplomacy as they knew it in the 1990s to date.

The questions asked centred around the changes in diplomacy that this research's literature review raised, and we tried to establish whether these changes have been felt in Uganda's diplomacy. Questions were about communicational globalization and its effect on diplomacy. Here we looked at the advanced communicational technology and the robust use of social media how effective it is and useful in diplomacy. A comparison of face-to-face meeting visa vis online meetings was put into question, post mail versus digital mail, diplomatic flexibility and the safety of digital archiving as compared to analogue or manual archiving of diplomatic correspondences.

About political globalization, the diplomats were asked about the role of non-state actors, how relevant they have become and whether they are as powerful as the states. Under economic globalization, the role of the MoFA as a monopoly of a country's diplomacy and the role of the diaspora in cultural diplomacy were among the questions asked and below, we go into details of these interviews.

It was established that diplomacy in Uganda has indeed been changed by globalization but, its methodology as a fundamental character has relatively remained the same. The most central account of diplomacy, which has always been about building, maintaining, and using relationships to advance a country's foreign interests has not (yet) changed due to globalization. However, the methodology has changed in several dimensions. For example, although sovereignty is necessary for diplomacy to function, with the advent of globalization, as discussed above, that has facilitated the non-state actors, the sovereignty of states has changed theoretically, and accordingly, the methodology of diplomacy has also changed.

5.1.Communicational Globalization

5.1.1. The Use of Social Media in Diplomacy

Globalization has facilitated the rapid and simple exchange of information, as well as the participation of non-state actors in diplomatic missions. Even if this is not done formally, it ultimately alters the conventional diplomatic techniques as we once understood them. Thus, globalization may not have fundamentally affected the essence of diplomacy, but it undoubtedly changed the sending authority, which is a crucial foundational element of diplomacy. Sovereignty is necessary for traditional diplomacy to work. With globalization, information is passed on by non-state actors to an open audience, a behaviour that was secluded for diplomats in the past.

With the various modes of advanced information technology and communication, diplomacy is no longer purely limited to only states when it comes to collecting information. It was established through the course of collecting data that social media is sometimes used to collect information. The diplomats interviewed agree that social media and the internet can today be a source of information since most governments use internet platforms to communicate, which is consistent with the work of Grant (2014) who argued that diplomacy has been transformed into 'negotiations with the internet'. One can get the position of a certain government on an issue through their official Twitter page, or Facebook. There is vast information on the government's official website that is accessed by both state and non-state actors with no bureaucracy. Sometimes, the tweets and Facebook posts by different government leaders are either policy directions or implementation strategies of particular policies.

All embassies and the Ministries of Uganda have social media accounts which they use to communicate with various stakeholders. Social media accounts are used to send and receive messages relevant to missions as a fast way of communicating. The diplomats mostly use WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter. WhatsApp is normally used for instant communications amongst the embassy staff and MoFA. It is a more personal mode of communication. Facebook, on the other hand, is used to share information targeting a more open public forum.

To assess whether the advanced technological communicational methods have changed the mode in which diplomats communicate and the effect of its change if any, the

interviewees were asked about the use of social media, how effective it is in effecting diplomatic duties and whether they use social media to collect information about the host country. All diplomats that were interviewed indeed agree that they use social media for diplomatic purposes but the extent and ways in which they use it varied. On collecting information about the host country, this was also answered differently depending on what kind of information is found on these sites.

Social media platforms here were mainly focused on twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, and digital means of communication like the websites among others. In asking the interviewees, these modes of digital communication could either be personal accounts or the embassy's official pages and handles through which diplomatic duties are executed.

Ambassador Katende in Washington who has been a diplomat for forty-one years appreciates the changes social media and other advanced information and communication technology have brought to diplomacy. He acknowledges how useful it is but also regrets that even though social media is very effective in executing diplomatic engagements, in terms of practicability, its 50 percent, because *"we don't go all the way. We do not plan and prepare ourselves to utilize those platforms to their full capacity".* As a country, diplomats are not yet trained to utilize these developments to their maximum and this leaves so much to desire (Interview by phone, 3 May 2021).

Ambassador Julius Peter Moto, the head of mission of the Uganda High commission in the UK's stand on how globalization has changed diplomacy explores on various issues like the use of social media that has largely been embraced. On how effective social media is, he affirms that is largely effective by sighting an example of a fraud case that involved a Ugandan living in the UK whose money was being withdrawn from his account without permission. The Ambassador's attention was drawn to the case, and he tagged the bank of Uganda official who oversaw supervision who consequently followed up on the said bank which was Equity bank and consequently got the issue resolved.

To this effect, the ambassador took steps to protect the country's image and restore trust in the would-be investors who would otherwise want to use the same bank. Furthermore, because of the digitalization of communication, this was a quick and cheaper way of contacting the bank, rather than calling or being forced to travel from UK back to Uganda. Consequently, the fact that an issue is made public often forces a quick and

transparent investigation. This is the same with diplomacy whereby the diplomats are now more accountable than before. This may make them work under more pressure; however, it is productive to have public servants know that the public they serve is watching each one of their steps (Interview by phone, 18 August 2021).

Dr. Omar Alieu Touray, a Gambian diplomat who also served as the Gambia's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 2007 to 2008, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia, the Gambian Ambassador to Ethiopia and many other diplomatic capacities also weighed in the effect of globalization on diplomacy in Africa. His experience serving in Africa as a diplomat can very much be related to diplomacy in Uganda as well.

Dr. Touray also highlights that the use of social media for diplomatic purposes should be minimal and only used as a complementary means to the traditional forms of diplomacy. He explains that information on digital platforms can easily be distorted and therefore diplomats should be careful while using these tools. Like Fletcher, Dr. Touray cautions diplomats on the use of social media without enough scrutiny (Interview by zoom, 30 December 2021).

Mr. Alfred Balinda who was the first secretary of the Uganda High Commission in the UK and in charge of African Union and East Africa affairs, asserts that diplomats do use social media for diplomatic purposes and the respondents vary on what the post is about. He affirms that it is relatively effective and an example of the fast and advanced way of communication (Interview by questionnaire, 8 April 2021).

Mr. Joseph Barigye, the first secretary to the embassy of Uganda in Türkiye also conforms to the use of social media and he asserts that it is mostly Ugandans in the diaspora that are addressed through social media. On whom responds, he asserts that this ranges from colleagues at the embassy to the Ugandans living in Türkiye. He also points out that that social media platforms like WhatsApp are a common means of communication now within their workplace (Interview by questionnaire, 5 March 2021).

From the embassy of Ghana in Türkiye, Mr. Paul Kwabena Nana Sei Osei, the minister consular in charge of politics also affirmed the use of social media pointing out that the embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana do have Facebook pages. The general

public and Ghanaians living abroad are some of the audiences addressed and the response varies on which group is being addressed (Face-to-face interview, 4 March 2021).

H.E. Fikret Kerem Alp, the ambassador of Türkiye to Uganda since 2018 was also interviewed in a bid to look at how diplomacy and globalization in Uganda by a foreign diplomat. Indeed, he affirmed that social media is being used but mostly to teach people about diplomacy as he argues that the concept is grossly misunderstood and mixed up with international cooperation. H.E. Alp has experience in diplomacy of nearly 30 years and he has also served in NATO for four years.

H.E. Alp affirmed that the embassy uses social media especially twitter. Although face book was previously used more, they no longer use it since the government closed its usage in Uganda. The Turkish embassy in Kampala also relies on its website to make announcements, relay information, and communicate to the public as well.

On whom is addressed through this platform, the ambassador explains that it is the general public, mostly Ugandans since they are the target group in their policies to make Uganda understand and know about Türkiye. In return mostly Ugandans respond to such engagements consisting of over seventy to eighty percent and the Turkish nationals consisting between twenty to thirty percent.

On whether the embassy uses social media and other digital sources to get information about the host country, he explains that it is not aways the case and that such platforms are mainly used to promote tourism which he retaliates that it is not diplomacy related. It is also used as a medium of communication for high level visits, charity events, commemorations, among other embassy events. Social media and other digital forms of communication were very helpful during covid period for health information, visa information and general travel information like travel warnings. This has stuck even after the restrictions on meetings have been relaxed.

In a bid to keep track of what is happening around the electorates of the elected people the embassy directly deals with, the embassy endeavours to not only follow high level figures like the president and the ministries on these platforms but also follow private citizens and the influencers who can help like Samson Kasumba, a popular journalist in Uganda, which is useful to follow to understand what is really on the Ugandans mind and what keeps them busy on a particular day. The ambassador believes that following such influencers helps one

understand what's happening to ordinary Ugandans and subsequently provides effective diplomatic representation the sending state.

On how effective the use of social media is in executing one's diplomatic duties, Ambassador Alp retaliates that although it cannot replace the traditional means of communication in diplomacy, it is greatly complementary to such means. He argues that he feels most people do not really understand what diplomacy is and therefore such platforms are used to teach masses what diplomacy means and what it is about. He says;

"Rather than use social media for diplomacy, I prefer using it to teach people about diplomacy and make them understand what diplomacy is". (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022).

Seib affirms in his "*Shaping diplomacy's future"* that social media enables the discussion of various issues and politicians use them in the same manner. Before social media, Diplomats were unlikely to even be aware of the relevant concerns, much less see the necessity of developing a response to certain layman issues. Today diplomats and high-profile politicians use social media to popularise national interests and make announcements for a today and tomorrow and engage common citizens. Thus, diplomats in future, will need to keep an eye on such debates and, in some situations, take part in them since they can help lay out a plan for effective public diplomacy, in this case, aiding in the provision of water (Seib, 2016: 125).

Seib further cautions about the manipulation of social media and for diplomats not to rely on it for analysis of for example how popular an idea is as sometimes the retweets or Facebook shares are as a result of trolls or robotic computers. Therefore, just like the interviewees Seib is aware of how unreliable or unrealistic social media reliance can be. (Seib, 2016: 135)

5.1.2. Face to face Visa vis Online Meetings

Globalization has changed and eased the way of communication in many aspects. People very far apart now can communicate easily. Whether this has extended to diplomacy to the extent that face-to-face meetings have been replaced by digital meetings for purposes of negotiations, the interviewed diplomats all disagreed. The past almost two years, marred with the Covid-19 pandemic, saw many communications turning digital for obvious reasons.

However, it was established that for purposes of diplomatic negotiations and correspondence physical meetings are still a priority because of the importance of body language in communication. Even after the pandemic, it is unlikely that the digital meetings will be opted for against physical meetings. Physical meetings tend to deliver more honest and definite results as compared to digital meetings.

Although by and large, both digital and face to face meetings are used, the preliminaries of negotiations or interactions are done through emails, phones, video conferencing, as facilitators. Ultimately, face-to-face modes of communication for purposes of negotiations and diplomatic engagements are still opted for mainly because of the importance of body language. The findings are in line with the work of Seib (2016) who opines that the advent of new technologies makes the process of diplomacy more efficient but warns that it should be simply corroborative and not a core in carrying out diplomatic duties.

A case in point is the Uganda and Tanzania oil pipeline deal that was signed in September 2021. Amidst the pandemic and lockdowns, a technical team from Tanzania travelled earlier to Uganda, followed by the ministerial team to follow up on the technical team, and finally, Her Excellency Samia Sululu flew in to sign the agreements face to face with His Excellency Yoweri Museveni. This, happening in 2021 amidst the pandemic, is a clear example of how much face-to-face diplomatic engagements are still treasured (Ambassador Nekesa's Interview through phone on May 6th, 2021). Indeed, as HE Ambassador Kinobe stationed in Khartoum in charge of other neighbouring countries said, "*diplomatic engagements need to be face to face. Some things like body language, are unique and irreplaceable."* (Interview by phone, 26 March 2021).

Ambassador Ssebulime who is accredited to Saudi Arabia and other surrounding countries contends that physical engagements have advantages that cannot be replaced by digital engagements. Physical contacts create friendships, and body language as well is very important in matters of communication, something that cannot be achieved through virtual meetings. He continues that:

"*Every September for example, we would meet in New York but the last year we didn't. In such meetings, we normally meet in breaks or even after the end of the conferences or official engagements and we get to know each other, get contacts, etc. This isn't the case in*

virtual meetings, once the cameras are off, it is unlikely that we will get in touch with people we first met in that meeting unless there is an urgent common interest. Physical engagements, on the other hand, create these interests even where they are initially not there which is the work of a diplomat. Virtual meetings, therefore, have deprived us of this" (Interview by phone, 22 March 2021).

One could argue that indeed Dr. Touray defends the traditional forms of diplomacy and roots for them to be upheld. He, like many other diplomats and researchers agrees that face to face negotiations are still popular and more relevant that digital meetings for purposes of negotiations and other diplomatic correspondences. He attributes this to the importance of body language in human communication, and the natural warmth that comes with face-to-face meetings. He further expanded on this by refuting any possibility of face-to-face meetings ever being replaced by digital meetings. After diplomacy faced a challenge of forced digital meetings during the pandemic period when travelling was banned, Dr Touray explains that the fact that people met up immediately when the ban was lifted means that face to face meetings are still preferred (Interview by zoom, 30 December 2021).

Like many others, Mr. Balinda also agrees that face-to-face negotiations are better than digital meetings and dismisses the possibility of digital meetings ever replacing face to face meetings (Interview by questionnaire, 8 April 2021). Mr. Barigye (Interview by questionnaire, 5 March 2021) and Mr. Kwabena (Face-to-face interview, 4 March 2021) as well agreed that face to face meetings are still important and digital communication can only supplement them but not not entirely replace them.

Ambassador Alp like other diplomats, stress that face-to-face meetings cannot be replaced by online digital meetings. However, his point of view is slightly different. As much as most of the diplomats relay the comparison to a lack of body language reading and connection in online gatherings, H.E. Alp relates it to safety. He argues that what is said online is never completely safe as it is out there in the cyber space. The ambassador further argues that with most of these online platforms being free of charge, the users may in one way or the the other pay for such usage. He continues.

"In diplomacy you don't put all your cards on the table. For example, the things that are sensitive like national security threats, secrets, some trade agreements, cannot and

should not be discussed through digital means because the safety of such sensitive information should have some level of guarantee".

He however appreciates that online meetings and gatherings have taken their space in diplomacy especially during COVID period when meeting face to face was not an option. Even after restrictions were relaxed, "*COVID opened our eyes to a more intense use of social media and some of the events that we used to have face to face have now been completely replaced by digital means. For example, people do not need to travel all the way to the embassy to get visa information. After COVID, 90% of the time people wanted to meet me to get information, they used digital means".*

He further says that for the case of informative correspondences where people are seeking information that could otherwise be public information, digital means are a safe and convenient means to communicate. In fact, a part of communication has completely been replaced by digital means, however some parts of diplomatic communication that involves sensitive information are still solely handled face to face and there is not a possibility of these being replaced by digital means. (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022).

Not specifically referring to diplomacy, while discussing virtual communication, he argues that as the use of internet communication increases, it reflects major changes in the notion of community with individuals on computers and their mobile phone reducing less and less the face-to-face interactions (Seib, 2016: 89). Applying this to diplomacy, it is clear that although face to face interactions have been defended to not be completely replaced, they have reduced drastically. As ambassador Alp explained, the 'forced' reliance on virtual interactions during the COVID-19 lockdowns opened an opportunity of closing off unnecessary face to face meetings which has continued even after the lockdowns were lifted world over. Face to face meetings have now been reduced to extremely important and necessary diplomatic interactions.

5.1.3. Postal Mail or Digital Mail for Diplomatic Correspondences?

Post mail refers to the letters posted through the mail whereas digital mail refers to the e-mails, that is to say electronic mails. As the world sinks into networking through digital and online means, so has diplomatic communications. This part of the thesis sought from the interviewees which mode of communication is more used considering the advanced modes

of communication that globalisation has come with and whether this in anyway changes diplomacy.

It was generally discovered that the foreign missions have generally advanced from the use of post mails to mainly using digital communication, and where transportation of hard copy documents like passports is involved, diplomatic bags and couriers are used. Even where letters or diplomatic notes are posted, it is normally done to supplement digital or electronic communication. By the time the posted letter or diplomatic note is received, digital communication has long been received.

Ambassador Nekesa in Pretoria who is charge of Southern Africa, clarifies that the use of postal mail is generally still used for purposes of having both soft and hard copies of diplomatic correspondences. However, she agrees with the rest that except for hard copy documents like passports, the other communications are sent as complementary to the electronic communication. She says: *"For example, when we are communicating with headquarters, we send the communication in both soft and hard copies. For instance, letters of credence for accreditation of ambassadors are always sent as hard copies. Thus, there are some instances where you cannot rely solely on soft copies".*

In Pretoria for example, shifting from the machine-readable passports to the biometric ones, where the embassy has not been availed with the software yet, all the passports are in the meantime being printed in Kampala and are sent here through post mail. However, ambassador Nekesa further warns of deep fakes that are common with digital communication. The challenge with this brings that on social media, this spreads very fast with little or no limitation at all (Interview on phone, 6 May 2021).

Mr. Balinda also explains that the use of post mail is slowly fading away and only used in unique circumstances. This has been the position of all interviewees stating that apart from transporting specific documents like passports, most of the communication is done digitally (Interview by questionnaire, 8 April 2021).

Ambassador Katende also clarifies that postal mail is still used though not for everything like it was before. For example, in the USA diplomatic bags were used very often but certain communications are no longer put in diplomatic bags because digital communications are faster. Emails are used internally and while communicating with the headquarters in Kampala as compared to before where everything was through diplomatic

bags. Also, for consular documentation. In the US for example, movement of passports, national identity cards, etc, are transported through post mail. The use of postal mail has drastically declined in general (Interview by phone, 3 May 2021)

Ambassador Alp agrees with majority of the ambassadors that indeed the post mail has been replaced 99 percent. The post mail he says is still used at a very minimal specifically to send original documents (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022). Like Alp, Mr. Kabwena (Face-to-face interview, 4 March 2021) and Mr. Barigye (Interview through questionnaire, 5 March 2021) all agree that there is still use of post mail but at a very minimal rate for specific diplomatic correspondence.

Thus, it is evident that the digital mail has largely replaced post mail in a degree that even when the post mail is used, it is accompanied by a faster digital mail to complement it, accompany it or announce that a mail should be expected. Seib also agrees that people no longer rely on just postal services to keep in touch with friends and family but rely on the internet for communication and keeping in touch with the politics and world affairs. This is because communication through internet connectivity is cheaper than telecommunications (Seib, 2016: 88). Again, here Seib talks about the people for example in the diaspora who keep in touch with their families, but this well fits into the diplomats as well.

5.1.4. Diplomatic Flexibility

Diplomatic flexibility for purposes of this research refers to the ability and need to make a well thought decision. When the telegraph and then the telephone were introduced in the late 19th/and early 20th centuries, some diplomats bemoaned this as leading to a decrease in diplomatic flexibility. Today we have instant texting apps, mobile phones and all sorts of sophisticated kinds of modern technology communicational tools that make information travel faster than ever before. The interviewees were therefore asked whether they thought that the ability (and need) to respond to a message quickly diminished the time available to make a well-thought decision (diplomatic flexibility). Below we look at their responses.

A section of the interviewees asserted that indeed the advent of fast advanced communication diminishes diplomatic flexibility. This is so because with so much information moving on so fast, diplomacy is slowly losing its secrecy, and diplomats are

sometimes hijacked and 'forced' into responding unprepared. This was the view of Ambassador Nekesa (Interview by phone, 6 May 2021) and Ambassador Mubiru (Face-to-face interview, 12 March 2021) of Ankara. They argue that diplomatic flexibility, in principle diminishes. Sometimes, phone call correspondences demand an immediate response. Yet in diplomacy, every response requires thorough consultation. Responding through letters gave people time to think, consult and give informed decisions. While it is easy to consult through phones as well, a diplomat is expected to be up to date in this era puts some diplomats under pressure, failure of responding faster may be regarded as a weakness and may come at a cost where misinformation is spreading very fast.

However, most of the other ambassadors dismiss the notion that diplomatic flexibility i.e., the ability to argue that the ability (and need) to respond to a message quickly diminish the time available to make a well-thought decision. Ambassador Katende for example thinks the advanced communication rather facilitates diplomatic flexibility unlike in the paper age where consultations would be made through mails, fax, etc which are slower, today back and forth consultations can be made faster and easier to one's satisfaction through mobile phones and other instant messaging applications like WhatsApp (Interview through phone, 3 May 2021).

Ambassador Ssebulime further explains that diplomatic flexibility has not diminished and should not be, because it is never a matter of how fast the communication is but a question of the individual and how ethically and professionally, they respond. Although the communication is fast and requires the diplomats to act fast, a diplomat should not be under pressure or aim at responding immediately but rather appropriately (Interview on Phone, 22 March 2021).

Ambassador Ocheger who is based in Nigeria but in charge of the ECOWAS region argues that even though advanced communication may diminish diplomatic flexibility, but again the same development can be used to solve the diminishing flexibility. A major requirement for modern communication is that one must read widely, and understand their mission mandate, and even have drafted responses. He argues that diplomats should even in certain instances rehearse different scenarios and always be prepared for all situations. The ability for advanced communication to diminish diplomatic responsibility depends on how well trained and prepared a diplomat is. He contends that all foreign mission officials should be caught up to the speed of this advanced communication and make use of it rather than

give it room to sabotage the diplomatic missions. He emphasizes that *"Once you understand your mission mandate, you understand what you are required of in the day-to-day basis of digital communication as a diplomat"* (Interview by phone, 11 April 2021).

Mr. Balinda appreciates advanced technology but dismisses the fact that it diminishes diplomatic flexibility. On the other hand, the advanced modes of communication facilitate diplomatic communication and if anything improves diplomatic flexibility since the diplomats can consult with their sending states quickly and faster on matters as they arise (Interview by questionnaire, 8 April 2021).

Likewise, Ambassador Alp disagreed and argued that instead the digital communication facilitates and supports the diplomatic flexibility. He argues that the fact that now the relevant high-level officials can speak to their counterparts directly relieves some pressure from the ambassadors and thus they have enough time to respond and even where inquiries need to be made from the capital, it is easier now in the telecommunication age than it was during the paper ages (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022).

While some diplomats argued that the advanced communication diminishes diplomatic flexibility, others argued that it rather increases the flexibility because of the easy and fast ways of communication. Seib is of the view that the fast mode of communication diminishes diplomatic flexibility as so much pressure piles on what to tweet in response of a scenario with information running faster every minute. He says that in this era, it has become more about *"what shall we say"* than "*what shall we do*" which puts a diplomat under so much pressure that sometimes broad strategy is pushed aside to manoeuvre a quick online tactic. He however clarifies that Ministries of foreign affairs and embassies are putting up policies on who to respond, when (Seib, 2016: 60-61).

5.1.5. Safety

Globalization has evolved the document management system that started from writing on cave walls/stones to cabinets and now to the advanced technologies of electronic databases. The recent development of storing diplomatic correspondence and engagements digitally is faster and easy to use but one wonders about its safety. Documents can also easily be retrieved in digital storage and shared among stakeholders faster, however one wonders this comfort is worth the sacrifice of archiving sensitive information out in the cyber space

with unknown safety risks it faces. Diplomats were therefore asked between the digital archiving and manual archiving of documents which one was used more, and which one was safer.

Ambassador Katende start by explaining that away from the computers, the introduction of smartphones also facilitates document management solutions where a person anywhere, anytime can access documents, we are seeing smartphones take that one step further by making "*information at your fingertips*" a reality. Diplomats like others are now able to access various documents users can now access their entire document database, as well as search those documents and share them externally with the stakeholders globally from their smartphones even away from the computers.

However, this does not come without any challenges. Diplomats are now kept on tenterhooks worrying about how safe the documents in digital storage are. Ideally, archived documents in traditional storage rooms face mainly natural disasters like fire, earthquakes, and physically being stolen. Such disasters can be better prepared for unlike the digital threats to safety that are mainly artificial. All the interviewees agree that although digital storage and modes of communication are easy and faster, their safety lies in the balance. Amidst all the safety measures put in place for digital safety, we have seen the highest secured files being leaked. Apart from the threat of hackers, once a document or information falls into the wrong hands, it can easily and rapidly be spread all over. Even if a document is stolen in its hard copy, it will not spread as fast as a soft copy document.

All foreign missions interviewed stated that documents are kept in both soft and hard copies. This is so because none of the methods is considered entirely fraud-proof or completely safe. Ambassador Katende further clarifies that for a country like Uganda and others in Africa who do not own any of the digital forms, it would be safer to rely more on the one that they own and have ways in place to at least guarantee the safety of the documents. He exclaims: *"Even if you get assurance that your information will be safe, you solely depend on the provider Until we have total ownership of digital tools that make these storages safer and faster, we will continue to use the archives as a back-up".*

He further explains that even though the old archives system was laborious, and slower, at least the users own it. Indeed, for very critical correspondents, the diplomats greatly rely on archives. For example, for diplomats in Africa, where power cuts are very

common with no backup generators in some instances, it means that for that period without power, one may not be able to access the documents saved digitally (Interview by phone, 3 May 2021).

Ambassador Nekesa also clarified that digital storage is less safe although both modes of storage are not entirely safe. She explains that in digital storage where information is stolen and leaked, it is not easy to prove the liability of the person as hackers can always delete their trail. In some instances, those responsible may disguise themselves as victims as well that were caught unaware in cyberspace. Even with the diplomatic oath, in today's international relations, with a high rate of cybercrimes that are almost impossible to prove the sending and receiving authorities continue to appeal to people's moral authority to keep up the oath, otherwise, the information stored in digital means is as easy to find as it is to be leaked. Not every state is well equipped with the digital means to trace and punish such cybercrimes, the less equipped being African countries. However, in the traditional archives, a CCTV camera is almost enough to pin a culprit (Interview by phone, 6 May 2021).

On the issue of archives, Ambassador Moto affirms that although the embassy uses both digital and manual archiving, there are still documents, who because of their sensitivity are only kept in physical archives. He also contends that both forms of storage have challenges, but the physical archiving is safer than the digital archives (Interview by phone, 18 August 2021).

Ambassador Katende concluded even with both modes facing challenges, the traditional way of keeping hard copies in archives is still very much in use and should not be dealt away with because he considers it is safer. He cites an example of the archives in London about the colonial period demarcations, the agreements also stored on microfilms. Such mode of storage if untampered with, is likely for such documents to not be duplicated, and even where they are, it is easier to prove a hard copy fake than the deep fakes in the digital world. He also affirms that getting into those archive storage unnoticed is very much unlikely as compared to digital storage (Interview by phone, 3 May 2021)

Mr. Kabwena on the other hand argues that the pre digital archiving also had its own challenges just like the digital threat. He contends that the safety depends on a country and their ability to invest heavily in digital archiving since it is faster to access (Face-to-face

interview, 4 March 2021). Mr. Barigye also conforms to the same argument but strongly leaning more on the traditional archives (Interview by questionnaire, 5 March 2021).

His excellency Peter Moto also argues that the diplomacy secrecy has somehow been distorted, however he affirms that this shall in no way reach an extent of overriding diplomatic immunity. He argues that the principles on which diplomatic immunity was instituted still stand and he therefore does not foresee a time where the changes that digital diplomacy come with, will ever distort such principles (Interview by phone, 18 August 2021).

As discussed above, the safety of virtual documents is neither here nor there. Diplomats are therefore advised not to be blindsided by the false notion that securing computers means securing the documents. Seib cites the example of WikiLeaks which has proven first-hand that even the highest government secrets can be public through the internet (Seib, 2016:31-32). Here we are talking about countries that have the highest forms of technology, and enough manpower to help them and are expected to keep up with such threats. Where does the least developed countries in Africa like Uganda if such superpowers state secrets can be leaked.

5.2. Political Globalization: The Non-State Actors

About state sovereignty and how globalization has changed diplomacy by literally blurring the state boundaries, we see an introduction of non-state actors taking part in diplomacy. Diplomats were asked how relevant they think nonstate actors are in today's diplomacy, whether they thought globalization contributed to the introduction of non-state actors in international relations and how powerful state actors have remained amidst this new development.

At least all the diplomats that were interviewed agreed that non state actors raise different issues all together since they work beyond states boundaries. They deal with global issues on environment, human rights, among others while state actors will deal with these plus security, economic issues and many more. On the roles of non-state actors and how relevant and powerful they have become, below are the responses from various diplomats.

Mr. Barigye stated that diplomats deal with the non-state actors as and when the issue at hand calls for engaging with them. He further elaborated that diplomats must endeavour

to keep a cordial relationship with the non-state actors specifically the non-violent ones in order for the state to control their narrative about the image of the country (Interview by questionnaire, 5 March 2021).

Ambassador Ssebulime, the ambassador of Uganda to Saudi Arabia and other surrounding countries agrees that globalization has introduced new actors and argues that it brings on board some violent ones as well. He argues that globalization has somewhat reduced the powers of the state. Globalization gives nonstate actors unchecked powers, especially through the media. They explode the media where they can easily target foreign citizens and nationals alike. Some of these non-state actors work purely online and are difficult to keep track of and be responded to.

Ambassador Ssebulime who has been a diplomat for Forty-two years also argues that non-state actors have become more relevant with the advent of globalization especially in the areas of policy activism, human rights, among others. He explains that nonstate actors have largely been enhanced by digital technology for example the Non-Governmental Organizations. He stresses that as diplomats, they must engage the non-state actors rather than sweep their influence under the carpet because they are here to stay. *"We must engage them so that we feed them with what they can represent the state with. Ignoring them, puts the state at a risk of being misrepresented*". He exclaims. He contends that nonstate actors have today become a vital element in international relations especially for policy in some areas to the extent that in some ways, they substitute states.

He also stresses that nonstate actors, because of their influence are and should be dealt with regularly. On whether nonstate actors rise different kinds of diplomatic issues, he states that a government is a multipolicy 'organization' while nonstate actors are mainly sole policy. They technically do not raise different issues but more detailed issues depending on which actor one is dealing with. He dismisses the notion that nonstate actors can ever be as powerful as State actors since, without state actors, most of the non-state actors would be non-existent.

Non-state and state actors have both their strengths and sometimes unique independent roles they play in international relations. Ambassador Ssebulime gives an example of how if the government is purchasing a vaccine produced by a private company, practically it will deal directly with the private companies to directly tender, procurement system. This is so

because of most of the laws of many states. However, if the state is procuring ammunition, then definitely it will have to go through the state agent. Be it as it may, it is always safer to involve the state in any foreign transaction so that should any litigation arise, it would be easy to settle. Also, in cases where a state deals with a company that is not on very good terms with the hosting country, it may sour the diplomatic relations (Interview by phone, 22 March 2021).

The Ambassador of Uganda to Turkey His excellency Steven Mubiru agrees with HE Ssebulime on the influence and general position of non-state actors and how globalization has indeed facilitated their advent in diplomacy. He also emphasizes that indeed State actors are more powerful; than non-state actors and that to that effect, diplomacy is still centrally driven by state actors. They deal with non-state actors as a matter arises. It must also be in the interest of his country. The non-state actors raise different diplomatic issues. HE Mubiru cites an example of when the International Criminal Court which a non-state actor is issued an arrest warrant against Omar Al-Bashir, then president of Sudan, and even ordered other member states to arrest him should he visit their country. However, this was never put into effect until Bashir's own country finally arrested him on a slightly different note (Face-to-face interview, 12 March 2021).

Ambassador Nekesa on the other hand, argues that in some instances nonstate actors have become more powerful than the states though not always. She argues that the non-state actors have become more relevant because they have even reached the extent of influencing policy formulation. Because some of the implementations of some projects where they raise red flags, maybe halted pending investigation, in some instances, they may influence a change in policy or even conditions of the funding. She projects an upward trajectory of the states at one time facing an even stronger competition or obstacle from the non-state actors. She however emphasizes that the states are still powerful in many ways and that nonstate actors have no chance of ever replacing the states in diplomacy. In her own words, asked whether non- State actors have now become more powerful than states, she says

"No, obviously not. They can cause change and implementation of policy in their capacities for various reasons, but they can never be more powerful than a state. They will always act within the states. They are made up of states and they exist because states exist".

Ambassador Nekesa raised an example of how NGOs could for example halt the Uganda-Tanzania oil pipeline by raising environmental concerns. This might not necessarily be valid concerns, but the project can be halted pending investigations. True to her fears, various environmental activists and NGOs have raised concerns citing that the project poses risks to protected environments since it goes through a national park, water sources and wetlands due to the emission of carbon dioxide and human rights violations arising from inadequate facilitation and compensation of the landowners where the oil fields and pipeline will be (Interview by phone, 6 May 2021).

In his 41 years of experience in diplomacy, Ambassador Katende appreciates the influence non-state actors like the NGOs, civil society organizations and INGOs have in diplomacy currently. He asserts that they are taking an upper hand to use their tools to come to the table. Inter-governmental organizations, even though they are composed of states and somehow controlled by the states, because of nationalism are being undermined and their relevancy being challenged. For example, in the case of WHO when members choose to get out, or powerful states threaten to cut funding, such actions weaken the organizations. This is a challenge because as the world becomes smaller, these intergovernmental organizations are the closest we have to a global government. Without a world government we need such organizations for normalcy, and to pioneer assurance on issues of climate change, environmental threats, international law, and for those who violet such laws to be held accountable. Indeed, non-state actors are taking a lot of space in international relations but at the same time, as far as diplomacy is concerned, they are relevant but being challenged because of nationalism (Interview by phone, 3 May 2021)..

Mr. Alfred Balinda, like many other diplomats agreed and appreciates the extent to which globalization has been incorporated into diplomacy. He recognizes the advent of non-state actors in diplomacy and global politics but rejects the notion that non state actors can at any one time replace state actors. This is because, the non-state actors' participation is born out of the state actors' participation. Without States, non-state actors would be non-existent (Interview by questionnaire, 8 April 2021).

On the role of the non-state actors and their role in diplomacy, H.E. Peter Moto disregards their influence and maintains that the art of diplomacy still solely belongs to the statecraft. He further explains that the role of non-state actors like the CSOs, and NGOs is different in diplomacy, they cannot replace or compete with the states and that the official

position and only acceptable diplomatic policies still lie with the states. He insists that the role of non-state actors is simply a cheques and balance role and their role in diplomacy is appreciated but he dismisses that they are in any way competitive. He further explains that the heads of the foreign missions had the utmost right to represent their states in diplomacy.

H.E Moto further explains that non state actors are not in any way comparable to state actors. Their roles are specific, and the states may seek their expertise from time to time like in issues of climate change, etc., however the non-state actors rely on states to execute their diplomatic duties. They are temporary and can fail any time which is not the case with the States whose existence and sovereignty is permanent (Interview by zoom, 18 August 2021).

While he appreciates that non-state actors have been introduced in global politics and that they do play a role in diplomacy, Dr. Touray rejects the notion that their role is competitive. He affirms that non state actors' role in diplomacy is specific and that it only exists because of the States. Thus, their role is rather complementary and without the state actors, the non-state actors would not have a place in International Relations. However, this does not mean that their role is insignificant and that they can be avoided. Far from that, these non-state actors are to be kept in close contact and good working relationship with the states to be fact checked and their information controlled (Interview by zoom, 30 December 2021).

On the role of non-state actors in diplomacy amidst globalization, ambassador Alp explains that while many NGOs have gained more momentum and the communicational globalization gives them a big platform to get involved in international relations, some of the big organizations have rather been performing poorly even with the advancement in technology and communication. Here he gives an example of the UN which he says despite being one of the largest and oldest non state actors, they have become less and less relevant.

H.E. Alp continues to say that the UN can no longer play its role effectively specifically the UN security council as it is unable to prevent wars or illegal occupations despite investing heavily in digital technology, it has not made them any more effective. However, those other organizations like the NGOs and TRNs who are not necessarily sponsored by governments have utilised the globalization advantages of digital technology and easy communication to convince people and make their policies popular on human rights, environmental related issues, among others. They have benefited highly and have

succeeded in convincing people and to transcend national boundaries and do something for humanity. He concludes that the digital technology and other effects of globalisation to this end have empowered NGOs more than they have the government as they accord a platform to communicate with no borders (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022).

Seib admits that unlike in the 17th century where diplomacy was primarily concerned with relationship among states, things have since changed, and non-state actors have today achieved prominence on global stage where some are disruptive while others are constructive. He cites the middle east as a show case for disruptive non state actors (Seib, 2016: 10-11), however it is clear the continuous growth and support of the far right especially in the west is greatly fuelled virtual platforms all the current non state actors enjoy.

It is conclusive that the media has given non state actors more credibility and a greater platform to access global publics than they would have had in the past. Seib agrees with the interviewees on this, however, unlike the interviewees who only limited their discussions to international organisations and NGOs, Seib went further to discuss the role of big city coalitions, the violent non state actors like the Islamic state of Iraq among others. He argues that such actors use the media to announce and claim their legitimacy, but one wonders what this means for diplomacy (Seib, 2016: 76-77).

5.3. Economic Globalisation: The Role of Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Another threat to traditional diplomacy as we knew it, because of the interconnectedness that globalization brings, most countries now deal easily together bypassing the bureaucratic tendencies of traditional diplomacy. Here, a question arises on whether diplomacy is still a reserve of the ministry of foreign affairs. Today we see ministries of finance, tourism, among others practicing their own diplomacy away from the ministry of foreign affairs. Although some like Ambassador Alp may argue that their role is not diplomacy in the sense of it (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022), their contribution to promoting their countries in a peaceful manner and bringing in investment opportunities is undeniable.

Because of the introduction of other actors within the state in diplomacy, like the ministry of economy, tourism, or culture, one wonders what relationship of MoFA as a former monopoly of diplomacy with other ministries is. The interviewed diplomats here

were asked what the make of the relationship between the MoFA and other ministries, whether it is complementary, competitive, or neither.

The ambassador of South Sudan H.E. Ambassador Majok Guandong maintains that diplomacy is still a reserve of the MoFA. The Ambassador of South Sudan to Turkey contends that theoretically it is complementary but practically it can be competitive sometimes. Some ministries deal with the foreign issue without working together with the MoFA. This however is wrong because it causes a lack of coordination. If for example, the businessmen of South Sudan had a meeting or business fare in Istanbul, ideally the MoFA should be involved and the South Sudan businessmen should liaise with the embassy, however, in most cases this isn't the case. He attributes this mainly to globalization which has created many non-state actors and many modes of getting and passing on information which makes it easy to abuse or bypass protocol. It is now easier for private companies to deal with each other without necessarily involving the state thus leaving out the diplomats. (Interview, face to face, 12 March 2021).

Ambassador Mubiru argues that diplomacy is only a preserve of the ministry of foreign affairs in theory but practically, it is no longer a preserve of the MoFA. He further explains that for any stakeholder's security, it would be proper to pass through the MoFA, however, the gates of diplomacy have so much changed, and given the nonstate actors means to develop a method of communication through which they can bypass the protocol and bureaucracy. He attributes all this to globalization (Face-to-face interview, 12 March 2021).

To Ambassador Ssebulime, diplomacy is not a preserve of the MoFA, the ministry is simply a lead agency with the head of state being the chief diplomat. He further states that diplomacy is for every citizen because every person can carry out a diplomatic task in its literal meaning. Because of globalization, we now have tourism diplomacy, economic diplomacy, culture, all handled by different ministries. In this case, diplomacy is no longer a preserve of the MoFA. Beyond these official known forms of diplomacy, we have private citizens who may voluntarily or even sometimes involuntarily promote Uganda's national interests using the robust internet platforms (Interview by phone, 23 May 2021).

On whether Uganda's diplomacy is a preserve of the ministry of foreign affairs, ambassador Moto affirms that that's the case sighting the fact that this preservation is derived from the constitution of the republic of Uganda. He is by far the only diplomat that holds

this view as others admitted that although this is the official position, times have changed, and now other ministries and arms of government participate formally and informally in the country's diplomacy. This extends to ministries of Tourism, Trade, Finance, among others. The relationship between these ministries and the ministry of foreign affairs is both complementary and competitive depending on the circumstances. To ambassador Moto, the role of other ministries is complementary and this he attaches to the fact that the government lacks enough financial ability to post departmental attaches to all missions, for example trade attaches, defence attaches, among others to represent the main departments. The lack of these attaches twists the embassies' and foreign affairs' ministry's hand to deal with other ministries. (Interview by phone, 18 August 2021).

Although ambassador Alp agrees that diplomacy is no longer completely a preserve of the MoFA, he is at the same time sceptical to refer to the actions or contribution of those other agents of government as diplomacy. He says;

Other ministries can have diplomacy in their line of duty, like diplomacy in international relations. Real diplomacy is about international relations peace and security, and international cooperation. Some state actors like ministries consider themselves to be conducting diplomacy such as cultural diplomacy, education diplomacy, diplomacy in defence. But I think that's a very loose way of using diplomacy. I think those ministries or agencies should not consider what they are doing as diplomacy but rather as international cooperation. Diplomacy is a profession like a medical doctor and is to be conducted by such professionals as appointed.

He therefore argues that although other actors besides MoFA contribute in a manner related to diplomacy, they cannot qualify their work as diplomacy but rather as international cooperation. He stresses that Diplomacy is a term cast to refer to political dialogue between or among countries conducted by a profession. Alp limits diplomacy to a conduct by decision makers and ministries of foreign affairs between two nations or between multinational organisations through professional diplomats. Thus, in his view, the relationship between the MoFA and other government agents is neither complementary nor competitive because their roles in diplomacy are not related (Interview by phone, 30 November 2022).

However, when Ambassador Alp refers to the role of the MoFA as a coordinating and guiding agency, it seems to me like he secretly admits to the fact that the relationship is

complementary. He explains that without a good relationship between two particular states, which is mostly coordinated by the MoFA, the other ministries or government agents cannot deal with such countries on any level. He maintains that none of these agents can work independent of the MoFA considering that the relation on which they base their interactions with such countries is cemented by the MoFA.

Seib agrees with most of what the interviewees that diplomacy is no longer a monopoly of the MoFA by referring to the case of the USA where the white house and the State Department share the diplomatic duties ranging from the Department of defence to the department of Agriculture. Even the legislative branch which is to maintain oversight and control the budget does not hesitate from time to time to interject into diplomatic matters (Seib, 2016: 11-12).

Because diplomatic responsibilities have grown tremendously and continue to grow due to the increased participants, the partisan politics that initially would not work together with diplomacy is now almost impossible to separate. Diplomats now open their works to greater political interference and thus opens a door to other government agents that were initially not directly involved in diplomacy (Seib, 2016: 11).

5.4. The Role of the Diaspora

Globalisation has created easy movement where people now settle far away from their countries of nationality. Uganda is no exception, and from there too people move for various reasons ranging from economic- for work to educational purposes. Others move in search of a safer place than their countries while others move to simply have a change of scenery. These people in their individual or collective capacities can introduce their countries to the diaspora through language, food, culture among other ways. These people in the diaspora or as we refer to them in this chapter *the diasporans* have been a part of cultural globalisation and thus they as well contribute to cultural diplomacy. The interviewees were asked about the role of the diasporas in diplomacy of any, and if so to explain their role. Below is what the diplomats who were interviewed had to say.

H.E, Peter Moto who has been a diplomat for 10 years, appreciated the role Ugandans abroad play in the country's diplomacy which he does not consider a direct role. Ugandans participate mostly in promoting cultural diplomacy, highlighting matters of governance and

leadership back home and by sharing the content that is shared on the embassy's official social media platforms (Interview by phone, 18 August 2021).

Ambassador Ocheger also points to the diasporans to promoting cultural diplomacy. He explains that Ugandans in the ECOWAS region often organise programmes, whether sponsored by the embassy or not that promote the country. Some of these programmes are culturally motivated especially among students' organisations where they promote Ugandan culture, languages, food and tradition in forms of exhibition. In other instances, the working Ugandans help create awareness about investment opportunities in Uganda. They also hang the Ugandan flags in the houses or places of work, which is an automatic preliminary introduction of Uganda as a country (Interview by phone, 11 April 2021). In such ways, the diasporans make their small contribution towards cultural diplomacy and this is attributed to globalisation because it is because of this that people travel more.

Majority of the Ugandan diplomats point to mostly the role of the students through their exhibitions either organised by their universities or organisations in the host countries where they use the opportunity to promote Uganda's culture and language and in other instances the non-students who informally persuade potential investors for Uganda. Although this may translate into economic diplomacy, it is through the role of diasporas that it is achieved (Interviews conducted between March and May 2021).

Ambassador Katende in Washington, however, expands on their role to promotion of Uganda's democracy and political awareness. He argues that with Ugandans in the diaspora holding protests in front of the embassy and sometimes at the UN offices whether in protest of elections, or human rights abuse of the Ugandan government, it goes to show that the country is a democracy. Asked whether this does not scare away potential investors, he said it does not because this protests sometimes do have pro government activists that explain things differently. In his view no publicity is bad publicity, and, in the end, Uganda is introduced to the world and the protests can be translated in different ways.

H.E. Katende also pointed at the use of music in promoting the Ugandan culture. The diasporas play a big part in this as they liaise with the music promoters and organise concerts in foreign countries. Singing Ugandan songs, some in local languages, showcasing the Ugandan dances among others is all a part of promoting culture and opening up a country for tourism opportunities. This was initially solely handled by embassies, but we can see that

the ball has now shifted due to globalisation. The Ambassador also mentioned a jazz artist Isaiah Katumwa who had just in the states (Interviewed by phone, 3 May 2021). Such artists sometimes are invited, and they perform on the independence celebrations of Uganda.

Ambassador Alp says that the diasporas in this take Turkish nationals living in Uganda are involved in "cultural diplomacy" in their own way, independently. He however once again emphasizes his earlier point that work, they should not be referred to as diplomacy as diplomacy is only carried out by professionals (Interviewed by phone, 30 November 2022).

Subsequently, there is a consensus on the diasporas having a contribution they make towards cultural globalisation and diplomacy however their contribution though sometimes is the same is interpreted differently. Seib shows how the new communication technologies help the diaspora to keep in touch with their home countries rather than assimilate in their host countries. When discussing the *"Virtual state"* which exists *de facto* and not *de jure*, he shows that is has increased the obsolescence of the border lines and its most significant effect is the changing relevance of the diasporic population (Seib, 2016: 85). What this means for diplomats is that they face a different challenge in diasporans who were previously easily assimilating into their host countries but are now more connected and keep in touch with their original countries. They can mobilise online and hold physical protests, to get their grievances heard.

For countries like Uganda this is a big step since back home they can barely raise their voices without being silenced. In the diaspora, with the new communication technologies, this gives Ugandans in the diaspora a voice they would otherwise not have had without the new communication technologies, as much as it poses a different set of actors for diplomats to engage (Seib, 2016: 85-90).Therefore, Issues like open diplomacy, even though they refer to this as digital diplomacy, a term Seib admits that is popular but discredits its usage as misleading have been discussed mostly in the same view as Seib's. While some interviewees agree with the fact that globalisation has diminished diplomatic flexibility like Seib does, others underscored this and rather argues that it facilitates and, in some instances, speeds up the flexibility. The safety of diplomatic correspondences, and the role of MoFA in diplomacy in relation to other government agencies in what Seib refers to as *the government diplomacy* were all elaborated on by the interviewees as seen in this chapter. Indeed, the position of Seib and Steger is not far from what the interviewees had to say about diplomacy and globalisation in Uganda (Seib, 2016: 2016).

Diplomacy in Uganda dates back to the 1800s even before Uganda was a sovereign state. As discussed above, under the British protectorate Uganda's diplomacy was between the then kingdoms that formed Uganda. As time evolved, and leaders changed so was the extent of the diplomatic duties. At the advent of globalisation, Uganda's diplomacy which was then state to state diplomacy and no longer kingdoms transformed just like the rest of the world. Chapter four and chapter five connect on grounds that whereas chapter four discusses globalisation and diplomacy, in chapter five the focus is on specifically how globalisation has changed diplomacy using the information given in chapter four as a yardstick to discuss what has changed and how it has changed.

6. CONCLUSION

One of a state's distinguishing characteristics is its capacity for diplomacy, and it is undeniable that diplomacy has been used since the emergence of the first city-states or, as was already mentioned, mankind itself. Initially, diplomats were simply dispatched for specific agreements, and they would return right away. That has since changed with permanent diplomatic residences and embassies being established as discussed above. The current phase of globalization has further hastened this development with much easier and faster access of sending and receiving of information. This has not been any different for Africa and Uganda in particular. Although due to financial restraints, Uganda's permanent residents are shared among regions, for example you will find one ambassador in charge of the whole of West Africa.

Accordingly, the Style of diplomacy in Uganda has changed in a way that the traditional state to state diplomacy is now supplemented by open and public diplomacy. This is so through the robust introduction of non-state actors, both violent and non-violent. The open and public diplomacy are mostly put in pl: "Traditional" Diplomacy is supplemented by Open Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

Economically, although the MoFA was predominantly in charge of diplomacy, today Uganda's MofA no longer has a monopoly of diplomatic activities but rather shares them with other governmental entities, especially Trade and Finance ministries. The ministry of tourism and defense also features big in diplomacy currently in boosting the tourism and culture of Uganda. Although in some embassies these ministries ae represented by attaches, in many others they are not due to financial restraints as explained by Ambassador Kinobe in his interview.

The Ugandan diaspora is now used as an asset to advance Uganda's Public Diplomacy. Not only is it used as an asset but also stands out as an actor in Uganda's foreign relations. By using social media and other communicational platforms, the Ugandan diaspora keeps its country in check and thus an actor that the diplomats have now to engage. This is different in a way that Ugandans in the diaspora make use of the freedom of expression and press in their host countries to get massively involved in Uganda's civics, something they would otherwise not get involved in freely in Uganda.

Furthermore, in the political sphere, it is pertinent to note that non-state actors can no longer be ignored. In addition to states, Ugandan diplomats need to take non-state actors (international organizations and NGOs) into account. As the interviews showed, it is important that the non-state actors be involved as this curb the spreading of misinformation and may also help the state control the narrative put out there by these non-state actors. It is clear however from the interviews that the Ugandan diplomats hardly showed any interest in violent state actors. This is clearly because they are handled by the states' security operatives through hard power mostly which is contrary to diplomats majorly soft power policies.

For communication in diplomacy, Ugandan diplomats now use social media and other digital means, albeit with certain qualifications. The use of postage although still in place is very minimal saved for specific documents and it has been concluded that digital means are only being used as a supplement and are not replacing the traditional storage and postage means of diplomatic correspondences. Like other forms of digital communication, face to face meetings are not likely to be replaced either. Whether digital means have enhanced or reduced diplomatic flexibility remains controversial. While to some diplomatic flexibility has been challenged, to others the advanced communicational means rather supplement and improve diplomatic flexibility. Uganda like many other countries in Africa not only have a low internet penetration rate and usage, but they also face internet censorship and blockage from time to time. Such are the loopholes that pass unaddressed in most of the current literature.

Globalization in Africa as a poor continent has not benefited them much. Economic liberalization for example is mostly imposed from the outside and leads to a trade pattern characterized by exporting raw materials and import of industrial goods. Exporting raw materials disadvantages the domestic industries and mostly works to the advantage of the more developed countries these raw materials are sent to. The raw materials exported at a cheap price come back to these African states as expensive finished goods with more quality than the domestically produced goods. This unfair competition has kept most African states poor despite being rich with natural resources. As far as economic globalization is concerned, the African continent is yet to benefit from it as much fully or equally as its counterparts in the developed world. The available literature on globalization and diplomacy does not take into consideration such hurdles that are unique to Africa. What is mostly

discussed are the free trade agreements and tariffs without going deep into their consequences on African economies.

Politically, many African countries have authoritarian regimes and/or domestic crises. As a result, non-state actors (IOs and NGOs) play a particularly important role in putting limits on undemocratic practices and/or to deal with the crises. On the other hand, the very authoritarian character of the regimes also puts limits upon the influence of these non-state actors. Although non state actors play a role in keeping authoritarianism in check, most are silenced which limits the freedom of expression by all. Only the brave ones stand up to the state as those who fear censorship and their licenses to be revoked choose to just watch on.

It suffices to note that, as seen above, the concepts of globalization and open diplomacy are relevant for Africa in general and Uganda in particular. The approach towards these developments by diplomats may vary depending on experience and available means, however, the interviewees agreed that indeed the changes of globalization to diplomacy are real and to brush them off is a mistake. Although Seib's argument, on whom our research is largely based, mainly gives examples from the developed world, and majorly draws his conclusions from that experience. In many ways, his findings were like our own research findings and fit Uganda's diplomacy though not entirely. Below we look at how much Seib's arguments relate to Uganda's specific situation and what was left out.

Conclusively, intertwining Seib's and the interviewed diplomats' arguments, the general argument is that traditional diplomacy has remained intact and unchanged except for the methodology. According to Seib, the internet has brought tremendous changes in diplomacy in the last decades, and he thus predicts the future of diplomacy to depend on mainly the speed of information (Seib, 2016: 60-66). The major changes in communication technology only compared to the introduction of printing in the 15th century has affected diplomacy by opening it up to the public and by tremendously increasing the speed and amount of information and participants. He asserts that the future of diplomacy is tied to the future of the media and thus agrees that even though the nature of traditional diplomacy remains alive, it is now to coexist with the new internet driven kind of public diplomacy. One wonders where this leaves Africa and Uganda in particular where the internet penetration level is not only very low but they also on various occasions face internet cuts from the government as seen above. Seib does not address such unique challenges isolated to specific parts of the world.

The interviewees broadly agree with Seib's approach and conform to his conclusion as they all highlight the need for diplomats to use digital media and how risky it is to completely ignore it. The interviewees all argue that certain core elements of traditional diplomacy remain in place and as still extremely important: for example, face-to-face meetings, important documents being put into the diplomatic bag, archiving of soft copies, the ethical and professional qualities of individual diplomacy as raised by Ambassador Ssebulime among others. Suffice to say is the importance of states being more important than non-state actors despite the platform digital communications have created for these non -state actors.

In a nutshell, the interviewees greatly agree with Seib's argument on the future of globalisation and the changes that globalisation has brought and is still bringing. The diplomatic flexibility, the use of digital media and communication, without ignoring the unique importance of face-to-face meetings and other traditional traits of diplomacy are some of the many things that the interviewees agree on with Seib's arguments. It is important therefore for the diplomats to embrace the advancement in technology and other changes in diplomacy by globalisation rather than ignore them. As Seib states that the future of diplomacy rests with the media, diplomats are to prepare to work alongside such changes.

It is clear that Seib's account is largely based upon the diplomacy of the great powers, and he only mentions Africa briefly when he refers to the Ebola crisis in West Africa in 2014 and the role non state actors played in handling the crisis. Although the examples drawn by Seib were from West Africa, this is true for the most of Africa, Uganda inclusive. Uganda has largely received assistance from non-state organisations in times of crisis, both regional and beyond. Furthermore, Seib does not mention the involvement of non-state actors in democracy in Africa where various civil society organisations and regional organisations send election observers across the continent during the presidential elections. As democracy is still very young and shaky in Africa, it is pertinent to show the extent to which the non-state actors are involved in overseeing and improving democracy all over Africa and Uganda in particular.

Furthermore, the AU often issues economic sanctions on countries that change governments through undemocratic means. This is a clear involvement of non-state actors and their role in issues that were predominantly state issues. However, Seib makes no mention of any of such globalisation changes to democracy in Africa.

By ignoring such challenges mentioned above, Seib's arguments ignore the different challenges the changes in globalisation to diplomacy pose for African countries like Uganda as compared to the big powers he largely refers to. A political system like that of Uganda which is marred with nepotism with political power centred around the president, his family and a close circle of his friends has a unique set of challenges. The effects of this is seen in the excitement of the president's son's rather reckless use of social media threatening neighbouring sovereign states, being a high profile military general, such threats would not be taken lightly, however, we saw them pass with no serious consequences. The least would have been for General Muhoozi to issue a public apology but rather the president came out to apologise on behalf of his son. The spat between the president of Uganda and Facebook that consequently led to the closure of the social media giant was sparked off by the accounts of Museveni's supporters being closed.

As already discussed, Seib's arguments are greatly based on the Western system and as such, his examples are largely drawn from the developed world, showing the strength of the edge cutting technology and communication that diplomats have to work along with, which does not put into consideration countries like Uganda that have power cuts for hours in a day. What this means is people may be unable to communicate digitally when their batteries die, which is more common than one in a developed world may imagine. This leaves a gap in over depending on digital communication and archiving which can be inaccessible in the absence of electricity. Although this is a common occurrence in many African countries, it is almost unheard of except in extreme weather conditions in developed countries and superpower countries from which Seib largely draws his examples. Therefore, he makes no mention of such challenges and the possible solutions and in fact, gives no alternative for the future of diplomacy in such countries.

I recently attended a hybrid conference in Switzerland where one of the virtual presenters from Zimbabwe (Southern Africa) not only missed out on most of the presentations but also could not present his own paper due to a whole day power cut in Zimbabwe. This left some participants, of course from the West, wondering how one survives, communicates, and keeps in touch with the rest of the world in such circumstances. This was a conference organised but one of the biggest research institutes in Switzerland and therefore Zimbabwe in just a snap of a figure could miss out on potential investors because of that image. This could happen in any situation that involves actual diplomatic work, and

these are challenges that Seib does not address perhaps because from his world, it is unexpected, however, this is a reality for many countries in Africa. As Seib argues that the future of diplomacy relies heavily on the speed of information (internet), where then does the future of African diplomacy lie? These are challenging that African diplomats and states have to address or they be left back by the rest of the world.

It should also be noted that while discussing the non-state actors in chapter five, the interviewees barely make mention of the transnationally operating non state actors, violent and non-violent. They generally discussed the NGOs and International Organisations. For the violent state actors, it was clear that they stayed away from them since they are mainly dealt with through military means which is an apparatus of the states. Although the interviewees hardly discussed the violent non state actors, while discussing the emergency and role of non-state actors in chapter four, we make mention of how the state is largely at the helm of dealing with such actors. Even where diplomatic means of solving such conflicts are in place, it is normally the heads of states within region that are sent as peace makers and in some cases representatives from international organisations. Therefore, the lack of mention of such violent non actors by the interviewed diplomats could largely be associated with them not dealing with these violent non state actors directly.

The lack of mention of the transnational organisations and the role they play is probably due to a lapse in information and a lack of coordination in diplomatic execution amongst the state agents i.e., ministries. Although these transnational corporations directly fall under a different ministry (ministry of Finance /Economy rather than ministry of foreign affairs), I feel that their role ought to be known and coordinated by the diplomats. This is due to the fact that when asked about the relationship between the MoFA and other ministries in diplomacy majority asserted that it was complementary, thus, this brings me to a conclusion that they ought to have information and or deal with these transnational corporations in one way or another. The lack of mention of them thereof points to two points in my opinion; a) the MoFA is no longer the monopoly of diplomacy and b) their relationship is not always complementary (practically) as majority of the interviewees asserted. This relates better with Ambassador Alp's diversion that the relation is neither complementary nor competitive as they both deal with different issues, even dismissing the other ministry's works other than the MoFA as diplomacy.

In conclusion, putting into consideration the arguments unique to Uganda that Seib did not cover, it is the position of all the diplomats interviewed as it was for Seib that although information is key, the focus should be on the accuracy and reliability of such information for any successful diplomatic missions. The contemporary phase of globalization which has created an unprecedented era of technological change has led to a revolution in communication that requires diplomats to be cautious and fast thinkers. Diplomats' digital communication ways are way faster now and effective.

With the advent of social media platforms, diplomats pass on information faster than ever. They also get to engage the foreign masses effectively through these platforms. Even where letters are used, their mode of deliverance is faster than before because of the advanced mode of transportation globalization has brought along. In today's global village, with information received and sent faster than ever before and trips shorter than ever before, it's pertinent to note that diplomacy has been transformed in a manner that acts faster and more effectively than before. Seib's credibility discussion cuts across and fits with in Uganda's situation just like the interviewed diplomats all stated (Seib, 2016: 57-58).

Talking about the rise of public diplomacy, Seib further cautions about taking precautions on how much information the diplomats are to take it. Although the evolution of technology and quick communication might appear as making the diplomat's instant communication easier, diplomats should be cautious of this development and avoid over trusting this transformative effect of the latest technological gadget. As much as the advancement of technology is helpful, it is to the same weight that it can easily be manipulated if not handled with caution. Official diplomats' social media accounts can be hacked, among other mishaps that can stretch to security threats. Thus, diplomats should be vigilant to this mode of transformation and be wary of the safety and security risks therein (Seib, 2016: 31-33).

Summary of the Research Findings

African Aspects of Globalization and their Manifestation in Uganda's diplomacy and the Interviews with the Diplomats:

Aspect	*Africa*	*Uganda*	*According to Interviewed Diplomats*
Economic Globalization	Economic liberalization imposed by Western-dominated institutions. Pp. 55 - 57 Raw material exports, de-industrialization pg. 59 Regional trade faces difficulties	Liberal trade and foreign exchange regime. Imports harm local production Regional trade flourishes due to EAC. Pp. 111-114	MOFA shares diplomacy with trade and finances ministries. Pp.167-170
Political Globalization	Regional & IO have a role in solving domestic problems of member states. NGOs promote democracy & human rights. Authoritarian states remain powerful	Participation in AMISOM. pp. 115 NGO resistance against EACOP 112-115 NGOs suspended by the state. P.119	IOs and NGOs are important, but they cannot be more powerful than states. Pp. 162-167.
Cultural Globalization	Individualism and consumerism are seen as a problem. Diaspora as the 6th region in Africa. PP.	**Hybridity:** Homosexuality is seen as a problem. pp. 123-124 Diaspora as diplomatic asset. pp 124-125	Diaspora as diplomatic asset. pp. 170-173

Communicational Globalization	Low level of internet & social media use Blockage of social media. pp.68-70	Low level of internet use PP. 126-127 Facebook blockade Confusion between social media statements and governmental positions. PP.137-138	Social media is not used as well as they could by diplomats. P.148 Security and power cut problems.PP.160-162

Thus, the findings largely support Seib's assumption that "traditional" diplomacy is here to stay but that it is coexisting and being enhanced by new, public-oriented practices (Seib, 2016: 121, 143). However, the findings also highlight certain experiences of globalization which are specific to Africa and, as a part of Africa, to Uganda and which are not covered by Seib's account.

The constant internet blockages, social media shutdowns and power cuts are some of the issues that Seib and other writers do not make mention of or give enough attention when they are emphasizing how much the future of diplomacy lies in the media and the internet. Yet these are challenge peculiar to Africa and Uganda in particular and thus one wonders, where the future of diplomacy should be projected to lie in such parts of the world.

Recommendations

Throughout my research on how globalization has changed diplomacy in Uganda, I took note of a few things Uganda as a government could put into consideration to fully incorporate globalization into diplomacy and to fully utilize the digital developments in executing its diplomatic duties. Below are the most important recommendations that Uganda could adopt to make sure that the developments that come with globalization do not hinder but rather harness their diplomatic duty execution.

The government of Uganda could initiate a program through the ministry of ICT that educates citizens on looking at their mobile phones beyond mere devices to receive calls and messages but also as a medium that allows them to promote and participate in Government policies. This also includes training the diplomats to catch up with the developments of globalization in diplomacy so that they can utilize digital communication to their full potential.

From the information given by non-African diplomat, Ugandan diplomats need to use social media more than they are using it as most of them only use it to pass on information. They should follow local influencers in their host countries (with great caution of course) as this gives them a true picture of the ordinary citizen and the country and consequently can learn of the right focus for investment,

The government should employ manpower to keep the government's websites and embassies up to date and running. Most of the websites are not up to date which makes the country lag behind in e-diplomacy since, by their own admission, the respondents pointed out that nowadays most diplomats rely on the internet for information on various government policies. This shows that while they (Ugandan diplomats) can get a lot of information about other countries, little or nothing is known about their own country for those who rely on the internet to collect information about Uganda.

The government should also consider less tax or if possible, waiving tax on the internet altogether to attract more internet users. This could help increase the number of citizens that participate and follow up on government policies, who in turn would promote the country in various forms. Reducing or otherwise waiving tax on the internet also curbs the use of VPN which in turn assists in curbing cybercrimes.

Interview Questions

1. Please state your name and your designation i.e. Ambassador, or any other capacity in which you serve.
2. Do you give permission for your name to be used in this research for academic purposes?
3. How long have you been a diplomat?
4. Do you use social media for diplomatic purposes ('You' refers to; an individual, the embassy or ministry of foreign affairs)?
5. Whom do you address through social media?
6. Who responds to your social media engagements?
7. To what extent do you use social media and other digital sources to get information about the host country?
8. How effective do you find the use of social media in executing your diplomatic duties.
9. Comparatively, for purposes of negotiations, to what degree are diplomatic correspondences and actual negotiations now done through face-to-face meetings as compared to digital means i.e., phone, e-mail, and video conferencing? *(Disregarding the last year where the pandemic has made it compulsory to have online engagements)*
10. Is the use of post mail for purposes of communication and other diplomatic engagements still popular?
11. When the telegraph and then the telephone were introduced in the late 19th/early 20th centuries, some diplomats bemoaned this as leading to a decrease in flexibility. Would you argue that the ability (and need) to respond to a message quickly diminishes the time available to make a well-thought decision (diplomatic flexibility).
12. During the "paper ages", diplomatic correspondences, records of meetings etc. were usually kept in archives. How safe is the digital diplomatic communications, specifically in view of WikiLeaks and other cyber threats?
    a) Are the documents and correspondences kept in archives?
    b) Which one do you consider safer?
13. Has the use of digital technologies favoured the emergence of new, non-state actors in diplomacy?

14. Have non-state actors become more relevant in the last decades (1990 to date)?

15. How much do the diplomats deal with non-state actors like the International Organizations: (UN, EU, AU, etc), transnational Organizations (NGOs: Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations, Doctors without Borders, etc), Multinational Companies. etc.
16. Do the non-state actors raise different diplomatic issues than the state actors?
17. Are the non -state actors viewed as powerful as the states? For example, if your government wanted to purchase a vaccine, does it deal with the pharmaceutical companies direct or with the state in which the vaccine is produced?
18. Is your country's diplomacy a preserve of the ministry of foreign affairs (Both practically and theoretically)?
19. Is the relationship of the ministry of foreign affairs and other ministries like the ministry of trade in carrying out the country's diplomacy complementary or competitive?
20. Do the regional Organisations like East African Community, SADC, etc, have their own diplomats like the EU does?
21. Are the citizens abroad involved in any way in your country's public diplomacy?
22. If your answer is Yes above, could you please explain how? And if No, could you please explain why?

People Interviewed

Fikret Kerem *Alp*: A Turkish diplomat who served in different diplomatic capacities and was the Ambassador of Turkey to Uganda at the time of the interview. Interviewed by phone, 30 November 2022.

Mr. Alfred *Balinda*: A Ugandan diplomat serving as the first secretary of the Uganda High Commission in the UK. Interviewed by questionnaire, 8 April 2021.

Mr. Joseph *Barigye*: The Permanent Secretary at the embassy of Uganda in Turkiye, Ankara. Interviewed by questionnaire, 5 March 2021.

Ambassador Majok *Guandong*: A South Sudanese diplomat serving as the Ambassador of South Sudan to Turkey. Interviewed face to face on 12 March 2021.

Ambassador Mull Sebujja *Katende*: A Ugandan diplomat, who serves as Uganda's Ambassador to the United States of America, based in Washington, DC. Interviewed by Phone, 3 May 2021.

Ambassador James WL *Kinobe* is a Ugandan Diplomat serving as the Ambassador/ Head of Mission, Republic of the Sudan based in Khartoum. Interviewed by phone, 26 March 2021.

Paul *Kwabena Nana Sei Osei* is a Ghanaian diplomat serving as the minister consular in charge of politics at the embassy of Ghana in Türkiye. Interviewed face-to-face, 4 March 2021.

H.E. Julius Peter *Moto*: A Ugandan diplomat who serves as Uganda's High Commissioner to the UK, Interviewed through zoom, 18 August 2021.

Ambassador Steven *Mubiru*, a Ugandan diplomat who served as the Ambassador to Türkiye. Interviewed face-to-face, 12 March 2021.

Ambassador Barbara *Nekesa*: A Ugandan diplomat serving as Uganda's Ambassador to South Africa and related countries, based in Pretoria. Interviewed by phone 6 May 2021.

Ambassador Nelson *Ocheger*: A Ugandan Diplomat who served as Uganda's High Commissioner to Nigeria, based in Abuja in charge of ECOWAS. Interviewed by phone 11 April 2021.

Ambassador Isaac Biruma *Ssebulime* is a Ugandan diplomat serving as the Ambassador of Uganda to Saudi Arabia, interviewed by phone, 22 March 2021.

Dr. Omar Alieu *Touray* is a Gambian diplomat who has served in different diplomatic capacities both in Africa and beyond like the UN and Islamic development Bank. He is currently serving as the president ECOWAS commission. Interviewed by zoom, 30 December 2021.

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