KEY ISSUES IN AFRICAN DIPLOMACY
Developments and Achievements

Edited by
Sven Botha and Jo-Ansie van Wyk
To our students: past, present and future
## Contents

List of Figure and Tables vii  
List of Abbreviations viii  
Notes on Contributors x  
Acknowledgements xiv  

1 Introducing African Diplomacy as a Field of Study  
*Sven Botha and Jo-Ansie van Wyk*  
11  

2 An Overview of the Evolution of Diplomacy in Europe and Africa  
*François Theron*  
29  

3 Common African Positions as Diplomatic Instruments  
*Jo-Ansie van Wyk*  
42  

4 South Africa’s Economic Diplomacy and the African Continental Free Trade Agreement: Challenges and Prospects  
*Sanusha Naidu, Faith Mabera and Arina Muresan*  
56  

5 Prospects for Smart Diplomacy and Its Use in the Foreign Policies of African Small Island Developing States  
*Suzanne Graham and Victoria Graham*  
71  

6 Maritime Diplomacy and the African Maritime Agenda  
*François Vreÿ*  
88  

7 Twitter/X Diplomacy and Its Use and Practice in Africa  
*Suzanne Graham and Victoria Graham*  
105  

8 The Quiet Diplomacy of the Chibok Abductions  
*Sven Botha*  
121  

9 A Diplomatic Conduit: The Role of Science Diplomacy in Africa  
*Lesley Masters*  
137  

10 Africa’s Health Diplomacy  
*Jo-Ansie van Wyk*  
150  

11 Ghana’s Cultural Diplomacy  
*Sandra Asafo-Adjei*  
163  

12 Morocco’s Cultural Diplomacy with Africa  
*Faïza Koubi*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Understanding Knowledge Diplomacy in Africa</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>African Agency: The Case of Russian Nuclear Programmes in Egypt, Ghana, South Africa and Zambia</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dzvinka Kachur and Robyn Foley</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Challenges and Triumphs for Women Leaders in African Diplomacy</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jennifer Chiriga, Rudo Chitiga and Hespina Rukato</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>African Diplomacy: An Agenda for Practice and Research</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jo-Ansie van Wyk and Sven Botha</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Figure and Tables

## Figure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Social media in Africa (c March 2022)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Top 12 African countries in terms of internet penetration (c December 2020)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>African regional bodies using Twitter/X (2024)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Conceptual framework for IHERI in a knowledge diplomacy relationship</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>The Pan-African University’s application of key elements of knowledge diplomacy conceptual framework</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Research reactors in Africa</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Africa nuclear power programme status</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>Agreements between Russia (or Rosatom) and Zambia</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations

AfCFTA  African Continental Free Trade Area
ANC    African National Congress
APSA   African Peace and Security Architecture
AU     African Union
BRICS Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAP    common African position
CDC    Centres for Disease Control
DIRCO  Department of International Relations and Cooperation
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
EU     European Union
FDI    foreign direct investment
FOCAC Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
GDP    gross domestic product
ICRC   International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT    information and communications technology
IORA   Indian Ocean Rim Association
MDG    Millennium Development Goal
NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD New Partnership for Africa’s Development
NGOs   non-government organizations
OAU    Organization of African Unity
PAU    Pan-African University
PSC    Peace and Security Council
R2P    Responsibility to Protect
REC    regional economic community
SADC   Southern African Development Community
SDG    Sustainable Development Goal
SIDS   small island developing states
STI    science, technology and innovation
UN     United Nations
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNESCO  United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA    United Nations General Assembly
UNSC    United Nations Security Council
WHO     World Health Organization
WTO     World Trade Organization
Notes on Contributors

Sandra Asafo-Adjei holds a MA in International Affairs from the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) and BA (Hons) English and French from the University of Ghana. Sandra’s interests and expertise cover public policy, policy evaluation, cultural diplomacy and peace and security studies. Sandra aims to be part of the next generation of global female policy makers and thought leaders and to make an impact on global public policy formulation and analysis.

Sven Botha is Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Sven has worked and published in the areas of responses to terrorism, gender, foreign policy and diplomacy.

Jennifer Chiriga is a policy expert and development practitioner with accumulated work experience in the private sector, civil society and government, as well as in intergovernmental organizations and institutions. She served as Chief of Staff at the African Union Commission and African Union Development Agency (AU-NEPAD). She is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Electoral Advisory Council (SEAC).

Rudo Chitiga is a senior diplomat and former Zimbabwean Ambassador to France, Portugal, Spain and the Vatican. She has held senior management and leadership positions in government, intergovernmental and civil society organizations at national, regional and international levels including Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Women’s Affairs Community Small and Medium Enterprises Development in Zimbabwe.

Robyn Foley is a researcher at the Centre for Sustainability Transitions, Stellenbosch University. Focusing on complexity in governance and the political economy, she co-edited Anatomy of State Capture, also contributing to 6 of the 19 chapters in the book. In 2019, Robyn attained her MPhil in Sustainable Development (cum laude) from Stellenbosch University. She also holds a BSc Physics (2007) and a BSc Honours in Technology Management (2008) from the University of Pretoria.
Suzanne Graham is Professor in the Politics and International Relations Department and Senior Director: Academic Development and Support at the University of Johannesburg.

Victoria Graham is Associate Professor and Senior Director: Strategic Initiatives and Administration, University of Johannesburg. She holds a PhD in Political Studies from the University of Johannesburg. She is also a research associate in the Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria.

Dzvinka Kachur is a research fellow at the Centre for Sustainability Transitions, Stellenbosch University. Her research interests cover the topics of disinformation in South Africa and Russian influences in Sub-Saharan Africa. In her recent research, Dzvinka investigated the 2014 Russia–South Africa nuclear agreement and the Russian presence in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Zambia. She holds degrees from the University of Oxford (MSc) and the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (MSc).

Faiza Koubi is a PhD candidate in International Relations at the University of Mohammed V of Rabat, Morocco. She received a Master’s degree in Contemporary History from University Paris I Pantheon la Sorbonne, Paris, France, and another in International Studies from Mohammed V University. Faiza completed a diplomatic course at Ecole Nationale d’Administration of France and Morocco. Her work focuses on Moroccan mediation in neighbour conflicts. She is interested in diplomacy, conflict and peace studies, and transnational security issues.

Jane Knight is Professor at the University of Toronto and the University of Johannesburg. Her research focuses on the intersection of international relations and international higher education, research and innovation. Her numerous publications address issues of diplomacy, soft power, regionalization and internationalization. She is the recipient of several awards and two honorary doctorates in addition to her PhDs in Higher Education and Political Science.

Faith Mabera is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Global Dialogue, where she oversees the Foreign Policy Analysis programme. Her research interests include the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), African diplomacy, foreign policy analysis, African peace and security issues, norm dynamics in international relations, and global governance. She is also the co-editor of the book Africa–China Cooperation towards an African Policy on China? (Palgrave, 2020). Faith holds a PhD from the University of Pretoria.

Lesley Masters is Senior Lecturer at Nottingham Trent University and a senior research associate at the University of Johannesburg, South
African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI) Chair in African Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. Before moving into academia, Lesley was a senior researcher at the Institute for Global Dialogue based in Pretoria, responsible for the management of projects on foreign policy and diplomacy. Her research continues to focus on foreign policy, global governance and international diplomacy.

**Arina Muresan** is a senior researcher at the Institute for Global Dialogue where she contributes to programmatic areas on foreign policy analysis, geopolitical dynamics and governance, and diplomacy. She leads the South Africa in the World project, which reflects on South African foreign policy and diplomacy and has a keen interest in economic and commercial diplomacy, China’s engagement in Africa and leadership dynamics. She is part of an ongoing project, the African First Ladies Database, a research project analysing the political leadership, role and influence of the continent’s post-colonial First Ladies.

**Sanusha Naidu** is a senior research associate based at the Institute of Global Dialogue. Her expertise is on South African foreign policy analysis, Africa’s relations with actors from the Global South (China and India) and international development cooperation and democratization. Sanusha has published extensively, including two edited books on China–Africa relations and a special edition of the journal *Politikon* on Africa’s relations with external powers.

**Hesphina Rukato** is the author of *Future Africa: Prospects for Democracy and Development under NEPAD* (Africa Research and Publications, 2010). An Africa development specialist, she is a former deputy chief executive at the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) Secretariat and has served as deputy chief of staff at the African Union (AU) Commission and associate lecturer at the Thabo Mbeki Leadership Institute. She has served on several boards in the public and private sectors and is co-founder of two companies in the textile and food sector.

**François Theron** is a former South African diplomat who served in several European, African and Latin American posts. He was a member of the Policy Unit, of which he was briefly acting director prior to his retirement. He holds the BA and LLB degrees, a Master’s degree in Diplomatic Studies and is an attorney of the High Court of South Africa.

**Jo-Ansie van Wyk** is Research Professor of International Politics in the Department of Political Sciences, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa. She has a doctorate in international relations from the University
of Pretoria, South Africa. She has published widely and is the co-editor of four volumes of the *South African Foreign Policy Review* (Human Sciences Research Council, 2012, 2015, 2019 and 2022).

**Francois Vreÿ** is Emeritus Professor in Military Science, Stellenbosch University. He currently serves as research coordinator for the Security Institute for Governance and Leadership in Africa (SIGLA) located within the Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University. One of the research hubs he manages is that of maritime security governance off Africa, which forms part of the landward, cyber and maritime security focus areas of SIGLA
Acknowledgements

A research project is never undertaken in isolation and this book is no exception. There are several people who made this publication possible. First, we wish to thank Dr Philipa Grand, who initially commissioned this collection; your feedback on the draft proposal helped to inspire much of the book’s structure. Second, we would like to thank Rebecca Tomlinson, Zoe Forbes, Stephen Wenham and the phenomenal team at Bristol University Press whose outstanding efforts have helped to make this publication a reality.

Next, we wish to thank all the authors who contributed to this volume. Your respective chapters have helped to fill a gaping hole in the literature on diplomatic practice in Africa. We sincerely hope that you have found this process as enlightening and rewarding as we have. It has been a pleasure and a privilege working with all of you. We sincerely hope your participation in this project will result in the emergence of a new research community consisting of scholars and practitioners dedicated to the advancement of insights on and the practice of African diplomacy.