

摘 要

公共外交是一种行之有效的沟通策略，是政府用来与海外受众接触，以提高他们对各自国家外交政策目标、原则、习俗、价值观和当代目标的理解的方式。它与传统的外交实践不同，传统的外交实践涉及政府机构和当局，主要与非国家行为体和个人选民进行沟通。

公共外交在正式纳入国际关系范围内的外交活动领域之前就已经存在。公共外交的概念是古老的，它是与治国方略的发展同时产生的，直到冷战时期，这一概念才得到广泛的国际承认。最近，它在更广泛的外交倡议中日益成为一个关键工具，包括对埃塞俄比亚这样的小国和发展中国家。

埃塞俄比亚的公共外交可以追溯到古代与外国的民间、商业和文化交流，并延伸到当代旨在提升国家形象和外交政策目标的努力。阿德瓦战役使埃塞俄比亚成为一个从未被殖民过的非洲国家，在世界范围内给埃塞俄比亚带来了很高的声誉价值。20 世纪 50 年代，埃塞俄比亚皇帝海尔·塞拉西(Haile Selassie)在积极的公关活动支持下，对欧洲和美国进行了广泛的访问，这对改变世界对埃塞俄比亚的看法起了至关重要的作用。

1960 年，埃塞俄比亚运动员阿贝贝·贝基拉在罗马奥运会上取得历史性胜利，为东非赢得了第一枚金牌，这一成就提升了埃塞俄比亚在国际社会的声誉和软实力。1987 年，由于大范围的饥荒，国家在全球的负面形象，当时的军政府意识到公共外交的重要性，并派遣了受欢迎的剧团到世界各地演出。继 1991 年的新政府体制和 2002 年的外交政策之后，埃塞俄比亚开始广泛利用公共外交来促进其繁荣的经济发展，从而提高其形象，以吸引潜在的贸易和投资伙伴。

埃塞俄比亚公共外交目前阶段开始于 2011 年尼罗河上的埃塞俄比亚复兴大坝项目（GRED），该项目面临下游国家的负面反应，特别是埃及，因为担心对其历史上的尼罗河水资源份额产生潜在影响。埃塞俄比亚利用公共外交促进和影响对该项目的负面看法，并加强与下游和尼罗河流域国家的总体关系。

更重要的是，公共外交因其在缓解埃塞俄比亚和埃及之间的争端方面所起的作用而受到称赞，这在 GERD 建设之初似乎是不可能的。另一方面，GERD 也大大加强了埃塞俄比亚的公共外交实践。在宣布建设大坝之后，公共外交活动在推进外交政策目标和埃塞俄比亚关于大坝的叙述方面得到了赞扬和支持，这些目标和历史叙述强调了互利、合作和公平利用尼罗河的原则。

然而，相对于最初的成功案例，埃塞俄比亚的公共外交实践最近有所下降。其下降的因素与其反应性和缺乏一致和协调的战略有关，妨碍其继续发挥效力。另一个重大挑战是该领域合格的专业人员有限和缺乏财政资源。国内不稳定是迫使政府集中精力解决国内问题的另一个主要因素，因此导致对公共外交接触的关注减少，特别是对下游国家。除此之外，对散居侨民成员的有限利用是导致促进 GERD 的公共外交活动减少的另一个挑战。

本研究试图评估埃塞俄比亚公共外交作为促进 GERD 工具的有效性。为了实现这一目标，本文将解决以下研究问题：埃塞俄比亚的公共外交实践在促进 GERD 方面的作用是什么？埃塞俄比亚的公共外交实践在促进 GERD 方面面临哪些挑战？

调查结果表明，埃塞俄比亚依靠公共外交来促进和捍卫其 GERD 项目，该项目对政府和国家具有象征意义。研究表明，埃塞俄比亚的公共外交活动成功地建立了公共外交小组，该小组对下游和尼罗河流域国家进行了互访，为尼罗河受益者之间建立信任、解决争端、相互了解和区域合作奠定了基础。对埃塞俄比亚来说，GERD 具有重要意义，公共外交一直是改善对该项目的认识和获得公众支持的关键工具。

本研究旨在帮助理解埃塞俄比亚公共外交实践在促进 GERD 方面的地位，并提醒政策制定者和利益相关者，在有效的沟通策略基础上保持一致的公共外交参与，以赢得围绕大坝的思想之战的重要性。该研究可以作为对该主题感兴趣的研究人员和学者的参考，并有助于正在进行的关于埃塞俄比亚公共外交的学术讨论。本研究为定性研究，由于时间限制，采用桌面研究作为数据收集方法。审查内容全面，涵盖与公共外交、埃塞俄比亚复兴大坝谈判、尼罗河相关的广泛学术出版物，包括书籍、期刊、文章、政府通讯、新闻和其他相关法律和政策文件。

本研究共分五章。第一章是介绍性部分，描述了埃塞俄比亚公共外交实践的总体情况以及如何利用它来促进国家项目 GERD。采取桌面研究法作为收集数据的方法。本章详细阐述了来自不同文献的几位作者如何讨论这个特定主题，包括公共外交的概念及其与海外受众互动以影响他们对国家政策的态度和态度的重要性。同时讨论埃塞俄比亚外交部如何有意识地运用公共外交战略来促进 GERD 并反击下游沿岸国家传播的错误信息和虚假信息。本章还解释了埃及、苏丹和埃塞俄比亚之间关于尼罗河水域的历史主张和争端，以及更新和纠正观念的努力。

第二章深入分析了埃塞俄比亚公共外交实践的演变，重点分析了 2002 年埃塞俄比亚外交政策前后的时期。阿德瓦的胜利和海尔·塞拉西皇帝的广泛旅行都为埃塞俄比亚作为一个重要国家的声誉做出了贡献，但在体育外交、文化交流和音乐表演方面却没有做出什么努力，因此，在国际社会中宣传埃塞俄比亚的积极形象并没有改变其负面看法。本章还探讨了 GERD 在埃塞俄比亚努力推进其公共外交举措中所发挥的催化作用。

第三章重点介绍埃塞俄比亚为促进 GERD 所做的公共外交努力，包括在大学建立公共外交中心和组织讲习班和研讨会。本章讨论了埃塞俄比亚用于 GERD 相关公共外交活动的具体机构和工具，它们是外交部、国家 GERD 建设公众参与协调委员会办公室、公共外交团队、数字媒体、侨民。

外交部一直是埃塞俄比亚公共外交努力的先驱，利用社交媒体和数字资产传播信息并与包括侨民在内的更广泛受众进行沟通。本章从政治、经济、文化、国家形象、互利共赢等角度进一步阐述了埃塞俄比亚促进 GERD 的公共外交努力。它还强调了埃塞俄比亚通过这些努力取得的一些成就，包括尝试与下游国家，特别是埃及建立积极的关系。埃塞俄比亚的公共外交活动致力于增进尼罗河流域人民之间的信任和理解，并防止与大坝建设有关的争端。埃塞俄比亚公共外交的成功得益于其有效传播科学数据和大坝优势，以及鼓励区域合作和经济一体化。

第四章讨论了埃塞俄比亚公共外交在促进 GERD 方面面临的挑战。埃塞俄比亚公共外交战略和协调不足，对向下游国家和尼罗河流域国家推广 GERD 构成了重大挑战。缺乏全面的战略、机构、人力和财力资源匮乏以及内部不稳定阻碍

了有效的公共外交实践。 为了应对这些挑战，埃塞俄比亚需要制定一项综合战略，其中包括倾听、评估和有效沟通战略，包括数字外交，同时促进利益攸关方之间的合作和协调。

本研究的最后一章第五章得出结论和提出建议。 本章介绍了埃塞俄比亚如何有效利用公共外交推动 GERD 建设，包括利用公共团队、文化秀、机构联动、论坛和数字外交来动员国家和地区机构捍卫国家利益和外交政策目标。 本章还讨论了尽管埃塞俄比亚促进和捍卫埃塞俄比亚复兴大坝项目的公共外交努力最初取得了成功，但缺乏一致和协调的政策、学术和专业资源不足以及正式公共外交活动的减少阻碍了这一进程。 其长期有效性，导致来自下游国家和其他国际行为体的持续压力。 因此，本章建议埃塞俄比亚应继续优先开展公共外交，并充分利用公共外交，在尼罗河上建立长期的双边和区域合作，并通过实施结构良好、协调一致的政策，持久解决围绕大埃克塞地区的问题。 公共外交战略，包括积极主动地传递信息以及通过文化和教育项目培养持久的关系。

关键词: (Key words:1-5): 公共外交, Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, 尼罗河, 埃塞俄比亚, 埃及。

Abstract

Public diplomacy is a well-established communication strategy employed by governments to engage with overseas audiences to improve their comprehension of the foreign policy objectives, principles, customs, values, and contemporary goals of their respective nations. It is distinct from conventional diplomatic practices which engage governmental agencies and authorities, and predominantly communicate with non-state actors and individual constituents.

Public diplomacy practices have been in existence prior to their formal integration into the sphere of diplomatic activities within the context of international relations. The concept of public diplomacy is antique, having originated in parallel with the development of statecraft, and it was not until the Cold War era that this idea gained widespread international recognition. Recently, it has become increasingly a pivotal tool in a broader range of diplomatic initiatives, including for small and developing countries like Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's public diplomacy dates back to its ancient people-to-people, commercial, and cultural interactions with foreign countries and extends to contemporary endeavors aimed at promoting national image and foreign policy objective. The battle of Adwa making Ethiopia a single African country never colonized radiated a highly reputational value to Ethiopia to the world. In the 1950s, Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie conducted an extensive visit supported by active public relation activities to Europe and America, which had a crucial role in influencing worldwide opinions of Ethiopia.

The historical Olympic victory achieved by Ethiopian Athlete Abebe Bekila in 1960 at Rome, having won the first Gold medal for East Africa, has functioned as a mechanism to enhance Ethiopia's reputation and soft power in the global community. In 1987, recognizing the negative global image of the country following the widespread famine, the then military government acknowledge the importance of public diplomacy and dispatched the popular musical troupe to various locations worldwide. Following the new government system in 1991 and its 2002 foreign policy, Ethiopia began to use

public diplomacy extensively to promote its thriving economic development and hence enhance its image to appeal to prospective trade and investment partners.

The current phase of Ethiopian public diplomacy began in 2011 with the start of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project on the river Nile, which faced negative reactions from downstream countries, particularly Egypt, due to the fear of the potential impact on its historical water share on the Nile River. Ethiopia used public diplomacy to promote and influence the negative perceptions towards the project and strengthen the overall relationships with downstream as well as other Nile Basin countries.

More importantly, public diplomacy is applauded for its role in de-escalating the dispute between Ethiopia and Egypt, which at the beginning of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam construction appeared impossible. On the other hand, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam has also significantly bolstered the practice of public diplomacy in Ethiopia. The public diplomacy engagements following the announcement of the construction of the Dam were commendable reinforcement in advancing the foreign policy objective and narration of Ethiopia on the Dam which are underlined on the principles of mutual benefit, cooperation, and equitable utilization of the Nile River.

However, Ethiopia's public diplomacy practice has declined recently relative to its initial success stories. The factors for its decline relates to its reactive nature and lack of consistent and coordinated strategies, hindering their continued effectiveness. The other significant challenge is limited competent professionals in the field and lack of financial resources. Internal instability is the other major factor that compelled the government to focus on resolving domestic issues, consequently leading to diminished attention on public diplomacy engagements, particularly with lower riparian countries. In addition to this, limited utilization of the diaspora members is the other challenge that contributed to the decline of public diplomacy activities to promote Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

This study endeavors to assess the efficacy of Ethiopia's public diplomacy efforts as a tool promoting Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. In pursuit of this, the following research questions are addressed: What is the role of Ethiopia's public diplomacy practices in promoting Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam? What are the

challenges for Ethiopia's public diplomacy practice in promoting Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam?

The findings indicated that Ethiopia has relied on public diplomacy to promote and defend its Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project, which holds symbolic importance to the government and the nation. The study has shown that Ethiopia's public diplomacy activities has successfully resulted in establishing Public Diplomacy Team, where its exchange of visits to downstream and Nile basin countries laid the foundation for the trust-building, dispute settlement, mutual understanding, and regional cooperation among the beneficiaries of the Nile River. For Ethiopia where the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam holds significant implication, public diplomacy has been a key tool in improving perceptions and gaining public support for the project.

This study aims to contribute on the understanding of the status of Ethiopia's public diplomacy practice in promoting Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and remind policymakers and stakeholders about the importance to maintain a consistent public diplomacy engagement founded on effective communication strategy to win the idea battle surrounding the Dam. The study's findings may serve as a reference for researchers and academicians interested in the topic and contribute to ongoing academic discussions about public diplomacy in Ethiopia. The research in this study is qualitative and due to time constraints, it is utilized a desk review as the data collection method. The review was comprehensive and covered a wide range of scholarly publications related to public diplomacy, the negotiation of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, the Nile River including books, journals, articles, government communications, news and other relevant legal and policy documents.

This study contains five chapters. The first chapter of the study is an introductory part which describes Ethiopia's public diplomacy practice in general and how it has been used to promote the national project Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam; it illustrates the methodology used to gather data, which is a desk review; it elaborates on how several authors from various literatures have addressed this specific topic; including the concept of public diplomacy and its significance in engaging with overseas audiences in order to influence their opinions and attitudes towards a country's policies. Continues to discuss how the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs employs

public diplomacy strategies deliberately to promote the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and counter misinformation and disinformation spread by lower riparian countries. The chapter also explains the historical claims and disputes over Nile River waters between Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia, as well as efforts to update and correct perception and ideation.

Chapter two provides an in-depth analysis of the evolution of public diplomacy practices in Ethiopia, with a focus on the period before and after the 2002 Ethiopian Foreign Policy. The Adwa victory and Emperor Haile Selassie's extensive journey both contributed to Ethiopia's reputation as a significant nation, while there was little effort through sports diplomacy, cultural exchange, and musical shows to challenge negative perceptions and promote a positive image of Ethiopia to the international community. The chapter also explores the catalytic role played by the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in Ethiopia's endeavors toward the advancement of its public diplomacy initiatives.

Chapter three of the study focuses on Ethiopia's public diplomacy efforts in promoting Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam including the establishment of Public Diplomacy Centers in universities and the organization of workshops and seminars. This chapter discusses Ethiopia's specific institutions and tools used for public diplomacy campaigns related to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, which are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of National Council for the Coordination of Public Participation on the Construction of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, Public Diplomacy Team, Digital Media, Diaspora.

The MFA has been a pioneer in Ethiopia's public diplomacy efforts, utilizing social media and digital assets to spread information and communicate with a broader audience, including the diaspora population. The chapter further elucidates the Ethiopia's public diplomacy efforts in the promotion of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam from the perspectives of politics, economics, culture, national image, and mutual benefits. It also highlights some of the accomplishments that Ethiopia has achieved through these efforts including the attempt to build positive relationships with downstream countries, particularly Egypt. Ethiopia's public diplomacy activities endeavored to foster trust and understanding among the Nile Basin's peoples and to prevent disputes related to the dam's construction. Ethiopia's public diplomacy has been

successful due to its effective transmission of scientific data and dam advantages, as well as its encouragement of regional collaboration and economic integration.

Chapter four discusses the challenges faced by Ethiopia's public diplomacy to promote Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The inadequate public diplomacy strategy and coordination in Ethiopia poses significant challenges to promoting the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam to lower riparian and Nile basin countries. The lack of a comprehensive strategy, poor institutional, human, and financial resources, and internal instability hinder effective public diplomacy practices. To address these challenges, Ethiopia needs to establish a comprehensive strategy that incorporates listening, evaluation, and effective communication strategies, including digital diplomacy, while promoting collaboration and coordination among stakeholders

Chapter five is the final chapter of the study provides the conclusion and the recommendation. This chapter describes how Ethiopia effectively used public diplomacy to promote the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, including the use of public team, cultural shows, institutional linkages, forums and digital diplomacy to mobilize national and regional institutions to defend its national interests and foreign policy objectives. The chapter also discusses that, despite the fact that Ethiopia's public diplomacy efforts to promote and defend the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project were initially successful, a lack of consistent and coordinated policies, insufficient academic and professional resources, and dwindling formal public diplomacy activities have hampered its long-term effectiveness, resulting in continued pressure from downstream countries and other international actors. Accordingly, the chapter suggests, Ethiopia should continue to priorities public diplomacy and capitalize on it in order to establish long-term bilateral and regional cooperation on the Nile and achieve a lasting solution to issues surrounding the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam through the implementation of well-structured and coordinated public diplomacy strategy, including proactive messaging and fostering lasting relationships through cultural and educational programs.

Key Words-

Public Diplomacy, Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), Nile River, Ethiopia, Egypt

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Public diplomacy refers to a means by which a government interacts with foreign audiences to enhance their understanding of its country's principles, organizations, customs, values, foreign policy objectives, and contemporary goals¹. Edward Murrow (1963), Director of (USIA), noted that public diplomacy is distinct from conventional diplomatic practices through engaging governmental agencies, and predominantly communicating with non-state actors and individuals. Compared to traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy sphere of influence is broader, characterized by its secretive nature and performed through government-designated officials and diplomats.

The proliferation of democratic values, the media influence, and the emergence of worldwide nongovernmental organizations and demonstration movements have altered the dynamics of power and increased the limitations on the decision-making authority of government entities². On the same hand, the advancement of ICT, and technology allowed the public to participate in the international political system, making their opinion matter most in foreign policy decisions.

The cold war and the 9/11 terrorist attack are major international events that drove the vitality of public diplomacy to achieve foreign policy goals into pictures³. Riordan⁴ asserted that the value of public diplomacy in international relations was recognized in the twentieth century Gilboa argues⁵, that in 21st century it plays a pivotal role in a broader range of diplomatic initiatives.

Literatures show that the genesis of contemporary public diplomacy and the prevailing discourse regarding its indispensability is primarily influenced by the United States. However, openness and international cooperation besides the growing influence of soft power changed the diplomatic practices, leading many countries to become more

¹ Tuch, Hans N. 1990. *Communicating with the World*. Palgrave Macmillan US EBooks

² Leonard, Mark. 2002. Public Diplomacy. The Foreign Policy Center.

³ Gilboa, Eytan. 2008. "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* V 616 Public Diplomacy in a Changing World (March) p.5

⁴ Riordan, Shaun. 2004. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: As A New Foreign Policy Paradigm." Data set. *Discussion Paper in Diplomacy*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael)

⁵ Gilboa, Eytan. 2008. "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy p.69

cognizant of the importance of public diplomacy as part of their foreign policy. Melissen, argues that even small and developing countries like Ethiopia have shown an interest in mainstreaming public diplomacy in their foreign policies.¹

African diplomacy takes a different context, according to Antwi-Boasiako, Public diplomacy in the Africa is a method engaging with international communities seeking financial assistance, increasing tourism, and attracting investments that facilitate the development of their nation.² He mentions Ethiopia as an enlightening example to explain how public diplomacy is carried out in Africa, where he explains Ethiopia's public diplomacy practices primarily looks forward to the desired outcomes to achieve its national goals.

In accordance with its 2002 foreign policy, Ethiopia pursued a foreign policy approach that aligns with its efforts to combat poverty, and alter the country's reputation for being associated with famine. The policy document clearly recognized its poor economy and poverty as the major threats to the national security, thus pledging to promote the country's positive image through building a sustainable economic growth, democratic culture and peace. The image-building endeavor was extensively performed by the collaboration of stakeholders by signing an agreement with foreign media and organizing tourism, trade, and investment promotion events.

The turning-point for public diplomacy practice in Ethiopia can be traced back to the commencement of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (hereinafter referred as GERD) project in 2011, a project that come to be cornerstone of its foreign policy goal. The dam expected to produce 6000 MW dam will change the nation's energy supply and light up near to its 55% of the population. It is Africa's largest infrastructure projected³ to provide power to neighboring countries, and accelerate regional integration.

Downstream countries, particularly Egypt, reacted negatively to the dam construction. It argued that Nile provides 95% of its renewable water resources for its 100 million citizens, who consider it a symbol of their history, culture, and

¹ Melissen, Jan. 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan UK EBooks. Palgrave Macmillan. p.8

² Antwi-Boasiako, Isaac. 2022. "African Governments' Foreign Publics Engagements: Public Diplomacy in African Perspective." *African Journal of Economics, Politics and Social Studies* p.6

³ Verhoeven, Harry. 2021. "The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam: Africa's Water Tower, Environmental Justice & Infrastructural Power." *Daedalus* 150 (4): 159–80), (Key Facts About Ethiopia's Giant Nile Dam, 2019). p.159

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