

Emotion Discourse Analysis in World Politics: A Case Study of Egypt's, Sudan's and Ethiopia's Statements on GERD in UN Security Council

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Abstract:

The present study examines the statements made by Egyptian Foreign Minister, Sameh Shokry, Sudanese Foreign Minister, Mariam Al-Sadiq, and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy, Seleshi Bekeli, on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in the UN Security Council Meeting on July 8, 2021 and in the press conference held after the meeting. Using Koschut's (2020) framework for emotion discourse analysis, the study investigates the emotions expressed in the statements of the three ministers, the linguistic tools used to express them, the purposes served by these emotions as well as their contextualizing effects. Results show that positive emotions, namely *hope*, *cooperation*, *persistence* and *understanding*, negative emotions, namely *resentment* and *worry*, and neutral emotions, namely *sympathy* and *rightness*, are employed in the analyzed data. These emotions are expressed using different linguistic tools such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, connotations, metaphors, comparisons and implicature. Results also show that the emotions expressed in the ministers' statements fulfill different purposes such as expressing hope that a legally-binding agreement would be reached, as well as resentment at Ethiopia for adopting unilateral policies and at Egypt and Sudan for addressing the Security Council and for having colonial mindsets. They are also used to express sympathy for the peoples of the two downstream countries because of the harmful effects of the GERD on their lives and for Ethiopians for their poor living conditions. In terms of the contextualizing effects of the emotions expressed in the ministers' statements, the study shows that a Self-Other dichotomy is established through two main dualisms: hope/anger and sympathy/anger.

Keywords: GERD – Security Council – emotion discourse analysis – Self/Other dichotomy – downstream countries

تحليل خطاب المشاعر في السياسة الدولية: دراسة حالة لتصريحات مصر والسودان وأثيوبيا حول سد النهضة الأثيوبي في مجلس الأمن التابع للأمم المتحدة

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الملخص العربي للدراسة

يدرس البحث التصريحات الخاصة بوزير الخارجية المصري السيد سامح شكري ووزيرة الخارجية السودانية السيدة مريم الصادق ووزير الخارجية الأثيوبي للماء والري والطاقة السيد سيليشه بيكيله بشأن سد النهضة الأثيوبي في جلسة مجلس الأمن التي انعقدت يوم ٨ يوليو ٢٠٢١ وكذلك في المؤتمر الصحفي الذي عُقد عقب الاجتماع. ويستخدم البحث نظرية كوشيت (٢٠٢٠) لتحليل خطاب المشاعر لدراسة المشاعر التي تم التعبير عنها في تصريحات الوزراء الثلاثة والأدوات اللغوية المستخدمة للتعبير عن هذه المشاعر والغرض من التعبير عنها وكذلك الأثر السياقي لهذه المشاعر. وتوضح النتائج استخدام مشاعر إيجابية وهي الأمل والتعاون والإصرار والتفاهم، ومشاعر سلبية وهي الاستياء والقلق، وكذلك مشاعر حيادية وهي التعاطف والأحقية في التصريحات قيد الدراسة. كما أنه يتم التعبير عن هذه المشاعر باستخدام أدوات لغوية مختلفة كالأسماء والأفعال والصفات والحال والدلالات والاستعارات والتضمين. كما تشير النتائج إلي أنه يتم التعبير عن المشاعر في تصريحات الوزراء الثلاثة لأسباب مختلفة مثل التعبير عن الأمل في التوصل إلي اتفاق قانوني ملزم والاستياء من السياسات الأحادية التي تتبعها أثيوبيا وكذلك الاستياء من توجه مصر والسودان إلي مجلس الأمن وامتلاك عقلية استعمارية، كما يتم التعبير عن التعاطف نحو شعوب دولتي المصب بسبب الآثار الضارة لسد النهضة وكذلك التعاطف نحو الشعب الأثيوبي بسبب ظروفه المعيشية السيئة. أما بالنسبة للأثر السياقي للمشاعر التي يتم التعبير عنها في تصريحات الوزراء الثلاثة فقد أظهرت الدراسة تكوين انقسام بين الأنا والآخر من خلال ثنائية الأمل/الغضب وثنائية التعاطف/الغضب.

الكلمات المفتاحية: سد النهضة الأثيوبي - مجلس الأمن - تحليل خطاب المشاعر - الانقسام

بين الأنا والآخر - دول المصب

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1. Introduction

Language serves different crucial and essential functions in daily interactions, including the communication of inner states and emotions. Since emotional meanings are expressed in everyday discourse, it is believed that emotions play a key role at the international level as they "pervade the language of world politics" (Leep, 2010, p. 334). Current events in the international scene help highlight the role of emotions in International Relations as politicians employ emotionally-loaded language to realize certain goals. One important event that has gained the attention of the international community is Ethiopia's construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) which constitutes a threat to the water security and life in the two downstream countries, namely Egypt and Sudan which took the matter to the UN Security Council in an attempt to reach a legally-binding agreement after rounds of unproductive negotiations with Ethiopia under the auspices of the African Union.

2. Aims of the Study

International Relations highlight the role of language in communicating ideologies, constructing reality and expressing emotions which "lie at the heart of how international politics is conducted" (Koschut et al., 2017, p. 23). Therefore, politics, language and emotions are inseparable as language and emotions help political actors' discursive use of language to reflect on

different events and current affairs and realize various goals. In the case of the GERD, following the failure of the negotiations between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia on the filling and operation of the dam, the two downstream countries raised the issue to the UN Security Council to legitimize their demands and reach a legally-binding agreement given Ethiopia's intransigence and insistence on taking unilateral measures to fill and operate the GERD without any regard to the harm and threat it poses to Egypt's and Sudan's interests and water rights. In this regard, the present study answers the following research questions:

- 1- What are the emotion categories found in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers at the UN Security Council meeting on GERD on July 8, 2021?
- 2- What are the linguistic features used to communicate these emotions in the statements of the three ministers?
- 3- What are the purposes served by the emotions expressed in the statements in question?
- 4- What are the contextualizing effects of the emotions found in the statements of the three ministers?

3. Data and Methodology

The data of the present study consists of the statements made by Egyptian Foreign Minister, Sameh Shokry, his Sudanese counterpart, Mariam Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi, and Ethiopian Minister of Water, Irrigation and Energy, Seleshi Bekele, on the GERD at the UN Security Council meeting on July 8, 2021. This meeting was chosen because although this is the second time for the Security Council to meet to discuss the GERD, as it convened for the same reason on June 29, 2020, this is the first time Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia participate in the meeting at the ministerial level to settle differences regarding the contentious issue of the dam. The data also comprises the statements of the three ministers

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made at a press conference held after the UN Security Council session on the GERD. The statements delivered during the Security Council meeting and at the press conference have been downloaded from YouTube and transcribed by the researcher. The statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers in the Security Council meeting have been downloaded from the following YouTube channels: Extra news, Ten TV and Ethiopian Embassy UK. Their statements in the press conference have been downloaded from the United Nations YouTube channel. Each minister delivered the statement given in the UN Security Council meeting in his/her mother tongue. However, in the press conference, the Ethiopian Minister used English only in his statements while the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers used both Arabic and English depending on the language in which the questions were asked.

To analyze the data in question, emotion discourse analysis as proposed by Koschut (2020) in his framework for analyzing emotions in discourse is employed. The emotions found in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers first are identified followed by Koschut's linguistic features that serve to express these emotions. Finally, the purposes fulfilled by the emotions communicated by the representatives of the three countries in their statements are examined. The qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches are also employed in the present study to help yield an in-depth analysis of the analyzed data. To conduct a qualitative analysis of the data, instances of the emotions found in the statements of the three diplomats are identified. The linguistic features used to express these emotions are given and underlined in illustrative examples which are provided and interpreted to show how these features communicate

certain emotions expressed by the three ministers. To analyze the data quantitatively, the number of occurrences of the positive, negative and neutral emotions and their types are provided, tabulated and interpreted to shed light on the ideological positions of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia on the GERD issue.

4. Theoretical Background

4.1 Characterizing Emotions

Emotions are the means used to express speakers' or writers' inner feelings, affective experience, and reactions to events, information and experiences in order to convey meanings and arouse particular feelings in others (Alba-Juez & Mackenzie, 2019). Thus, emotions are considered "moral judgments that represent an intellectual appraisal of past experience and future expectations" (Koschut, 2018b, p. 496). In this respect, emotions have four dimensions: aboutness, frequency, type and ownership. Emotions have "aboutness" or an object as they are expressed as a reaction to a certain matter or event. Emotions are communicated and responded to differently in different interactions and contexts as there are various emotion display rules in different professional and social contexts. These are "the often tacit social rules directing when, how much, and which emotions should be expressed to others" (Shields, 2002, p. 56). Therefore, because emotions reflect the display rules in which they are communicated, the *frequency* of emotional expressions expressed in different contexts and events differ based on the rules for participation that are constructed. The emotion display rules also influence the *type* of emotion communicated, such as anger and happiness as well as its *ownership* which refers to the degree by which a speaker or writer expresses ownership of a certain emotion stimulated by different interpretations of various internal and external realities (Hufnagel & Kelly, 2018; Koprowska & van Nijnatten, 2019).

4.2 Emotions and Language in International Relations

Emotions figure prominently in International Relations in which they are understood as "evaluative statements or assessments that provide information about how certain actors perceive their international environment" (Koschut, 2018b, p. 498). Emotions are intersubjective as they are shared between states and international actors when assessments are made as a result of external stimuli and undesirable or troublesome acts or events. These shared emotions have an effect on how states act, legitimize policies or demands and construct realities and identities (Hutchison, 2010; Koschut, 2018b; Leep, 2010).

Because emotions influence the thoughts and actions of political actors, language plays an important role in communicating them in International Relations because they – emotions – involve assessments and value judgments which are expressed by political actors at the international level using certain meaning structures. Thus, language is an important tool for communicating emotions intersubjectively. It also functions as a form of exercising power because the meaning structures and emotional expressions used can be assigned emotional values and affective meanings that allow political actors to express different emotional categories to depict and assess Self and Others (Koschut, 2018b; Wierzbicka & Harkins, 2001).

4.3 Emotion Discourse Analysis

One area that has recently given rise to further exploration of the relation between emotion and discourse is that of International Relations as emotions are communicated through discourse which "is constructed among people in some context,

with some history, projections of future actions, and ideological commitments" (Kelly, 2014, p. 322).

When integrating emotions within discourse analysis, a distinction is made between *discourse on emotions* and *emotion discourse*. The former "relates to the way emotions are talked about scientifically or in everyday parlay. It defines the way we ontologically and epistemologically conceive of emotions as being rational/irrational, biological/cultural, personal/social, or spontaneous/strategic" (Koschut, 2018a, p. 277). The latter "is concerned with how actors talk about emotions and how they employ emotion categories when talking about subjects, events or social relations" (Koschut, 2018a, p. 277). Thus, emotion discourse involves all words, phrases, expressions and narratives that communicate emotions (Koschut et al., 2017).

Since emotions convey judgments about the world and discourse reflects and reveals emotions, there are three ways discourse can be emotional, namely discourse can be *indicative of emotion*, *provocative of emotion*, and *invocative of emotion*. First, emotionally indicative discourse involves the direct use of emotional expressions to convey the internal emotional state of its producer. Emotions can also be communicated indirectly by using words and phrases that have particular connotations. Second, in emotionally provocative discourse, discourse is constructed so as to provoke and elicit emotional reactions from an audience by using accounts, narratives and descriptions. Thirdly, discourse can be invocative of emotions by "deploying emotions as socially – and even politically – consequential referents" (Hall, 2017, p. 488). In examining discourse as emotionally invocative, inquiry is made into the purposes and consequences of making emotions the object of discourse. In International Relations, a certain collective such as the state can speak on behalf of a certain group, i.e. its people.

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Therefore, such collective emotions can serve political purposes as gaining support, fostering demands and legitimacy, and influencing the behavior and acts of others (Hall, 2015, 2017).

Discursive power is essential in highlighting the relation between emotions and discourse in International Relations. According to Heaney (2013), "politicians engage in discourse and rhetoric to evoke emotional responses, for an 'us' and against an emotionally constructed 'them'— emotions are the very means by which the power game is played" (p.358). Discourse power helps construct emotional intersubjectivity as it is used to normalize and legitimize identities, meanings as well as whatever is deemed reasonable and feasible. Emotions also shape how politicians and states act and try to influence the decisions and acts of other states or agencies through discursive power. Thus, emotions and power are closely related as power determines what can be said while emotions reveal and reinforce power relations, and can also be used to resist the power exercised by different agents at the international level (Hutchison & Bleiker, 2017; Koschut, 2020).

According to Koschut (2020), the relationship between emotions and discourse in emotion discourse analysis can be examined via two strategies: interpreting emotions and contextualizing emotions. The first strategy is concerned with revealing the emotion potential of texts at the micro level so as to establish their emotionalization effects and contextualize emotions (the second strategy). A number of linguistic features that communicate emotions in discourse are analyzed at the micro level of texts. These are: emotion terms, connotations, metaphors as well as comparisons and analogies. Emotion terms, such as "anger", "pride", "to love", "afraid", "hateful", and "sadly", are used to

explicitly convey an emotional meaning by directly referring to an emotional feeling (Koschut, 2018a; Koschut et al., 2017).

A certain emotional meaning can be conveyed implicitly by using emotional connotations which contain value judgments that express the speakers' emotional attitudes. While some affective items such as "terrorist" and "outlaw" have a negative appeal because they indirectly refer to concepts of disapproval such as "hate" or "contempt", other items carry a positive appeal such as "hero" and "peaceful", and have emotional connotations of admiration like "pride" and "joy". Moreover, linguistic markers of duration and intensity can be used to raise or lower the emotional value of texts. In "the horror of an endless conflict", and "the never-ending fear of nuclear war", "endless" and "never-ending" add a temporal dimension to the emotional connotations *horror* and *fear* and thus indicate the presence of an emotional disposition. Regarding intensity, a high or low level of emotional intensity can be communicated via semantic markers such as "very", "somewhat", "heavily", "deeply" and "exceedingly" (Koschut, 2018a, 2020; Koschut et al., 2017).

Metaphors, comparisons and analogies are key figures of speech that help encode emotional expressions, which renders affective language highly figurative. Emotion metaphors express emotional states that are not easily articulated. For instance, "floods of refugees" conveys fear of refugees by dehumanizing them linguistically. Emotional comparisons and analogies establish comparative categories by using historical references that are known such as "He is the greatest war criminal since Adolf Hitler" or by conceptualizing particular emotional meanings through mental imagery. For instance, the comparisons in "feel like in heaven" and "dark abyss" conceptualize and communicate emotions of hope and fear through the mental images of light and darkness (Koschut, 2018a, 2020; Koschut et al., 2017)

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In the second strategy, namely contextualizing emotions, the focus shifts from tracing and interpreting the meaning of emotion words and phrases to contextualizing their meaning and emotionalization effects by situating these emotional expressions in the sociopolitical context and examining how they are directed at certain audiences (Hansen, 2006). There are a number of ways to contextualize emotions and interpret their emotionalization effects. These are: emotional Othering, stigmatization/naming and shaming, emotional narratives, intertextuality of emotions, performativity and interpellation of emotions as well as non-verbal or non-linguistic forms of emotion discourse (not applicable to the present study). In emotional Othering, the way emotional expressions are used to refer to the Other is analyzed by looking for chains of connotations between words or concepts and their emotional meaning (Koschut, 2018a; Koschut et al., 2017).

Stigmatization creates an emotional barrier between the punisher and the offender who is stigmatized because of a moral transgression, and is thus excluded from the moral boundaries of the international community via naming and shaming because of a belief in the inability of the offender to take corrective measures without external pressure (Adler-Nissen, 2014; Koschut, 2020; Zarakol, 2011).

In emotional narratives, international political actors use storytelling to give meaning to an emotional experience as narratives help urge different communities to embark on collective action because it is deemed a moral imperative derived by the moving stories told (Inayatullah & Dauphinee, 2016; Koschut, 2020; Steele, 2007).

In intertextuality of emotions, the interconnection and cross links between the emotional meanings of different texts are

established. It refers to "the way emotional expressions are quoted, appropriated or criticized within and against other texts" (Koschut, 2020, pp. 11-12).

Performativity of emotions refers to the emotional construction of particular subjects. For example, after the September 11 attacks, the "disgusting terrorist" was emotionally constructed via the performativity of disgust. The interpellation of emotions refers to the producer's use of language to make receivers identify with certain ideological emotional states so as to internalize and normalize certain ideologies, values, roles as well as power and authority (Ahmed, 2004; Althusser, 1970; Koschut, 2018a, 2020; Koschut et al., 2017).

4.4 The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD)

The current ongoing dispute over the GERD between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia dates back to April 2011 when Ethiopia started the construction of the dam on the Blue Nile. This mega hydroelectric project is reported to have a capacity of 6000 megawatts and is believed to be vital for the development of Ethiopia's energy sources and power supply. Since it started the construction of the GERD, Ethiopia has argued that the dam will have no effect on the flow of water into the two downstream countries, Egypt and Sudan, and that it has every right to use its water resources to improve the living conditions of its citizens and fight poverty in the country. While Ethiopia views the dam as necessary for its socio-economic development, Egypt and Sudan see it as a real threat to their water supply. This has started decade-long talks and negotiations to reach a legally-binding agreement to ensure the unfettered rights of the three riparian countries and minimize the negative effects of the GERD on the downstream ones (Al-Anani, 2020; Ikondere, 2021; Mbaku, 2020).

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Due to the escalating tensions between Ethiopia, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia invited the two downstream countries to form an International Panel of Experts (IPoE) in 2013 to examine construction plans, enhance understanding of the benefits of the GERD and determine its environmental and socio-economic impact. Although the IPoE report two studies to evaluate the effects of the dam, no agreement was reached to implement the recommendations of the IPoE. In 2014, the Malabo Declaration was issued following a meeting between Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi and Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. According to the joint statement, the two parties agreed to form a joint committee to enhance bilateral relations between the two countries. It also held that Ethiopia is committed to avoid any damage to Egypt's share of water that can be caused by the GERD and that Egypt is committed to constructive communication and dialogue with Ethiopia based on understanding Ethiopia's need for development (State Information Service, 2021; von Lossow & Roll, 2015).

In March 2015, Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia signed the Declaration of Principles in Khartoum to set the foundation for cooperation among the three countries as well as an agreement on the filling and operation of the dam to put an end to the dispute over the GERD. However, disagreements persisted as both parties failed to agree on the duration of the time for filling the GERD's reservoir and accused each other of failing to recognize the impacts of the dam on the citizens and interests of the countries (Al-Anani, 2020; Das, 2020; Kandeel, 2020).

Several rounds of successive negotiations that took place under the auspices of the African Union and which were mediated by the United States, the World Bank, the European Union, and

South Africa reached a deadlock due to Ethiopia's insistence on adopting unilateral measures regarding the filling and operation of the GERD with no consideration for the interests of the downstream countries. This drove Egypt to seek the intervention of the UN Security Council to reach a fair agreement based on respect for international law that governs the use of international rivers. On January 19, 2020, depending on Article 35 of the UN Charter which allows member or non-member states to "bring any dispute or any situation that may lead to international friction or give rise to dispute to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly", Egypt called the Security Council to intervene in the GERD issue to continue the negotiations between the three countries in good faith. On June 29, 2020, in conjunction with the first filling of the dam, the GERD issue was discussed in an open session held by the Security Council. During the meeting, Egyptian Foreign Minister asserted that Ethiopia's unilateral acts would have a negative effect on the stability of the region. African-Union brokered negotiations in the presence of international observers were resumed but failed to reach the desired agreement as Ethiopia rejected Egypt's and Sudan's proposals to solve the dispute over the GERD. The issue was taken again to the UN Security Council and was discussed in the session held on July 8, 2021. On September 15, 2021, Egypt and Sudan welcomed the UN Security Council statement on the GERD in which the three riparian countries were urged to reach "a mutually acceptable and binding agreement on the filling and operation" of the GERD "within a reasonable time frame" under the sponsorship of the African Union. Ethiopia rejected the statement saying that it is not binding (Egypt Today Staff, 2020; El-Gundy, 2021; Kandeel, 2020; State Information Service, 2021; What's in Blue, 2021).

Previous research on emotion discourse in International Relations has focused on certain aspects such as fear, anger and

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humiliation (Crawford, 2014; Fattah & Fierke, 2009; Hall, 2011; Heller, 2018; Huysmans, 2006; Ross, 2014; Saurette, 2006; van Rythoven, 2018). It has also examined status differentiation in International Relations (Albert et al., 2013; Linklater, 2011; Paul et al., 2014; Wolf, 2011) and the relation between emotions and conflict (Ahall & Gregory, 2015; Eznack, 2012; Fierke, 2013; Khalili, 2010; Mercer, 2013; Schut et al., 2015). Previous research has also examined emotion discourse in times of critical events in Asia and Europe (Garry, 2014; Hall, 2017; Hall & Ross, 2015, 2019; Hutchison, 2010; Steele, 2007; Wolf, 2016). Although these studies investigate the emotional turn in International Relations, emotion discourse is not examined from a linguistic perspective. To the researcher's knowledge, no research has studied emotions in International Relations linguistically. Emotion discourse analysis has not also been used to examine emotions in international politics. Moreover, no research has investigated emotion discourse in African issues. The present study seeks to fill this gap by employing emotion discourse analysis to study the use of emotions in the statements made by Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy on the GERD in the UN Security Council session held on July 8, 2021 as well as in the press conference held by the three ministers after the meeting.

5. Analysis

In this section, an emotion discourse analysis of the statements made by Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy at the UN Security Council meeting on July 8, 2021 as well as in the press conference held after the Security Council meeting is carried out. The two strategies that help conduct an emotion discourse analysis

of the data in question are examined. These are: interpreting emotions and contextualizing emotions.

5.1 Interpreting Emotions

In this strategy, the texts are examined at the micro level to highlight the linguistic features that express certain emotions conveyed in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers. Some of these emotions are positive while others are negative. The positive emotions are: *hope*, *cooperation*, *persistence* and *understanding*. The negative ones are: *resentment* and *worry*. It has been found that there are also neutral emotions in the statements of the three ministers. These are: *sympathy* and *rightness*. The positive, negative and neutral emotions found in the data are expressed using the linguistic features proposed by Koschut (2020) except for analogies as no instances have been found in the data. The linguistic features are: emotion terms and expressions, connotations, metaphors and comparisons. The positive emotion of *hope* is found in the statements of the three ministers. *Hope* is demonstrated in extracts (1), (2) and (3).

Extract (1)

سامح شكري: وكان يحدونا الأمل، ولا يزال، في التوصل إلي اتفاق ملزم قانونا يمكن أثيوبيا من تحقيق أهدافها التنموية المرجوة بفاعلية وعلني نحو مستدام.

(We hope to reach a legally-binding agreement that would enable Ethiopia to implement its desired developmental goals effectively and sustainably).

(Extra news, 2021)

In extract (1), Foreign Minister Sameh Shokry expresses Egypt's hope that the GERD issue will be solved by reaching a legally-binding agreement. The emotion category of *hope* is

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expressed using the noun "الأمل" (hope) and the phrase "أهدافها" (desired developmental...sustainably). The aim is to show that Egypt is hopeful that Ethiopia would understand the importance of reaching an agreement not only for Egypt and Sudan but also for Ethiopia itself as it will help it fulfill its developmental goals.

Extract (2)

Mariam Al-Sadiq: What we have heard there is really encouraging that this is a very important matter that is taking the interest of the world because it is a matter of imminent threat to the stability and security of an important region.

(United Nations, 2021c)

In this extract, Mariam Al-Sadiq, Sudanese Foreign Minister, uses inclusive "we" to refer to Egypt and Sudan to show that both countries are optimistic and encouraged by what was said in the Security Council meeting. *Hope* is expressed using the adjective "encouraging" and the nouns "interest", "threat", "stability" and "security". The emotion of *hope* is also raised using the linguistic marker of intensity "very". While the adjective "encouraging" and the nouns "interest", "stability" and "security" connote hope, peace and freedom from anxiety, the noun "threat" has the emotional connotation of unrest, harm and danger. This shows that Egypt and Sudan are optimistic that the GERD problem will be solved because what was said in the meeting was encouraging and shows that the whole world is concerned about this issue. This is "encouraging" for the two downstream countries as they believe that reaching a solution to the problem is important for the stability of the region.

Extract (3)

Seleshi Bekeli: The Nile belongs to all the people of the basin countries...In this regard, we urge our Egyptian and Sudanese brothers and sisters to understand that a resolution to the Nile issue will not come from the Security Council.

(Ethiopian Embassy UK, 2021)

In extract (3), Ethiopian Minister Seleshi Bekeli expresses hope that Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia would reach a solution without resorting to the Security Council. This is shown by using the verbs "urge" and "understand" which reflect a strong desire on the part of Ethiopia for the Security Council not to intervene in the problem. *Hope* is also expressed using the family metaphor in "Egyptian and Sudanese brothers and sisters" to show that the three countries are members of the same family and therefore should resolve their problems without asking for help from strangers.

The Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers draw a positive image of their countries by showing that they have been cooperative ever since the GERD problem started and have constantly worked on finding a solution. The emotion category of *cooperation* is shown in extracts (4), (5) and (6).

Extract (4)

سامح شكري: إن رد فعل مصر اتسم بظبط النفس واتباع درب السلم والسعي للتوصل لتسوية لهذه الأزمة من خلال اتفاق منصف يحفظ مصالح الأطراف الثلاثة، كما تبيننا بصدق مبادرة رئيس الاتحاد الأفريقي انذاك فخامة الرئيس سيريل رامافوزا رئيس جنوب أفريقيا لإطلاق مفاوضات تحت رعاية الاتحاد الأفريقي، وانخرطنا علي مدار عام كامل في المفاوضات التي عقدها وأدارها أشقاؤنا الأفارقة من أجل صياغة حل أفريقي لهذه الأزمة الكؤود...بالرغم مما أبدته وتبديه أثيوبيا من سوء نية وإصرارها علي اتباع سياسات أحادية الجانب فقد استمرت مصر في

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التفاوض استنادا لحسن النية وتوافر إرادة سياسية جادة للتوصل إلى اتفاق
عادل.

(Egypt has shown self-restraint and followed the path of peace to reach a settlement to this crisis by concluding a fair agreement that preserves the interests of the three parties. We also genuinely adopted the initiative of His Excellency Cyril Ramaphosa, President of South Africa and the then Chairperson of the African Union to launch African Union-led negotiations. We also engaged in year-long negotiations managed by our African brothers to draft an African solution to this major crisis. Although Ethiopia has constantly acted in bad faith and insisted on adopting unilateral policies, Egypt has continued to negotiate in good faith due to the presence of serious political will to reach a fair agreement).

(Extra news, 2021)

In extract (4), Egyptian Foreign Minister shows how cooperative Egypt has been in the attempts to find a solution to the GERD problem despite Ethiopia's insistence on adopting unilateral measures. The emotion category of *cooperation* is expressed via the use of "ظبط النفس" (self-restraint), "حسن النية" (good faith) and "توافر إرادة سياسية جادة" (the presence of serious political will), all of which reflect Egypt's desire to genuinely cooperate to end the conflict in spite of Ethiopia's intransigence and refusal of the different solutions put forward to solve the problem. It is also expressed via the use of the metaphors "اتباع درب السلم" (followed the path of peace) and "أشقائنا الأفارقة" (African brothers). The former shows that Egypt opts for peaceful solutions that can only be reached via negotiations to conclude a legally-binding

agreement that regulates the filling and operation of the dam. The latter reflects Egypt's good relation with other African countries that have taken part in the negotiations and its willingness to adopt the solutions offered in these negotiations to end the problem. Egypt's cooperation is also expressed by the adverb "بصدق" (genuinely) and the phrase "علي مدار عام كامل" (year-long) to show Egypt's patience and serious desire to cooperate to solve the GERD issue via negotiations.

Extract (5)

مريم الصادق: السيد الرئيس، إنطلاقاً من قناعتنا بالتعاون الإقليمي، فقد شارك السودان بحسن نية وفعالية في جميع جولات التفاوض الثلاثية حول سد النهضة الأثيوبي منذ إنطلاقها في عام ٢٠١١ وحتى اليوم. وهنا لابد أن نشير إلي مجهودات السودان الكبيرة في إقناع جارتيه مصر وأثيوبيا لتوقيع إعلان المبادئ في الخرطوم في مارس ٢٠١٥... كذلك استجاب السودان لمبادرة السيد رئيس جمهورية جنوب أفريقيا ورئيس الاتحاد الأفريقي انذاك في دورة عام ٢٠٢٠ بمعالجة الملف داخل البيت الأفريقي.

(Mr. President, out of our belief in regional cooperation, Sudan has taken part effectively and in good faith in all rounds of trilateral negotiations on GERD since they started in 2011 until today. We must point out Sudan's great efforts to convince its two neighbors Egypt and Ethiopia to sign the Declaration of Principles in Khartoum in 2015...Sudan has also responded to the initiative of His Excellency the President of the Republic of South Africa and the then Chairperson of the African Union in 2020 to solve the issue in the African house).

(Ten TV, 2021)

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In extract (5), Sudanese Foreign Minister seeks to prove that her country has been cooperative ever since the negotiations started in 2011 by giving examples of what Sudan did to contain the problem. The emotion category of *cooperation* is shown by using "قناعتنا" (our belief), "حسن نية" (good faith), "فعالية" (effectively), "مجهودات السودان الكبيرة" (Sudan's great efforts) and "استجاب" (responded). These different emotion words and phrases serve to reflect the sincerity of Sudan to solve the GERD problem by participating in all the negotiations that have taken place for this purpose in different African countries out of its deep conviction of the importance of regional cooperation. This is also shown in the use of the metaphor "البيت الأفريقي" (the African house) which reflects Sudan's belief in the importance of solving problems that arise between African countries by negotiating with each other. Sudanese Foreign Minister aims to indirectly show that Ethiopia has been uncooperative since the negotiations began in 2011. Thus, this is what drove Sudan and Egypt to try to find a solution outside the African house by resorting to the UN Security Council.

Extract (6)

Seleshi Bekeli: We always go to negotiations with solutions at hand. We take a draft of rules and guidelines agreement to put on the table and these parties always disrupt. Ethiopia has never disrupted any meeting. It wanted always to continuously engage and solve. And we have seen already a solution at hand for the first filling since about one year but the parties did not want to conclude the first filling agreement.

(United Nations, 2021b)

In this extract, the Ethiopian minister aims to draw a positive image of his country to show that it is Egypt and Sudan that have been uncooperative in the different attempts to draft an agreement to solve the GERD problem. The adverbs "continuously" and "always", the verbs "engage", "solve" and "disrupt", and the phrase "since about one year" are used to reflect Ethiopia's willingness to cooperate and to project a negative image of the two downstream countries as being insincerely willing to cooperate.

The data shows that in addition to the linguistic features proposed by Koschut (2020) to express emotions, implicature is also employed for the same purpose. This is shown in extracts (7) and (8) which demonstrate the positive emotion of *persistence* that has been found in the statements of Egyptian Foreign Minister and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy, and not in the statements of Sudan's Foreign Minister.

Extract (7)

Sameh Shokry: The matter of Egypt's protection of the rights of its citizens is inherent and is a matter that any responsible government would apply itself to...Egypt is committed to the principles and purposes of the charter of the United Nations, and will continue to demonstrate every flexibility and desire to support the African Union process, but it will recognizably defend the interests of its citizens, their livelihood with all means available at its disposal.

(United Nations, 2021a)

In extract (7), Minister Sameh Shokry demonstrates Egypt's policy towards the water issue. The emotion category of *persistence* is expressed using the adjectives "inherent",

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"responsible" and "committed", the verbs "continue" and "support", the nouns "flexibility" and "desire" which underscore Egypt's insistence on protecting its water rights as well as the livelihood of its citizens. *Persistence* is also expressed via implicature which is employed in the phrases "recognizably defend" and "all means available at its disposable" which imply Egypt's commitment to tread every possible path to attain the ultimate goal of securing Egypt's share of the Nile River.

Extract (8)

Seleshi Bekeli: We're compelled to conclude that their objection is not directed at the GERD but rather to stop any water use by Ethiopia. The fact of the matter is that we have no viable alternative. Nearly 70% of my country's water is in the Nile basin...so we cannot avoid utilizing the Nile River. In fact, constructing dams is only part of our focus.

(Ethiopian Embassy UK, 2021)

In this extract, implicature, which is found in "we have no viable alternative", "cannot avoid utilizing" and "constructing dams is only part of our focus", is employed to express and assert Ethiopia's persistence to proceed with the GERD and embark on other projects that involve utilizing its water resources.

Egypt's and Sudan's realization of the importance of the GERD for Ethiopia is shown in the presence of the positive emotion of *understanding* in the statements of Egyptian and Sudanese ministers. This is demonstrated in extracts (9) and (10).

Extract (9)

سامح شكري: مصر أقرت بأحقية إثيوبيا في إقامة السد، في الاستفادة من المياه. لم تعترض مصر علي إقامة السد ولم تعترض علي استغلال إثيوبيا للنيل كمورد للتنمية.

(Egypt has acknowledged Ethiopia's right to build the dam and use the water. Egypt has not objected to constructing the dam nor to Ethiopia's utilization of the Nile as a source for development).

(United Nations, 2021a)

In extract (9), the emotion category of *understanding* is shown in the statement of the Egyptian Foreign Minister in which the verbs "أقرت" (has acknowledged) and "لم تعترض" (has not objected), and the nouns "أحقية" (right), "إقامة" (build), "الاستفادة" (use), "استغلال" (utilization) and "تنمية" (development) are used. While the verbs reflect Egypt's perception of the dam in terms of recognizing its necessity for Ethiopia, the nouns give details about the aspects related to the GERD which Egypt does not object to, namely Ethiopia's right to build the dam and utilize its water for developmental purposes. Moreover, the noun "تنمية" (development) connotes stability, security and prosperity. This shows that Egypt recognizes and has no problem with Ethiopia's plans for development.

Extract (10)

مريم الصادق: نؤكد بداية أن السودان كان ولا يزال يقر ويعترف بحقوق الجارة إثيوبيا في الاستغلال الحالي والمستقبلي لمياه النيل وأنا دعمنا قيام سد النهضة منذ البداية..السودان يعلم بفائدة سد النهضة له من حيث الوقاية من الفيضانات وانسياب جريان المياه بصورة منتظمة طوال العام...

(First, we assert that Sudan has recognized and acknowledged our neighbor Ethiopia's rights to current

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and future use of the water of the Nile and supported the construction of the dam from the beginning...Sudan knows the benefits of the dam in terms of protection from floods and the regular flow of the water all year long).

(Ten TV, 2021)

In extract (10), Sudan's understanding of how vital the GERD is for Ethiopia is shown in the use of the verbs "يقر ويعترف" (recognized and acknowledged) and "دعمنا" (supported) which reflect the country's acceptance and support for building the dam due to the benefits it offers to Ethiopians. *Understanding* is also expressed in using the nouns "فائدة" (benefits), "الوقاية" (protection) and "انسياب" (flow), all of which highlight the role by played by the GERD in improving the lives of Ethiopians.

It has been found that two types of negative emotions are employed in the data, namely *resentment* and *worry*. *Resentment* is found in the statements of the three ministers, as shown in extracts (11), (12) and (13).

Extract (11)

سامح شكري: إن هذا السلوك الفج لا يعكس فقط انعدام المسؤولية لدي الجانب الأثيوبي وعدم المبالاة تجاه الضرر الذي قد يلحقه ملء هذا السد علي مصر والسودان، ولكنه يجسد أيضا سوء النية الأثيوبية والجنوح لفرض الأمر الواقع علي دولتي المصب في تحد سافر للإرادة الجماعية للمجتمع الدولي... هذا النهج الأثيوبي وتصرفاتها الأحادية المستمرة تفضح عن تجاهلها - بل وإزدراءها- لقواعد القانون الدولي وتكشف أهدافها السياسية الحقيقية والتي ترمي إلي أسر نهر النيل والتحكم فيه.

(The offensive attitude is not only indicative of Ethiopia's irresponsibility and indifference to the harm that the filling of the dam could inflict upon Egypt and

Sudan but also manifests the country's bad faith and tendency to create a fait accompli for the downstream countries in open defiance to the collective will of the international community...Ethiopia's approach and continuous unilateral practices exposes its disregard-and even contempt-of the rules of international law and reveals its real political ends of seeking to capture the Nile and control it).

(Extra news, 2021)

In this extract, Minister Sameh Shokry expresses Egypt's resentment towards Ethiopia's practices regarding the GERD. This emotion category is manifested in the use of the adjective "الفج" (offensive), the nouns "انعدام المسؤولية" (irresponsibility), "عدم المبالاة" (indifference), and "الضرر" (harm), and the phrases "سوء النية" (bad faith), "تحد سافر" (open defiance), "فرض الأمر الواقع" (create a fait accompli), and "تجاهلها بل وإزدراؤها" (disregard and even contempt). These words and phrases refer to Ethiopia's attitude and policies negatively and insinuate that Ethiopia has no genuine political will to engage in negotiations to reach an agreement concerning the filling and operation of the dam so as not to cause any harm to Egypt and Sudan. The emotion category of *resentment* is also represented in the use of the metaphor "أسر نهر النيل" (to capture the Nile) in which the Nile is personified and compared to a criminal that Ethiopia wants to arrest. This reflects Egypt's resentment at Ethiopia because of its behavior as a country that has the upper hand over the Nile River and the two downstream countries and because of its insistence on adopting unilateral practices and completely disregarding the interests of Egypt and Sudan and the harm that filling the dam would cause for them.

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Extract (12)

مريم الصادق: وزير الري أرسل رسالة منذ ثلاثة أيام وهو يعلم بانعقاد هذه الجلسة التي تدعو لأن يكون أي ملء قائم علي اتفاق. هو أرسل رسالة تكاد تكون تهديدية لكل من السودان ومصر يعلن فيها أنه سيبدأ الملء الثاني... الطريقة التي عرض بها وزير الري الأثيوبي الأمر هي لسيت قضية مياه، هي قضية دولة تتعامل مع المياه كسلاح لتهيمن به علي جيرانها.

(Ethiopian Minister for Irrigation sent a letter three days ago knowing about holding this session to ask for reaching an agreement to fill the dam. He sent an almost threatening letter to Egypt and Sudan to announce the second filling...The way the minister presented the matter makes it not a water issue but the issue of a country that uses water as a weapon to control its neighbors).

(United Nations, 2021c)

In extract (12), Mariam Al-Sadiq, Sudanese Foreign Minister, expresses great resentment at Ethiopian Minister of Irrigation, Water and Energy because of the letter he sent to Egypt and Sudan to inform them that his country will start the second filling of the dam, and because of the manner in which he tackled the GERD issue in the Security Council meeting. *Resentment* is expressed via the use of the adjective "تهديدية" (threatening), the verb "تهيمن" (control) and the noun "سلاح" (weapon). The adjective expresses Sudan's exasperation at the tone of the letter and implies non-acceptance not only of its tone but also of the content which pertains to starting the second filling of the dam although no agreement has yet been reached among the three countries concerning the operation and filling of the GERD. The noun "سلاح" (weapon) is a metaphor in which the Nile River is compared to a

weapon that Ethiopia uses to try to control the downstream countries. This noun also connotes conflict, unrest and insecurity which indicates that not resolving the GERD problem can have dire consequences for the region.

Extract (13)

Seleshi Bekeli: The African Union is ably facilitating our negotiations. That is why it is regrettable that our sisterly countries opted to bring the matter to the Security Council...The underlying problem for the difference between the three countries is the quest to preserve the colonial and monopolistic status quo. The approach of trying to solve problems using the mindset that created them is what blocks our consensus on the GERD.

(Ethiopian Embassy UK, 2021)

In this extract, Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy expresses Ethiopia's resentment at Egypt and Sudan over two issues, the first of which is resorting to the Security Council to resolve the water conflict between the three countries. The second is having a colonial mind which Ethiopia considers the main stumbling block to reaching an agreement regarding the GERD. Resentment over the first issue is manifested in the use of "regrettable" and "sisterly countries". The former implies that Ethiopia does not like the fact that Egypt and Sudan sought the intervention of the Security Council to solve an African problem. The latter is a family metaphor that implies that the GERD problem could be solved in the African house without seeking help from an international body. Ethiopia's resentment at the downstream countries for having a colonial mind is expressed using the adjectives "colonial" and "monopolistic" and the verb

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"blocks". While the adjectives explicitly connote mental, political, territorial and economic domination, the verb reflects Ethiopia's belief that the lack of consensus over an agreement concerning the GERD is attributed to Egypt's and Sudan's insistence on behaving in accordance with a colonial and monopolistic mindset, thereby implying that the downstream countries act in bad faith and have no intention or strong political will to cooperate with Ethiopia to overcome its economic problems which can be realized by building the GERD and embarking on other projects.

The second negative emotion that has been found in the data, namely *worry* is employed in the statements of Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers only. This emotion category is demonstrated in extracts (14) and (15).

Extract (14)

سامح شكري: سد أثيوبيا يمثل تهديدا حقيقيا لمصر فدراستنا العلمية تؤكد أن هذا السد العملاق قد يتسبب في أضرار لا تُعد ولا تُحصى بالنسبة لمصر، وعلي الرغم من كافة الإجراءات الوقائية التي اتخذناها تحسبا للملء الأحادي لهذا السد ورغم كافة جهودنا المضنية لحفظ مياهنا وإعادة تدويرها فإن الضرر الذي قد ينتج عنه سوف يستشري كطاعون مزمن في شتى مناحي حياة الشعب المصري.

(Ethiopia's dam represents a real threat to Egypt. Our studies confirm that this mega dam can cause incalculable harms to Egypt. Despite all the preventive measures taken in anticipation of the unilateral filling of the dam, and our arduous efforts to preserve and recycle our water, the harm that the GERD might cause for us will spread unabated in all aspects of Egyptian life like a chronic plague).

(Extra news, 2021)

In extract (14), Egyptian Foreign minister expresses Egypt's worries and concerns about the undesirable effects of the dam on Egypt. This is shown in the use of the adjectives "تهديدا حقيقيا" (real threat) and "أضرار لا تُعد ولا تُحصى" (incalculable harms) which underline the endless series of problems that the GERD will cause for Egypt. This emotion category is also manifested in the use of the comparison in "سوف يستشري كطاعون مزمن" (will spread unabated...like a chronic plague) in which the widespread harms of the Ethiopian dam are compared to a serious chronic disease that can destroy the lives of Egyptians.

Extract (15)

مريم الصادق: من غير اتفاق حول ملء وتشغيل السد تتحول فوائد سد النهضة إلي مخاطر حقيقية علي نصف تعداد سكان السودان وكل سكان مصر... إن وجود سد ضخم مثل سد النهضة بسعة ٧٤ مليار متر مكعب علي بعد بضعة كيلومترات من الحدود السودانية ومن غير تنسيق في إجراءات السلامة مع مجتمعات أدني السد تشكل خطورة مباشرة علي هذه المجتمعات وأمنها...ما لم تتوفر المعلومات لنا بصورة منتظمة عن الكيفية التي يتم بها ملء وتشغيل سد النهضة فإن سلامة سد الروصيرص تكون في خطر كبير، كما أن قدرته علي توليد الكهرباء وتوفير المياه للمشاريع الاستراتيجية الزراعية تكون عُرضه للضياع والفسل.

(Without an agreement on the filling and operation of the GERD, its benefits turn into real threats for half the Sudanese and all Egyptians. The presence of a huge dam like the GERD which can store 74 bcm a few kilometres away from the Sudanese borders and with no coordination with the downstream countries regarding the safety measures poses immediate danger to the safety of these communities...Unless we are regularly informed about how the dam will be filled and operated, the safety of the Roseires Dam is in grave danger, and

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its capacity to generate electricity and provide water for strategic agricultural projects become vulnerable to failure).

(Ten TV, 2021)

In extract (15), Sudan's worries about the dangers of the GERD on the safety of the peoples of the two downstream countries as well as on the Roseires Dam in Sudan are reflected in the use of the adjectives "مخاطر حقيقية" (real threats), "خطورة مباشرة" (immediate danger), and "خطر كبير" (grave danger) to show the country's deep concern about the huge storage capacity of the GERD (74 bcm) and the absence of safety measures that would assure Egypt and Sudan that they would not be negatively affected by the dam. Sudan's concern about the expected undesirable effect of the GERD on the capacity of the Roseires Dam to provide power and water for projects in Sudan is manifested in the use of the phrase "تكون عُرضه للضياع والفشل" (vulnerable to failure).

The neutral emotion of *sympathy* is employed in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers to try to convince members of the Security Council of their views on the GERD. This is demonstrated in extracts (16), (17) and (18).

Extract (16)

سامح شكري: مصر – تلك الأمة التي يتجاوز تعدادها أكثر من مائة مليون نسمة – تواجه تهديدا وجوديا، فقد بُني كيان هائل علي الشريان الذي يهب الحياة لشعب مصر... ومع كل حجر في البناء يعلو سد النهضة الأثيوبي ويتسع خزانة ليضيق علي شريان الحياة لملايين الأبرياء الذين يعيشون من بعد هذا السد العملاق علي مجري نهر النيل. وقد أتت مصر إلي مجلس الأمن العام الماضي وشاركت في جلسته التي عُقدت يوم ٢٩

يونيو ٢٠٢٠... وحذرنا من مغبة السعي لفرض السيطرة والاستحواذ علي نهر يعتمد عليه بقاؤنا.

(Egypt – a nation of over 100 million people – is facing an existential threat. A huge structure is being built along the lifeline of Egyptians. With every brick, the GERD grows higher and its reservoir grows larger and constricts the lifeline of millions of innocent people who live downstream the Nile River. Egypt came to the Security Council on June 29, 2020 and warned against the costs of attempting to control a river which our survival depends on).

(Extra news, 2021)

In extract (16), Egyptian Foreign Minister brings the negative effects of the GERD to the attention of the members of the Security Council and tries to gain their sympathy by using the nouns "الأبرياء" and "بقاؤنا" in "ملايين الأبرياء" (millions of innocent people), and "بقاؤنا" (our survival), the adjective "وجوديا" in "تهديدا وجوديا" (existential threat), and the phrases "الشريان الذي يهب الحياة" (the lifeline) and "شريان الحياة" (the lifeline of millions of innocent people). These emotion words and phrases show that the dam will put an end to the livelihood of Egyptians as their lives depend on the Nile River and thus the international community should play an active role in reaching a legally-binding agreement so that Ethiopia would not take unilateral measures to fill and operate the dam.

Extract (17)

مريم الصادق: إن أسلوب حياة ملايين السودانيين ومنذ الاف السنوات يقوم علي العيش علي ضفاف نهر النيل وهم يعتمدون بصورة أساسية علي الزراعة الفيضية، فإن سد النهضة سيغير طرق معيشة هؤلاء الملايين من الناس وسيقلل مساحة هذه الأراضي الفيضية بنسبة

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٥٠%... ما لا يمكننا قبوله أن نستخدم طريقة ملء وتشغيل السد الأحادية في ترويع هؤلاء المواطنين والحط من كرامتهم وإهدار حقوقهم الإنسانية. (Millions of Sudanese have been living along the bank of the Nile River for thousands of years and they basically rely on floodplain agriculture. The GERD will change the lifestyle of these millions of people and will reduce 50% of these lands. We cannot accept utilizing the unilateral filling and operation of the dam to terrify these citizens, strip them of their dignity and violate their human rights).

(Ten TV, 2021)

In extract (17), Sudanese Foreign Minister tries to arouse the sympathy of the Security Council by showing that the GERD will destroy the lives of millions of Sudanese who rely on floodplain agriculture. *Sympathy*, as an emotion category, is manifested in the use of the phrases "ملايين السودانيين" (millions of Sudanese) to show that a large scale of Sudanese citizens will be negatively affected by the GERD, and "ترويع هؤلاء المواطنين...حقوقهم الإنسانية" (terrify these citizens...their human rights) which sheds light on the adverse consequences of the unilateral filling of the GERD on the lives of Sudanese citizens. It is also shown in the use of "بصورة سياسية" (basically), which is an intensity marker that denotes a high level of the emotion in question. These emotion words and phrases serve to play on the emotions of the Council to drive its members to force Ethiopia to engage in fruitful negotiations on the GERD to guard against the occurrence of human catastrophes in Sudan.

Extract (18)

Seleshi Bekeli: What puts the GERD in distinction from other projects is the extent of hope and aspiration it generated for 65 million Ethiopians who have no access to electricity. It is also unique because the construction of this \$5 billion dam is financed by the blood, tears and sweat of ordinary Ethiopians.

(Ethiopian Embassy UK, 2021)

In this extract, Ethiopian Minister tries to make the attendees in the Security Council meeting sympathize with Ethiopia, understand the necessity of the GERD for millions of Ethiopians, and thus support Ethiopia's position. This end is realized via the use of the nouns "hope", "aspiration", "blood", "tears" and "sweat" as well as the noun phrase "65 million Ethiopians" in which numbering is used to prove that the GERD reflects the aspiration of the majority of Ethiopians who depend on it in the hope of improving their living conditions.

Rightness is another neutral emotion that has been found in the data. It is employed only by Seleshi Bekeli, Ethiopian Minister for irrigation, Water and Energy to highlight Ethiopia's entitlement to use a certain amount of the water of the Nile River for its project. This is shown in extract (19).

Extract (19)

We constitute 77 billion cubic meters to the Nile. It's only fair to take 13.5 to fill our dam...It's the right of Ethiopia because we contribute 77 bcm, so taking 13.5 is not a real issue. It's well within the limit of Ethiopia's equitable share.

(United Nations, 2021b)

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In this extract, Minister Seleshi Bekeli attempts to show that Ethiopia has the right to use 13.5 bcm to fill the reservoir of the dam since it contributes 77 bcm. He tries to prove that this is Ethiopia's right by using the adjective "fair", the noun "right" and the phrases "not a real issue" and "equitable share" to show that the 13.5 bcm is a justifiable amount of the amount of water that Ethiopia contributes (77 bcm). He aims to convince members of the Security Council that Ethiopia is acting within acceptable limits because it is using what is believed to be a fair share of the Nile River so this should not harm Egypt and Sudan.

5.2 Contextualizing Emotions

In this strategy, the emotional expressions and meanings that have been identified in the strategy of "interpreting emotions" are analytically structured to contextualize them and gain insights about their sociopolitical implications and undertones. The emotions expressed in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese Foreign Ministers and the Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy are not expressed spontaneously or haphazardly but are formerly scripted to create intersubjectivity between the Egyptian and Sudanese Ministers so that Egypt and Sudan, from the perspective of these two countries, would be presented as insiders, i.e. the Self that belongs to the Us group, whereas Ethiopia is the outsider, i.e. the Other or Them. The emotions expressed in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister categorize Ethiopia as the in-group and the two downstream countries as the out-group. This is discursively conveyed through the construction of sympathy for Us (Ethiopia) and anger towards Them (Egypt and Sudan) as Ethiopia accuses them of having colonial mindsets and no consideration for the prosperity of Ethiopians. To examine how emotions structure the Self (Us/insider/in-group) and Other (Them/outsider/out-group)

dichotomy, a structure of feeling which refers to "a set of emotions that show a regular pattern" (Koschut, 2018, p. 292) is established to depict Egypt and Sudan as insiders and Ethiopia as an outsider and vice versa.

In the statements under investigation, the relation between the two downstream countries and Ethiopia is presented by constructing Egypt and Sudan as the in-group that holds and cherishes important values such as respect for neighbors, peace, cooperation and liberalism whereas Ethiopia is constructed as the out group (Other) that violates the values of the Self by not engaging in fruitful negotiations and through its unilateral practices pertaining to the filling and operation of the GERD, thereby threatening the livelihood of the peoples of Egypt and Sudan.

The Self-Other dichotomy is discursively constructed through the employment of the emotion of hope for the in-group (Egypt and Sudan) and anger towards the out-group (Ethiopia) as well as through sympathy for Us (Ethiopia) and anger towards Them (Egypt and Sudan). The hope/anger and sympathy/anger dualisms form the structure of feeling which helps establish unity and understanding between members of the in-group and hostility towards the out-group. This is realized through emotional Othering and emotional narratives. The hope/anger dualism realized through emotional Othering is seen in the emotional expressions that denote hope and understanding on the part of Egypt and Sudan such as "الطرق السلمية" (peacefully), "نأمل" (hope), "التحلي بالمسئولية" (exercise responsibility), "الحفاظ علي الأمن والسلام الدوليين" (preserve international peace and security), "إبرام اتفاق عادل ومتوازن بشأن السد" (concluding a fair and balanced agreement about the GERD is not beyond reach), "حل سلمي وودي" (peaceful and amicable solution), "أملا كبيرا" (high hopes), "التعاون" (fruitful cooperation), "رعاية المصالح المشتركة" (preserve common interests), and "نهايات مرضية" (satisfactory endings).

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Egyptian and Sudanese emotional expressions of anger towards Ethiopia include "التعننت الأثيوبي" (Ethiopia's intransigence), "اتباع الإخفاق المتواصل" (adopting unilateral policies), "سياسات أحادية الجانب" "دون مراعاة للقوانين" (continuous failure of negotiations), "المظلومية" (with no consideration for laws and customs), "الأعراف" "تزييف" (making false pretences), "التنزع بحجج واهية" (injustice), "تهديد أمن وسلامة المواطنين" (threaten the security and safety of citizens), "الحقائق" (falsify facts), "كأنها تمتلك حقوق ملكية حصرية لنهر النيل" (as though Ethiopia holds exclusive property rights in the Nile River) and "أثيوبيا رفضت كل مقترح تقدمت به مصر والسودان" (Ethiopia rejected all Egypt's and Sudan's proposals).

The sympathy/anger dualism found in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy and which is realized through emotional Othering is seen in the following emotional expressions of sympathy: "in this mighty river, people saw hope to extricate themselves of darkness", "the dam has the fingerprints of Ethiopia's farmers, pastoralists, daily laborers, students and businessmen and women who eke out a living in extremely difficult circumstances", "the GERD's project is the people's project", "all Ethiopians are contributing to building this dam to bring light home to 65 million people who are currently living in darkness", "65 million people are without electricity", and "25 million people are without access to clean water". Anger is seen in emotional expressions such as "we struggle to prevail", "the quagmire created by the colonial heritage on the Nile basin that Egypt and Sudan are determined to preserve", "the insatiable demands of Egypt and Sudan...are about the future development of Ethiopia", "our hydroelectric dam is under scrutiny in an unprecedented manner", and "their objection is not directed at the GERD but rather to stop any water use by Ethiopia".

The hope/anger and sympathy/anger dualisms are the master or dominant emotions in the data. The different emotion words and expressions that denote hope express the desire of Egypt and Sudan to resolve the GERD conflict through conclusive talks and fruitful negotiations that would take into consideration the interests of the three riparian countries. The emotion expressions of sympathy employed by Minister Seleshi Bekeli reflect his desire to exert cognitive power by attempting to manipulate the minds of the Security Council members by playing on their emotions and making them sympathize with Ethiopians. Emotion words and expressions of anger are employed by the two parties, namely Egypt and Sudan on one hand and Ethiopia, on the other hand, to show reasons of each party's dissatisfaction about the GERD issue. The two above-mentioned dualisms place the emotional meanings of the two parties in clear contrast to each other and thus underscore the Self (Us)/Other (Them) dichotomy which is motivated by a desire on the part of each party to hit home its view on the GERD and win the support of members of the Security Council and their consent to its demands.

The Self-Other dichotomy is underpinned by emotional narratives which strengthen unity among Us and animosity towards Them. They are employed in the statements of the Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers to center on the relentless efforts of the two downstream countries since 2011 to desperately attempt to reach a legally-binding agreement with Ethiopia to set the basis for the filling and operation of the GERD so that Ethiopia would benefit from its water resources without posing an existential threat to the lives and interests of Egyptians and Sudanese. Emotional narratives are also employed by Minister Mariam Al-Sadiq to shed light on some unilateral acts that Ethiopia carried out making use of its ability to manage and operate the dams on its lands, and show how these acts threatened the safety and security of the Sudanese

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citizens. Minister Seleshi Bekeli uses emotional narratives to tell members of the Security Council about the hard life Ethiopians are leading and thus show the importance of the GERD in transforming their lives and helping them realize their dreams.

6. Results and Discussion

The data reveals that the total number of emotion categories found in the data is 177, 61 of which occur in the statements of Egyptian Foreign Minister, 60 in those of Sudanese Foreign Minister and 56 in the statements of Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy. Table (1) demonstrates the number of occurrences of positive, negative and neutral emotions in the statements of the three diplomats.

Table (1): Frequency of occurrence of positive, negative and neutral emotions in the data

Type of emotion	Egyptian Foreign Minister	Sudanese Foreign Minister	Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy
Positive	33	26	20
Negative	24	25	16
Neutral	4	9	20
Total	61	60	56

Table (1) shows that the difference in the number of occurrences of emotion terms and expressions in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers is relatively small which indicates that the three ministers make considerable use of emotional language in their statements in an attempt to realize their goals by playing on the emotions of members of the Security Council to win their support. The table also shows that positive

emotions occur more frequently in the statements of Minister Sameh Shokry (33 occurrences) followed by those of Minister Mariam Al-Sadiq (26 occurrences) and Minister Seleshi Bekeli (20 occurrences). This reflects the desire of the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers to show good faith and intention to resolve the GERD issue peacefully through negotiations to reach a legally-binding agreement. Moreover, the occurrence of negative emotions almost the same number of times in the statements of the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers (24 and 25) and less frequently in those of the Ethiopian minister (16 occurrences) is attributed to the anger of the two downstream countries because of Ethiopia's insistence on taking unilateral measures regarding the filling and operation of the dam with no regard to the harmful consequences of these measures on Egypt and Sudan. Table (1) also demonstrates that neutral emotions occur more frequently in the statements of Ethiopian Minister Seleshi Bekeli (20 occurrences) followed by those of the Sudanese Foreign Minister (9 occurrences) then those of the Egyptian Foreign Minister (4 occurrences). The discrepancy in the number of occurrences of neutral emotions in the statements of the three ministers shows that the ministers of the two downstream countries attempt to make their stance clear to members of the Security Council by directly expressing both positive and negative emotions rather than neutral ones unlike the Ethiopian minister in whose statements neutral and positive emotions occur the same number of times and the number of negative emotions is close to that of the other two types of emotions. This indicates that all types of emotions are given equal importance in the statements of the Ethiopian minister due to his desire to exercise pressure on the members of the Security Council to adopt the Ethiopian view on the GERD.

The data reveals that positive emotions occur more frequently (79 occurrences, 44% of the total number of emotions in

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the data which is 177) followed by negative emotions (65 occurrences, 37% of the total) then neutral emotions (33 occurrences, 19% of the total). This could be attributed to the desire of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers to resolve the GERD issue. Therefore, priority is given to the expression of positive emotions, such as *hope* and *cooperation*, in spite of the presence of negative and neutral emotions. Table (2) demonstrates the types and number of occurrences of the positive emotions found in the statements of the three ministers.

Table (2): Types and frequency of occurrence of positive emotions in the data

Emotion	Egyptian Foreign Minister	Sudanese Foreign Minister	Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy
Hope	10	11	5
Cooperation	10	10	5
Persistence	7	---	10
Understanding	6	5	---
Total	33	26	20
		79	

Table (2) shows that the frequency of occurrence of positive emotions in the statements of the Egyptian Foreign Minister is higher than that of his Sudanese counterpart and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy. This reflects Egypt's desire to end the problem peacefully and reach a legally-binding agreement. The low frequency of occurrence of positive emotions in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister indicates that Ethiopia might not be sincere in its desire to resolve the issue through successful negotiations. Moreover, the high frequency of the

emotion categories of *hope* and *cooperation* in the statements of Minister Sameh Shokry (10 occurrences each) and Minister Mariam Al-Sadiq (12 and 10 occurrences) and their low frequency of occurrence in the statements of Minister Seleshi Bekeli (5 occurrences each) reflects the strong inclination of the two downstream countries, unlike Ethiopia, to engage in real talks about the filling and operation of the GERD to protect their peoples against the imminent danger and repercussions of the unilateral measures taken by Ethiopia in this respect. Whereas the emotion category of *persistence* does not occur in the statements of Sudan's Foreign Minister, it occurs in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister more frequently than in those of the Egyptian Foreign Minister (10 vs. 7), thereby underscoring Ethiopia's intransigence about not concluding fruitful negotiations as well as its indifference to the harm of its unilateral policies and filling of the dam to Egypt and Sudan. The occurrence of the emotion category of *understanding* in the statements of Egypt's and Sudan's Foreign Ministers almost the same number of times reflects the good faith of the two downstream countries and their comprehension of the importance of the GERD for the economic development of Ethiopians. The absence of this emotion from the statements of Minister Seleshi Bekeli shows Ethiopia's ill intention and insistence on imposing a fait accompli on Egypt and Sudan by continuing to fill the dam despite the threat it poses to the downstream countries and the failure to reach a fair binding agreement that would meet the demands of the three countries.

The negative emotions found in the statements of Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy as well as the number of their occurrences are shown in table (3).

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Table (3): Types and frequency of occurrence of negative emotions in the statements of the three ministers

Emotion	Egyptian Foreign Minister	Sudanese Foreign Minister	Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy
Resentment	15	15	16
Worry	9	10	---
Total	24	25	16
	65		

Table (3) demonstrates that the negative emotion of *resentment* occurs almost equally in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers. This indicates that each camp is angry at the other one for a different reason. Egypt and Sudan are angry at Ethiopia for refusing to sign a legally-binding agreement that would enable Ethiopia to realize its developmental and economic goals and regulate the filling and operation of the GERD so as to preserve the water rights of the two downstream countries. They are also angry at Ethiopia because of its insistence on exercising unlimited rights to fill the reservoir of the GERD and operate its turbines with no consideration for the dangers posed to the rights and interests of the two countries. Ethiopia, on the other hand, is angry at Egypt and Sudan for seeking the intervention of the UN Security Council in the dispute over the dam since this body is not concerned with transboundary water issues and because the forum for resolving this issue is the African Union. Ethiopia's resentment at the two downstream countries is also attributed to assumingly failing to realize the necessity of the GERD for the prosperity of Ethiopia.

Table (3) also shows that the second negative emotion found in the data, namely *worry* occurs only in the statements of Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers whereas no instances of this emotion category have been found in the statements of Ethiopian Minister Seleshi Bekeli. It occurs almost the same number of times in the statements of the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers. This indicates that the two downstream countries are keen on voicing their concerns about the adverse effects of the GERD on the water rights of Egypt and Sudan as well as on the livelihood of the peoples of these countries to prove to the Security Council members that the two countries are facing an existential threat, hence the urgent need for reaching a fair agreement. The absence of this emotion from the statements of the Ethiopian Minister is in line with Ethiopia's trust that no harm can be done to its share of water as it controls the flow of the water to Egypt and Sudan, thus there are no worries about Ethiopia's water rights.

Table (4) demonstrates the neutral emotions found in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers and the frequency of their occurrence.

Table (4): Types and frequency of occurrence of neutral emotions in the data

Emotion	Egyptian Foreign Minister	Sudanese Foreign Minister	Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy
Sympathy	4	9	10
Rightness	---	---	10
Total	4	9	20
		33	

As shown in table (4), the emotion category of *sympathy* occurs in the statements of the three ministers, which indicates that

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all three of them attempt to persuade members of the Security Council of their viewpoints and win their support by making them sympathize with their peoples. This emotion category occurs most frequently in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister (10 occurrences) followed by those of the Sudanese Minister (8 occurrences) then the Egyptian Minister (4 occurrences), thereby indicating that the Ethiopian Minister relies heavily on trying to gain the sympathy of the Security Council members by showing them how vital the GERD is for all Ethiopians who have high hopes that the dam will make them lead a better life. That the number of occurrences of this emotion in the statements of Sudanese Minister Mariam Al-Sadiq is close to the number of its occurrence in the statements of Minister Seleshi Bekeli shows that the Sudanese Minister too seeks to make members of the Security Council sympathize with the Sudanese people by amply demonstrating the devastating effects of the GERD on their livelihood. The occurrence of the emotion category in question less frequently in the statements of the Egyptian Foreign Minister reflects his desire to convince members of the Security Council of Egypt's stance not by making them sympathize with Egyptians because of the harmful consequences of the dam on them but by presenting facts to prove Egypt's viewpoint on the GERD. Table (4) also demonstrates that the emotion category of *rightness* is used in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister only. This reflects his insistence on asserting that his country has every right to build the GERD and embark on other developmental projects to realize the ultimate goal of boosting its economy and improving the living conditions of its people regardless of any negative effects of the dam or other projects on the downstream countries.

7. Conclusion

The present study has examined emotions in the statements made by Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers and Ethiopian Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy in the UN Security Council meeting on GERD on July 8, 2021 as well as their statements on the same issue in the press conference held after the meeting. The statements are examined using Emotion Discourse Analysis as proposed by Koschut (2020) in his framework for analyzing emotions in discourse.

The study has attempted to answer four research questions, the first of which pertains to the emotion categories found in the statements of the three ministers. The data reveals that three types of emotions are employed, namely positive, negative and neutral emotions. The positive emotions found in the statements of the three ministers are *hope* and *cooperation*. The positive emotion of *persistence* is employed by the Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers whereas *understanding* is employed by the Egyptian and Sudanese Foreign Ministers. The negative emotions found in the data are *resentment*, which is employed by the three ministers, and *worry*, which is used by the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers only. The three ministers employ the neutral emotion of *sympathy* while the emotion of *rightness* is found in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister only.

The second research question is concerned with the linguistic tools used to express emotions in the analyzed statements. It has been found that the positive emotions are expressed using connotations, nouns such as "نأمل" (hope) and "قناعتنا" (our belief), verbs such as "urge" and "solve", adjectives such as "inherent" and responsible, adverbs such as "بصدق" (genuinely) and "continuously", linguistic markers of intensity such as "very", metaphors such as "اتباع درب السلم" (followed the path of peace), phrases such as "حسن النية" (good faith) as well as

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implicature which is not among the linguistic tools found at the micro-level in Koschut's (2020) framework. Negative emotions are expressed using comparisons, connotations, nouns such as "عدم" (indifference) and "الضرر" (harm), adjectives such as "تهديدية" (threatening) and "colonial", verbs such as "تهيمن" (control) and "blocks", metaphors such as "sisterly countries", and phrases such as "فرض الأمر الواقع" (create a fait accompli). Neutral emotions are conveyed using nouns like "بقاؤنا" (our survival) and "tears", adjectives such as "fair" and "وجوديا" (existential), semantic markers that denote a high level of emotional intensity such as "بصورة أساسية" (basically) and phrases such as "ملايين الأبرياء" (millions of innocent people) and "not a real issue".

With respect to the third research question, which pertains to the purposes fulfilled by the emotion categories employed in the statements of the three ministers, it has been found that the positive emotions of *hope*, *cooperation*, *persistence* and *understanding* are used for different reasons. *Hope* is used to reflect Egypt's and Sudan's optimism that the GERD conflict will be solved by engaging in fruitful negotiations and reaching a legally-binding agreement. This emotion category also reflects Ethiopia's desire to solve the problem without the intervention of the Security Council. The emotion category of *cooperation* is used to show how cooperative Egypt and Sudan have always been since 2011 to realize the ultimate goal of concluding an agreement that would preserve the rights of the three countries. *Cooperation* is used in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister to represent Egypt and Sudan negatively and show that they have been uncooperative in the talks on GERD, unlike Ethiopia. *Persistence* serves to represent Egypt's insistence on protecting the water rights of its citizens and Ethiopia's determination to proceed with the GERD. The emotion

of *understanding* is used to show Egypt's and Sudan's awareness and perception of the necessity and importance of the GERD for the development of Ethiopia. As for the negative emotion of *resentment*, the data reveals that it is employed in the statements of the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers to express Egypt's and Sudan's anger at Ethiopia for insisting on adopting unilateral measures regarding the filling and operation of the dam with no regard for the harm that these acts cause for Egyptians and Sudanese. This emotion category is employed in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister to express disapproval of resorting to the Security Council to solve the GERD issue and to accuse Egypt and Sudan of having colonial minds which constitute the main reason for hampering negotiations and not reaching a satisfactory agreement. The emotion category of *worry* is employed in the statements of Egyptian and Sudanese ministers to express concern about the harmful effects of the GERD on the two downstream countries as well as about the absence of safety measures that would guard against these negative effects. With respect to the neutral emotions of *sympathy* and *rightness*, it has been found that the former is used by Minister Sameh Shokry and Minister Mariam Al-Sadiq to show members of the Security Council how the GERD represents an existential threat to the lives of millions of Egyptian and Sudanese citizens and thus urge the Council to find an effective solution to the conflict. *Sympathy* is employed by Minister Seleshi Bekeli to play on the emotions of the Security Council by showing them that the dam is the dream of all Ethiopians because it will help them lead a better life. He employs the emotion of *rightness* to assert his country's right to use its water resources and show that it is only using a fair share and justifiable amount of the Nile River.

In terms of the fourth research question which is concerned with the contextualizing effects of the emotions found in the

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statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers, the data reveals that the emotion words and expressions employed a Self/Other dichotomy by establishing intersubjectivity between Egypt and Sudan which constitute the Us group (Self) that cherishes values such as cooperation, peace and respect whereas Ethiopia represents the Them group (Other) that violates these values. The emotion meanings and expressions in the statements of the Ethiopian Minister represent Ethiopia as the in-group (Self) that aims for development and prosperity and the two downstream countries as the out-group (Them) that has a colonial mind and opposes Ethiopia's prosperity. The Self/Other dichotomy is established through a structure of feeling and is discursively constructed through the emotion of hope for Egypt and Sudan (Us/Self/in-group) and anger towards Ethiopia (Them/Other/out-group) as well as sympathy for Us (Ethiopia) and anger towards the two downstream countries (Them/Other). Thus, the hope/anger and sympathy/anger dualisms constitute the main emotions in the data and create unity between members of the Self and hostility towards the Other. This is manifested through emotional Othering, which is realized in the use of emotion words and expressions, and emotional narratives which are employed by Egyptian and Sudanese Ministers to shed light on Egypt's and Sudan's efforts to solve the GERD problem as well as on Ethiopia's unilateral practices that threaten the lives of Egyptians and Sudanese. Emotional narratives are also used by Ethiopia's Minister to highlight Ethiopia's need for the GERD.

The study reveals that emotions are powerful tools in attempting to bring about political change as they have been used in the statements of the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian ministers to seek an effective involvement of the international

community in the fruitless tripartite negotiations and demand an active international role in reaching a just tripartite agreement on operating the GERD and filling its reservoir. Thus, emotions play a key role in world politics as they can be used in international bodies such as the UN Security Council to exercise power so as to assert and stand up for fundamental and inalienable human rights. For this reason, social actors in International Relations communicate messages through the discursive employment of emotion-laden language to frame how decision makers view particular issues in an attempt to shape their decisions.

Emotion discourse analysis was employed in the present study to examine the statements made at the UN Security Council. Future research can employ the same methodology to examine the statements made on other thorny issues such as those made during the UN Climate Change Conference 2021 (COP26). It can also be used in medical discourse to study the narratives of survivors of life-threatening diseases such as cancer and Covid-19. Emotion discourse analysis can also be employed in legal discourse to examine the emotions expressed in witnesses' testimonies or suicide notes, for example. Future research can also use emotion discourse analysis to examine the emotional meanings conveyed in social media hashtag campaigns such as #BlackLivesMatter, #BringBackOurGirls, #MeToo, #heforshe as well as health-related campaigns such as #HIVprevention, #No tobacco and #Let's talk.

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Transcription Conventions

... omitted speech

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