

**Hydro-Political Discourse Analysis of the Ethiopian and the
Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Office Press Releases on
the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.**

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Declaration

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I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BCM	Billion Cubic Meters
CFA	Cooperative Framework Agreement
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GERDP	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam Project
GWH	Giga Watt-Hours
IPoE	International Panel of Experts
KWH	Kilo Watt-Hours
RPA	Rhetorical Political Analysis
SPC	Strategic Political Communication

Abstract

The purpose of the study is to see the Hydro-political discourse of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices. The objective of the study was to critically analyze the selected press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs offices political discourses on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The press releases/political discourses which were taken from the Foreign Affairs Office of the two countries following the lay down the corner stone of the GERD (April, 2011) till the Declaration of Principles on GERD (March, 2015) among Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan were analyzed to answer the research questions. For that reason, six relevant political discourses/press releases which were released by the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office in the time frame set had been taken purposely while another six relevant texts/press releases from the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office were taken to get a proportional number of texts for analysis. The study selected the Critical Discourse Analysis approach as a method to answer those research questions. Fairclough's approach of CDA was utilized to answer the research questions. The approach flexibly used to have textual and analysis of the social practice. The research questions were also answered through the lenses of political communication and rhetoric theories. The analysis revealed that the GERED was constructed and interpreted differently in the two countries Foreign Affairs Office press releases. The Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases constructed the GERD as if it is a threat for the National security and the 'Historical right' of the Egyptian over the river Nile. On the other hand, the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases constructed the GERD as a means to bring sustainable development in the country and wouldn't have a significant harm over other neighboring Nile basin countries. On the top of this, the old 'Historical Nile water right' discourse of the Egyptian has been replaced by the upper riparian countries new discourse of 'Equitable water share of the Nile'. The 1959 Nile water share agreement of Egypt and Sudan has faced challenges from the Cooperative Framework of Agreement which favors the equitable water utilization of the Nile and was signed by six upper Nile basin states. The findings indicated that power has been shifting from the lower riparian countries to the upper Nile basin states. The analysis of social practice revealed that both the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Office press releases are in alignment with government Foreign policy documents of their respective countries.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This section discussed the background reasons of Nile water conflicts, stories, legal concepts and other related phenomenon that could shape the discourses of the Nile Basin countries.

It also discussed the rationales behind the choice of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices press releases without incorporating the other Nile riparian countries. The objective of the study stated in a way to lead the researcher to formulate the research questions. It also tried to discuss the expected challenges or limitation of critical discourse analysis because the researcher might not be neutral during text analysis due to the fragile, contextually varied and open to different interpretation features of discourse and meaning.

1.1. Background of the study

The Nile Basin is the longest river system in the world. There are eleven¹ riparian countries in the Basin with different contributions to the overall flow of the water. This river system is composed of two major tributaries: The White Nile and the Blue Nile. The Blue Nile is by far the largest tributary in terms of contribution to the inflow of the water (86%) and the White Nile share is only 14%. Obviously, Ethiopia is the major contributor and key headwater country from where 86 % of the waters rise, and start their long journey to downstream countries (Yacob Arsano, 2007, p.123).

The use and distribution of water will also be fundamental to the development processes of the respective countries. All states are dependent upon the Nile, but to various degrees. Egypt is a downstream country located in a desert and it is totally dependent upon the Nile. The Nile is literally the life-artery of the country and today, 98% of all Egypt's freshwater come from the Nile. Egypt claims it has a historic right to use Nile waters. Moreover, Egyptians argue that the upstream states have no tradition for use and control of the Nile and they also have alternative water resources, which Egypt doesn't have. (Yacob Arssano,200, p.125)

“The situation in Egypt is 'Aut Nilus aut Nihil ' ('No Nile, no life). This description was attributed to Herodotus (a Greek Philosopher) that 'Egypt is the Gift of the Nile'. The country's geographical link with and dependence on the upstream riparian's from

¹ The Riparian countries are: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, Brundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, South Sudan and Egypt

where the life-giving water descends is so great and important as the Nile is the sole source of life in Egypt'' (A.H. Garretson, 1967, p.34).

Although the Egyptian existence is impossible without Nile, the main option to break through poverty for Ethiopian also is to use the Blue Nile River. Therefore, River Nile has been the source of contention especially between Egypt and Ethiopia for generations. This contention is evident from the following speeches of two leaders who governed their respective countries at different times. The late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat after signing the peace agreement with Israel in 1979 said, *“The only matter that could take Egypt to war again is water”* (Yacob Arssano, 2007, p. 224). On the contrary, the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, in relation to the threat from Egypt said, "I am not worried that the Egyptians will suddenly invade Ethiopia Nobody who has tried that has lived to tell the story. I don't think the Egyptians will be any different and I think they know that" (Reuters, November 23, 2010).

There had never been an all-inclusive agreement on how to utilize Nile water in a fair and equitable way. There was only colonial period agreement that gave the lion share of the right to use Nile to Egypt and some few benefits to Sudan.

1.2. Rationality of the study

Although political speeches on the river Nile have been part of the upper and lower Nile Basin countries politics for a long time, it has become more of an issue of Egypt (the lower Basin) and Ethiopia (the Upper Basin) countries politics since April, 2011 which is the inauguration of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

Why the researcher picked the press releases to discuss the Nile Basin discourse? The knowledge Egyptians have about the GERD or Nile or Ethiopia is mostly what they hear or read from the media. One of the sources of the information for their media is the press release of the Foreign Affairs Office and the same is true for Ethiopians about Egypt and the Egyptian stand on the GERD and the Nile or Ethiopia. Hence, the power of the press releases of the Foreign Affairs Offices associating to GERD in shaping the news direction of their country media, the local and international political actors and public opinion is not something to be ignored because these two offices have the power of own it or use or abuse it.

The rationality that I choose the Egyptian and Ethiopian Government Foreign Affairs Offices without including the rest Nile Basin countries opinions is due to the following two concrete reasons.

- 1) Egypt is at the forefront in the opposition of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam as it suspects that the dam may negatively affect its “historical right”; and Ethiopia is the owner of the project.
- 2) Egypt is the only country 99% dependent on the Nile River while Ethiopia is the only country that contribute the lion share of the Nile (86%) including its’ top soils to the lower riparian countries.

Some people viewed this consecutive press release towards the dam is a diplomatic trick; others thought that such repeated actions shows Ethiopia and Egypt will go to conflicts, even others suggested these two countries are trying to seek common ground while reserving their differences. No matter the reasons are, there is no doubt that the Foreign Affairs office of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Governments press releases towards GERD have special meanings for the Nile basin countries in particular and for other International concerned bodies and investors of the region in general. “Whatever the outcome would be regardless of particular motivations in varied contexts, politicians and political institutions are used words that reflects their political stand.” (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997, P.67).

The other rationality behind this study is that the veto power and exclusive right of the lower stream states, especially Egypt over the River Nile water has faced challenges by the following two major events:

- 1) The first is the signing of the Cooperative Framework Agreement (2010) on 14 May 2010 in Uganda. The agreement clearly provided in article 4(1) that all riparian states could utilize the Nile water in their respective countries in equitable and reasonable way. This provision completely avoids the “historical right”, the “acquired right”, and the “water quota” issue which had been in the dominant discourse of the downstream. Egypt and Sudan declined to sign the negotiated deal.
- 2) The second major event that challenged the Egypt power over the utilization of Nile is the announcement of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project (GERDP) on April 2, 2011.

Therefore, a discursive war has been going on from both countries Foreign Affairs Offices to claim or reassure their rights of using the water with their own reasons. For example, according to Zerihun (2014) the politicians, the academia and the media are known for their war rhetoric in the Egyptian side. The counter discourse in the Ethiopian side which mainly focuses on the right to utilize the Nile water has to be reassured.

The press release has a role to play in shaping the attitude of the people in one way or another. It guides the way the local and international media portrayal of the issue as well as the way the people perceive the issue.

Hence, the role of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases in alleviating or intensifying the discursive struggle between the two countries is not something to be ignored because press releases would shape the narrative angle of the media houses and the political actors of the Nile Basin region. Therefore, the research employed a critical discourse analysis within the political discourse context of the Ethio-Egyptian debates on the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

Recently, some works on the GERD were available. Zerihun(2014) applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in his unpublished article to show the on-going discursive struggle between the upper Nile riparian states mainly Ethiopia and the lower Nile riparian states mainly Egypt on the utilization of the water resource of the Nile. His focus was on the diplomatic negotiations of the two countries.

Muez (2012) studied how the Egyptian al Ahram Weekly, the Ethiopian Addis Zemen and the Sudanese Sudan Vision newspapers covered the decision Ethiopia made to construct the GERD. He took a six months' data from March 30, 2011 to September 25, 2011.

Abdulbasit (2016) studied how GERD portrayed under the Egyptian and the Ethiopian State-run Newspapers: al Ahram Weekly and The Ethiopian Herald in focus. He took only three remarkable days that associating with the GERD.

The present study is, therefore, different from the study by Zerihun(2014) and Muez(2012)and Abdulbasit (2016) in the time stretch it covers and the texts that were selected for the study.

This study focused on understanding of how the same event, the construction of the GERD, has been textually constructed and represented by the selected press releases of the two

countries, and identifying the honoured political discourses in the two countries with regard to the event calls for a closer examination.

1.3. Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to critically analyse political discourses (i.e. the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Office Press Releases) on the Grand Ethiopia Renaissance Dam from immediate after the inauguration of GERD (April 2011) to the signing of the Declaration of Principles on the GERD among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan (March 23, 2015).

More specifically, the study sets out to answer the following questions:

1.4. Research Questions

- How the GERD was constructed and interpreted in the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases?
- To what Extent did the selected Press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office align with the foreign policy positions of their respective countries with respect to GERD?
- What are the Deliberate Omissions in the selected press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices?

1.5. Significance of the Study

It is my hope that this study can be an enlightening and invaluable source of information. Politician, government official, development worker, media expert, academician, researcher, or simply an ordinary citizen of the Nile can use it as source of information. It is my wish, furthermore, that the study gives insight about the view of the current governments' opinions of the upper Nile Basin and the lower Nile Basin countries especially Ethiopia and Egypt towards the GERD.

The result of this study can also be an input for those who want to study about, this and a reference for issues related to political discourse.

Moreover, it is not enough to lay bare the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power

abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs. *“CDA should make proposals for change and suggest corrections to particular discourses. CDA thus openly professes strong commitments to change, empowerment, and practice-orientees”* (Toolan ,1997, p.9).

1.6. Scope of the study

In order to put the scope of this research clearly, it is vital to see the difference between CDA and DA. CDA and DA do not mean the same thing. DA is a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). This means that discourse analysis can be applied to all areas of research, with a method of analysis intrinsically linked to its theoretical and methodological foundations.

As for CDA, it “focuses on social problems and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (Van Dijk, 2008, p.96). CDA, then, sets up a relationship between language and power. In that sense, Wodak (1999) regards it as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. Concerning the difference between CDA and DA, Rogers claims: “CDA differs from other discourse analysis methods in that it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work” (Rogers,2004, p.17)

The problems addressed by critical discourse analysts range from those of major international importance (macro issues) to relatively small-scale ones concerning individuals (micro issues). The macro and micro are significantly interrelated and both are equally valid as subjects for analysis.

The study specifically focused on critical political discourse analysis of press releases of the Ethiopian and Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Offices on GERD during the time period of April 2011(i.e immediate after the inauguration of GERD) to 23 March 2015(The signing of the Declaration of Principles on the GERD among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan).

1.7. Limitation of the Study

One of the limitations of discourse analyst is associated with the fluidity of social reality. Even if discourse constructs social reality, social phenomena do not have the same solidity, stability and amenability to experimental observation as natural phenomena. “All concepts, categories, complex representations, as well as the processes of their manipulation, are acquired and used mostly in social contexts of perception, interpretation and interaction” (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 134).

So, one useful way of understanding the nature of discourse and its effects on social reality is to view it as situated symbolic action.

Social reality disparities are associating with the perception, understanding and view point of the constructors of social reality through discourse. According to Wodak’s (1995) readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event. Meaning is never fixed and everything is always open to interpretation and negotiation.

As Wodak’s (1995), believes “the right interpretation does not exist due to the background information they relied. Although interpretations have such shortcomings, it is credible. ‘Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true’ (p.13).

1.8. Organization of the study

This research paper has five chapters. The first chapter which is introductory incorporates background of the study, statement of the problem, and objective of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation and organization of the study. Chapter two incorporates literature review which mainly deals with Nile, Nile Basin agreements, CDA and theories and models of Critical Discourse Analysis. Chapter three discussed about the methodology of the study whereas chapter four focuses on data presentation and discussions of findings. The final chapter offered a summary of the study with a corrective recommendation.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

This section highlighted and examined some of the agreements signed & implemented before colonialism and after the demise of colonialism. Moreover, it presented some important international cooperative efforts in post-colonial periods among the Nile Basin countries.

Moreover, this section is concerned with underlining the main tenets that characterize discourse analysis. It also tried to briefly express the genre of discourses like a political discourse which directly associated with this study. In that respect, the researcher discussed the contents, features and elements of political discourse that differentiate it from other types of discourses. Moreover, there is a highlight that revealed the difference between CDA and other kinds of discourse analysis. Then, the basic assumptions and approaches of CDA are highlighted.

There is also a brief discussion of the theoretical frameworks of the study – Political communication and Political Rhetoric together with their applicability to the objective of the study and the research questions that were emanated from the objective of the research.

2.1. Hydro-Politics of the Nile

The use of the Nile River has for centuries been monopolized by the lower riparian countries that claim ‘historic right’ over the waters. The hegemony over the Nile Waters has been under these countries, thus building tensions among the riparian countries. The upper riparian countries which are sources of the water were for long alienated from their own vital resource.

Egypt and Ethiopia are at odds over the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam, a US\$4 billion hydroelectric project that may reduce the Nile water that feeds into Egyptian fields and reservoirs from Ethiopia’s highlands and via Sudan. (T Tafesse, 2001, p.22).

Ethiopia contributes 86% of the Nile River’s water but because of agreements signed between Egypt and Great Britain, Ethiopia cannot make use of the water as it deems fit. The Nile is an “international river” whose drainage basin covers 11 countries: Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Republic of the Sudan and Egypt. (T Tafesse, 2001, p.24).

Of these countries, Egypt and Sudan are the most dependent on the water of the Nile River. The two desert countries have built several dams and reservoirs, hoping to limit the ravages of drought and flood that have defined their histories. However, Ethiopia, which is the source of most of the Nile's water and an upriver state, is staking its claim on the river by constructing what will be the largest dam in Africa.

Also, none of the past treaties and agreements dealing with the use of Nile waters signed during the colonial period involved all the riparian countries and they did not deal equitably with the interests of these riparian. Also they did not take in to account the impact of water development on the basin social and biophysical environment. (S Postel, 1999, p.54)

Despite a long history of conflicts over Nile waters, yet currently there is no basin-wide agreement or governing body ratified by all riparian states.

2.2. Nile Water Treaties and Agreements

2.2.1 Colonial Period Nile Treaties and Agreements

2.2.1.1. The 1902 Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia

One of the earliest agreements regarding the waters of the Blue Nile was the treaty between Great Britain and Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia, which was signed on May 15th, 1902, in Addis Ababa. This agreement basically regulated the frontiers between Ethiopia and the Sudan. It also contained a peculiar Article III on the use of the waters of the Nile which stated:

"His Majesty the Emperor Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, engages himself towards the Government of His Britannic Majesty not to construct or allow to be constructed any work on the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters except in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of Sudan" (Article III, 1902,p.5).

Under this agreement, Emperor Menelik entered into an obligation "not to construct or allow to be constructed" structures that would arrest the flow of the waters of the Nile. According to the Amharic version, as long as Menelik did not "stop" the flow of the waters, except in agreement with the Government of Sudan and Egypt. This was one of the most controversial treaties regarding the River Nile issue. The British could not claim any rights from the treaty

as they had subsequently refused to recognize the sovereignty of Ethiopia.’ (Waterbury, J, 1989,p.29)

Contrary to Egypt's and Sudan's continuing recognition of the 1902 Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty, Ethiopia has made it clear, that the treaty is obsolete and does not prevent it from using its share of the waters of the Nile. Ethiopia's position or arguments (with regard to the 1902 treaty) were based on the following points:

- The treaty was signed with a colonial power that no longer existed;
- Unlike the English version, the Amharic version of the treaty obligated Ethiopia only to Great Britain, not to Sudan, and Egypt
- Even if the treaty was assumed to be currently applicable, it only obligated Ethiopia "not to arrest", that is, not to fully stop the flow of the tributaries of the Nile.

2.2.1.2. The 1929 Nile Water Agreement

On May 7th, 1929, an exchange of notes took place between the Egyptian Prime Minister, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, and the British High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, who was acting on behalf of Sudan. This exchange became known as the 1929 Nile Water Agreement. By virtue of this agreement, Egypt recognized the Sudan's right to water adequate enough for its own development, as long as Egypt's "natural and historic rights" were protected. According to (O' Cannel D.1967, p.96) this agreement includes:

- Egypt's share was 48 BCM, whereas that of Sudan was 4 BCM;
- The entire seasonal flow of the Nile River, vital for winter crops, was reserved for Egypt;
- Egypt assumed the right to monitor upstream flows;
- Egypt assumed the right to undertake projects without the consent of upstream states, &
- Egypt assumed the right to veto any construction projects that would affect its interests adversely.

The imbalance of this treaty is evident, as it favours Egypt over the remaining riparian states. Thus, this agreement was made mainly to secure the Nile water for Egypt by limiting the rights of Sudan and by rejecting those of the remaining riparian. Ethiopia in particular did not recognize the validity of the agreement, nor did it ever accept Egypt's claim to acquired or

historic rights. Moreover, as the agreement was signed between Egypt and Britain, it could not have a binding effect on Ethiopia.

“According to the principle of treaty making, an agreement made between two parties cannot have a binding effect on a third party without its consent. Other riparian countries have also questioned the validity of the 1929 agreement and had eventually repudiated it after attaining independence. After independence, Sudan criticized the agreement as having been motivated by Great Britain to maintain good relations with Egypt at the expense of Sudan's interest.” (O'Cannel, D, 1967, p.97)

2.2.1. 3. The 1959 Nile Water Agreement between Egypt and Sudan

The 1959 agreement was concluded between Egypt and Sudan to the total exclusion of other Nile riparian states. This agreement gave a chance for full control and utilization of the annual Nile flow. In 1950 Egypt planned the Aswan High Dam Project to store the entire annual flow of the Nile waters. Before implementing this project, Egypt realized it was important to seek a guarantee from the Sudan and obtain international recognition for the financing and technology of the dam.

"By 1955 all that stood in the way of beginning construction of the Aswan High Dam were the problems of hard currency funding and the need to reach an agreement with the Sudan in allocating the Nile waters." (Waterbury, J, 1979,p.28). Finally, on November 8th, 1959, the agreement for the full utilization of the Nile Waters was signed between Egypt and the Sudan.”(Collins, R.O, 1990,p.83).

This agreement was signed without inviting other riparian states to join the debate and parts of the agreement. According to (Waterbury,J, 1979) the 1959 agreement contained the following most important points:

- The acquired rights of Egypt and Sudan are 55.5 BCM and 18 BCM, respectively.
- The controversy regarding the quantity of the average annual Nile flow was settled and agreed to be about 84 BCM measured at the Aswan High Dam in Egypt.
- The agreement granted Egypt the right to construct the Aswan High Dam. This dam could store the entire annual Nile River flow.
- The agreement also granted to the Sudan the right to construct the Rosaries Dam on the Blue Nile, and to develop other means of irrigation and hydro-electric power stations until it fully utilized its Nile share.

- The average annual storage losses due to evaporation and other factors were estimated to be about 10 BCM. This quantity would be deducted from the yield of the Nile River before allocation.

When the agreement was signed, most of the upper Nile riparian countries were under British or Belgian colonial rule with the exception of Ethiopia. The two colonial powers spoke for their colonies whenever a Nile-related issue was raised. 'Regarding the 1959 Nile Water agreement, Great Britain sent notes in August 1959 to Egypt, Sudan, Belgium and Ethiopia, in which it reserved rights for its last African colonies.' (Tilahun, W. 1979, p.19)

"Only in the 1959 agreement did Egypt distance itself from the long held position of absolute territorial integrity and accepted the principle of more equitable allocations of water." (Kliot, N, 1994, p.52).

The 1959 agreement was the last Nile Waters agreement before the end of colonialism in that part of Africa.

2.2.2. Post-Colonial Era Treaties and Agreements

2.2.2.1. The Ethio-Sudanese Agreement regarding the Nile

On December 23rd, 1991, Ethiopia and Sudan issued a joint peace and friendship declaration in Khartoum. In this declaration, Ethiopia and Sudan agreed that they "*believe in a firm, equitable entitlement to the uses of the Nile waters without causing appreciable harm to one another*". (Waterbury, J, 1989, p. 32)

In the declaration, both sides agreed to work together to establish a Nile Basin Organization. A similar agreement was signed in December 1992 between Ethiopia and the Sudan as a result technical advisory committees were formed. Thereafter, bilateral meetings and contact between the respective national committees were held regularly.

2.2.2.2. The 1993 Ethio-Egypt Framework Agreement

The framework for general cooperation between Ethiopia and Egypt was signed on July 1st, 1993, in Cairo. The significance of signing the document is that it represented the first attempt by the two sides that they should tackle the very serious challenge of them. In the agreement, five of the eight articles directly addressed the Nile river issues.

In general, the 1993 agreement opened a new chapter in Ethio-Egyptian relations and created a better understanding vis- á -vis the Nile. This was the beginning of an era of reduced tension in the Nile Basin. Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi said in an interview with Pan-Arab-Al-Hayat:

"What we need is to basically treat the Nile Basin as a single region and a shared natural resource. If we deal with the issue of the Nile on that basis, then we can discuss and agree a framework that allows the countries along the Nile to find the best ways of exploiting its water to the maximum." (Pan-Arab-Al-Hayat, 1998.)

The 1993 agreement could be considered as a sign of positive trend which opened the way for dialogue and partnership. In other words, it gives rise to cautious optimism amongst Egypt, Ethiopia and others.

However, the colonial period treaties favoured a lion share of the Nile to Egypt and the post-colonial period agreements didn't alter the water distribution of the Nile river, according to Zerihun (2014), the trend has been changing since the signing of the CFA in May 2010 and the laying down of the corner stone for the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on 2 April 2011.

Therefore, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), formerly known as the Millennium Dam, is started in April 2011 and under construction in the Benishangul-Gumuz region of Ethiopia, on the Blue Nile River, which is located about 40km east of Sudan. It aimed primarily at generating power, with an expected capacity of 6,000MW. Thereafter, both the Ethiopian and the Egyptian governments have announced their stand towards the dam with their foreign affairs offices.

As the result of the signing of CFA and the commencement of the GERD, the relation between the most downstream, Egypt, and the grand contributor of the water, Ethiopia, has been at stake (Zerihun, 2014). The two countries seem to plunge in a discursive struggle.

On the one hand, Egypt has fears that the Ethiopian Renaissance dam will reduce its water supplies, on the other hand the Ethiopian government consistently defines that the fear of the Egyptian has no logical ground. Therefore, any activity associating with the river has very strong impact on the political as well as the social phenomenon of the region. That is the reason that makes the Ethiopian renaissance dam becomes the hottest issue in the region.

Hence, due to the reason this, this study tried to see critically the political discourses of the two countries Foreign Affairs Offices through the glimpse of their Press Releases.

It is in this context that both countries Foreign Affairs Offices have been busy to address the interest of their government towards GERD to their local citizens and International concerned bodies. Therefore, what triggered the researcher of this study is to find out the discursive struggles of the press releases of these two countries that came out from their Foreign Affairs Offices because the press releases inevitably have a role to play either in aggravating or alleviating the discursive struggle between these two countries.

Moreover, the study analysed critically the political discourse of the Foreign Affairs Offices of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian government press releases and also looked how the concepts of power and ideology are symbolically reflected to the maintenance of the national identity of the two countries.

2.3. What is Discourse?

There is no a clearly agreed upon, single definition of discourse. From Foucault's point of view, discourse is a "relatively rule-bound sets of statements which impose limits on what gives meaning" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.13).

So Foucault is trying to tell us there will not exist a different truth in a given historical time. Foucault's stand that truth is mainly constructed through discourse had gained many followers. However, different concepts of discourse have emerged due to the construction of realities by different discourse practices (Foucault, 1980). Hence, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) define discourse as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world) (p.13)

That is, there is no restriction. For them, it is a pattern of language people follow in the process of making their meaning passed across different social settings (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). For example, a party discourse or a media discourse or a political discourse, etc. is structured according to its social domain.

Discourse can be enhanced through institutions to address the ultimate goal of the institution which is bound by defined social norms and already set goals. "Discourses are systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to them meanings and values of an institution." (Kress, 1985 cited in Fowler, 1991, p.42).

Fairclough, the pioneer of critical discourse, looks at a socially constructed reality through language in it. “a discourse is a social construction of reality, a form of Knowledge” (Fairclough, 1995, p.18). As Fairclough discourse defines as a concept which can be seen in three ways. Firstly, discourse is a way of language use (written or spoken) understood as social practice. It considers discourse as socially both constitutive and constituted. It is a two-way traffic (Fairclough, 1995). Other social activities are shaped by discourse as they in turn shape it. As a social practice, it could “reproduce and change Knowledge, identities, social relations including power relations” (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.65).

Secondly, discourse is taken as a language use within a given field like media discourse, political discourse, Philosophical discourse etc. Finally, discourse is used as way of giving meaning to an experience from a particular angle, (Fairclough, 1995). For Instance: A socialist discourse advocates transformation of society from capitalism to collective ownership and economic equality. A liberal discourse associated with capitalism and capitalist societies upholds that system as the best, most moral, most desirable form of social arrangement etc. Hence, we are distinguishing one discourse from the other as several discourses can have different point of view on one issue as I mentioned above.

Therefore, Faircloughs’ (1995) definition of discourse, “a discourse is a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge” (p.19) is the definition of discourse adopted for this study. According to Fairclough there is a social construction of reality through language in it. On the other hand, it is a way of giving meaning to an experience from a particular point of view. The concrete reasons the researcher choose this definition of discourse is that this point of view is both socially constitutive and constituted, that need a deep critical look.

2.3.1. Political Discourse

Political discourse can be taken as a particular genre of discourse. According to Harris (1991), Political discourse is one aspect of discourse which focused only on political phenomenon like power relationship, inequality, injustice, mutual interest among states etc. The easiest, and not altogether misguided, answer is that political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians. Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidential and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels.

Politicians in this sense are the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990). This study viewed critically the political discourses of the above mentioned politicians' opinions that were releases in the form of press releases through the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices.

Political discourse analysis about political discourse and it is also a critical enterprise.

'In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular, such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination' (Fairclough 1995, p.18; van Dijk,1993,p.32).

Political discourse can be described as a complex form of human activity which is based on the recognition that politics cannot be conducted without communication. Politics is the use of communication in the constitution of social groups. Politics refers to people and the lives they lead in organized communities rather than more narrowly to the battle ground of conventional party politics. Politics like all other social activities has its own code, communication variety particular to a specific group.

The purpose of a critical analysis of political jargon is to represent how a political group and its protagonists act upon their surroundings by means of the power and dynamics of their communication/language (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999).

Political commitment as one of the aims of CDA includes uncovering inequality, equity and injustice, denaturalizing ideologies, demystifying dominance & power structures, and making the latter conscious to those who suffer under oppression. (Wodak, 1986).

Here this study is also guided by nature of the participants. The participants in this study are only politicians. The focus of the study is that, the discourses (press releases) that many of their political actions or practices are at the same time discursive practices. In other words, forms of text and talk in such cases have political functions and implications. Besides, the concern of this study is to see the political discursive views of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Offices in a context of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis emerged from 'critical linguistics' developed at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s by the Lancaster school of linguists of which Norman Fairclough was the most prominent figure.

“First, language is a part of the society and not somehow external to it. Second, language is a social process. Third, language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (Fairclough, 1989, p. 74).”

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice. Scholars working in the tradition of CDA generally argue that (non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use.

“Therefore, in addition to linguistic theory, the approach draws from social theory in order to examine ideologies and power relations involved in discourse. Language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power.” (Fairclough, 1995, p.19)

CDA insights into the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 176; Roffee, 2016, p. 121). That is, CDA does not limit its analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of the socio-political context. CDA has been used to examine political speech acts, to highlight the rhetoric behind these and any forms of speech that may be used to manipulate the impression given to the audience. The problems addressed by critical discourse analysts range from those of major international importance (macro issues) to relatively small-scale ones concerning individuals (micro issues). The macro and micro are significantly interrelated and both are equally valid as subjects for analysis.

“CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analysing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. In addition, it will accentuate the interdisciplinary

nature of CDA and showing the dialectic relationship between language, culture, society, and politics.’’(Van Dijk, 1985, p.82).

Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary tool that exposes inequality and injustice. The use of written texts in our daily and professional lives perpetuates the mediation between ideology and power. CDA illuminates the problems generated by this relationship (Heberman, 1973).

Our words (written or oral) are used to convey a broad sense of meanings and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions. Our words are never neutral.

‘‘Our words are politicized, even if we are not aware of it, because they carry the power that reflects the interests of those who speak. Opinion leaders, courts, government, editors, even family and consumer scientists, play a crucial role in shaping issues and in setting the boundaries of legitimate discourse (what is talked about and how)’’ (Thompson, 2002, p.16).

The words of those in power are taken as self-evident truths and the words of those not in powers are dismissed as irrelevant, inappropriate, or without substance.

‘‘critical approach to discourse analysis seeks to link the text (micro level) with the underlying power structures in society (macro level) through discursive practices upon which the text is drawn.’’ (Thompson, 2002, p. 16)

A text should be critically analysed to reveal power relations and dominance. Following a critical approach, oppression, repression, and marginalization go challenged.

‘‘CDA focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools, the media, and the political arena’’ (Rogers, 2012, p .33).

As Van Dijk (1985), viewed the focus of CDA are issues of power asymmetries, exploitation, manipulation, and structural inequalities are highlighted. The First concern is ideology, inequality and power. A second feature of the critical paradigm is the renewed attention to inequality and power in relation to language in society.

Although CDA is sometimes mistaken to represent a 'method' of discourse analysis, it is generally agreed upon that any explicit method in discourse studies, the humanities and social sciences may be used in CDA research, as long as it is able to adequately and relevantly produce insights into the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination. (Fairclough, 1995; Roffee, 2016)

That is, CDA does not limit its analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of the socio-political context. CDA has been used to examine political speech acts, to highlight the rhetoric behind these, and any forms of speech that may be used to manipulate the impression given to the audience. (Roffee, JA, 2014)

2.4.1. Approaches of CDA

Although a Socio-cognitive Model of Teun Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak Sociological and Historical model are the well-known approaches of CDA, the researcher of the current study finds out that Fairclough's Approach to CDA is more suitable to the study.

2.4.1.1. Fairclough's Approach to CDA

The researcher of this study understands that Fairclough's approach is more appropriate for the study as it can be consolidated as analysis of a three-dimensional framework: analysis of texts (written or spoken), analysis of discourse practice and the analysis of socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1989). Hence, any discursive event is a three face event in that it is a text in spoken or written form, it is a discourse practice which involves text production and consumption, and it is ultimately a social practice. As Fairclough (1995) hypothesizes, "significant connections exist between features of texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted, and the nature of the social practice". (p.74)

Accordingly, three stages should be followed: description, interpretation and explanation. Though it may not be in a way that a vivid demarcation can be observed between the three stages of analysis, description is concerned with a linguistic analysis; interpretation relates the linguistic part with the social context; explanation takes the linguistic and the social context to the cultural ladder (Fairclough, 1995).

The Analysis of Text

Text can be considered in various ways. Traditionally, it is understood as a written language. In cultural analysis, it can be any cultural artefact such as a building, a piece of music, a picture, etc. Texts in contemporary society are becoming multimodal as in television texts comprising images and sounds. However, Fairclough (1995) takes it to be a written and a spoken text in case it will not be vague when it is extended too much.

The disparity is not only on what text is but on textual analysis as well. Some discourse analysts may focus only on commentaries on content. Fairclough (1995) affirms that “no analysis of text content and meaning can be satisfactory which fails to attend to what one might call the content of texture (or, the content of its form)” (p.5). That is, textual analysis considers taking two different but complementary analyses: the content and the form.

Texts can be analysed at all levels: at lexical (word level), phonological or grammatical levels. “A working assumption is that any level of organization may be relevant to critical and ideological analysis” (Fairclough, 1995, p.7).

Furthermore, what is not in the text can be as important as what is. Absence from the text is as significant as presence while analysing the socio-cultural aspect of discourse as a part of framework. In the same tone, presence can be implicit or explicit. The implicit content could be stuffed in the form of presupposition (Fairclough, 19995). When the texts are examined for what is salient and what is latent and why that is so, they could be indicators of socio-cultural practices and hence exposed to socio-cultural analysis. This is in consistence with interdisciplinary nature of CDA.

The Analysis of discourse practice

The second part of the Fairclough’s three-dimensional model is the analysis of discourse practice. It involves the production and consumption of texts. It helps to understand what prior information, knowledge, etc people take with them when producing and consuming a certain text. The analysis of discourse practice is deemed important because it helps to explore “the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, and properties of the text itself” (Fairclough, 1995, p.9). Media discourses including news reports when they are produced and consumed “presuppose vast amounts of shared social representations, including specific prejudices and ideologies” (Van Dijk, 1988, p.28). A particular discursive

practice can be differentiated from another based on a specific social practice (Fairclough, 1992).

Inter-discursivity, inter-textuality, coherence are important entities in discourse practice. Inter-discursivity is witnessed when different discourse types appear in a text. The analysis is to see “what discourse types are drawn upon in the discourse samples under analysis, and how” (Fairclough, 1992, p.232). According to Fairclough’s theory, a high level of inter-discursivity in a text shows change while a low level indicates stability or maintenance of established order of discourse (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). In intertextuality, the analyst looks for other texts the text under analysis refers to. Intertextuality can be manifest as it cites another text, or presupposed (Fairclough, 1992). There could be intertextual chain. For example, a news report on construction of a dam can bring in a series of scientific reports on the advantages and disadvantages of the construction while producing the media discourse; the audiences do the same while consuming.

A researcher can approach the study of discourse production and consumption in various ways. In media discourse, for example, producers can be approached to observe what process the text production passes through and the changes it experiences in the process. In the consumption end, how recipients interpret the text could be the focus of the researcher.

The Analysis of the socio-cultural Practice

Unlike Linguistics approaches, CDA is not limited only to the text when it scrutinizes a given communicative event. It looks into aspects of socio-cultural situation of the producers and consumers on specific event (Van Dijk, 1988). “Social practice has various orientations - economic, political, cultural, ideological” (Fairclough, 1992, p.66). The general belief in CDA is that texts “can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.70). These webs of other texts could be non-discursive texts which need other theoretical lenses such as the theory of political rhetoric and political communication theory, which the current study opts to apply as discussed above. Thus, a connection between the discursive analysis and socio-cultural analysis can be made on this stage. What is more, “what is specific about a particular discursive practice depends upon the social practice of which it is a facet (Fairclough, 1992, p.226).

In this stage, discourse is seen in relation to ideology and power as well (Fairclough, 1992). It could be a concern of this stage of analysis to scrutinize the ideological and political implications a given discourse may have. When a media house receives a text, whether it is news release or press release or opinion it is not “a direct or passive operation but rather a socially and ideologically controlled set of constructive strategies” (Van Dijk, 1988, p.28). The task of the critical discourse analysts is deconstructing this to see the motive behind it.

CDA ethically attempts to reveal manipulation of language, exposes inequalities reflected in the use of discourse and call for change (Pasha, 2011).

2.4.1.2 Van Dijk: A Socio-cognitive Model

Teun Van Dijk, one of the leading figures CDA scholars attempts to critically analyse the relationship between language, ideology, and society “critical discourse analysts want to understand, expose, and resist social inequality.”(Teun Van Dijk, 1993,p.36)

He does not consider CDA as a branch of discourse analysis, like conversation analysis or psycho-discourse analysis; for this reason, he suggests researchers to look at the CDA as an interdisciplinary, and take an eclectic approach towards it.

On the basis of his interdisciplinary attitude towards the field he labels his methodology as socio-cognitive discourse analysis and states that despite his reluctance to labelling, this label shows to what extent studying cognition is significant in CDA, communication, and interaction. However, this does not mean that CDA should confine its limits to cognitive and social analysis; rather, due to the real world problems, its complexities and people’s needs CDA should have historical, cultural, socio-economical, philosophical, logical, and neurological approaches as well.

Discourse, Cognition, and Society

Van Dijk has a triangle model in CDA which incorporates discourse, cognition and society. Van Dijk believes that there is not direct relationship between social structures and discourse structures and almost always they are connected to each other through personal and social cognition, therefore he offers the triangle of society, cognition, and discourse.

In Van Dijk's viewpoint, Discourse has mental and personal tenets about events.

“In fact, analysis of the topics that people talk about represents the things that exist in their minds. The major premise in talking about others includes positive self-representation and negative other-representation.” (Van Dijk, 1993, p.28)

Though Van Dijk puts a great emphasis on cognition, he believes that since the nature of discourse is lingual, CDA needs merely linguistic foundations as well as cognitive foundations.

In Van Dijk's triangle, in a broad sense, discourse is a communicative event that includes oral interactions, written text, body movements, pictures, and other semiotic signifiers. Hence, in his context of discourse there are two dimensions: Macro and Micro. Macro context refers to historical, cultural, political, and social structure in which a communicative event occurs, whereas micro context shows the features of the immediate situation and interaction in which a communicative event occurs.

“Language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belongs to the micro level, whereas Power, dominance, inequality among social groups are terms that typically belongs to the macro level analysis. That is CDA has to a theoretical bridge the well-known ‘gap’ between the micro and macro approaches. In every interaction the micro and macro level unified one whole. For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the micro-level of social interaction in the specific situations of debate, but at the same time may enact to be or a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro-level.” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 31)

In this study macro issues like political, historical, geo-political, power relationship and legal aspects of the Nile Basin together with micro issues that contribute to the silent dispute among Nile riparian countries will examine from both upstream and downstream countries perspectives specifically from Ethiopia and Egypt political discourse (i.e their Foreign Affairs Office Press releases) perspectives.

For Van Dijk Context is defined as the mentally represented structure of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse (Van Dijk, 2009).

It consists of such categories as the overall definition of the situation, setting (time, place), on-going actions (including discourses and discourse genres), participants in various

communicative, social and institutional roles, as well as their mental representations: goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideologies. Controlling discourse is a first major form of power, controlling people's mind is the other fundamental way to reproduce discourse that lead the powerful group to dominance/ hegemony.

“Discourse structures may influence the formation and change of mental models and social representations. If dominant groups, and especially their elites, largely control public discourse and its structures, they thus also have more control over the minds of the public at large. Those who control most influential discourse also has more chances to control the minds and actions of others.” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.30)

Van Dijk (1993) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, his approach for analysing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis.

According to van Dijk(1993), it is the socio-cognition – social cognition and personal cognition –that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (p.18). In this sense, to van Dijk,“ ideologies ..are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize...socially shared attitudes”(p.18).Ideologies, thus, “ indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members” in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions(p.19).He calls the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions “models” .For him, “ models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others”(p.2).Of crucial importance here is that mental representations “are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms ,and other groups in negative terms”(p.22). Analysing and making explicit this contrastive dimension of Us versus Them has been central to most of van Dijk’s (1988) research and writings.

According to Van Dijk (1998) the following things should get more emphasis for someone who has taken CDA research:

- a. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants
- b. Analysing groups, power relations and conflicts involved

- c. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them
- d. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied
- e. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de) emphasize polarized group opinions

2.4.1.3. Ruth Wodak: Sociological and historical approach to CDA

Ruth Wodak and her colleagues at Vienna University have chosen to work within the sociological model for their CDA studies.

‘According to Wodak, discourse is influenced by historical grounds and power formations. The present discourse has an influence of historical process and power structural influences.

‘Discourse is to be seen as a form of social action, always determined by values and social norms, by conventions (as naturalized ideologies) and social practices, and always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical processes’ (Wodak, 1995,p.5).

In the discourse historical method approach it is believed that language is a means to facilitate social processes, interaction and constitutes those processes as well. According to Wodak & Ludwig (1999), viewing language this way entails three things at least. The first approach is about power and Ideologies. ‘Discourse always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role.’ (p.6)

The second approach is associated with the historical perspective of discourse. Ruth Wodak argued that discourse has more of a historical touch. Every discourse has a historical ground. Besides, CDA tries to see the historical link of communication and events. “Discourse...is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before” (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999, p.12).

Third features of Wodak’s approach is that of interpretation ‘readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event (Wodak & Ludwig,1999, p.13).

As Wodak's(1999) believes the right interpretation does not exist due to the background information they relied. Although interpretations have such shortcomings, it is credible. 'Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true' (p.13).

2.5. The Nexus among Language, Ideology and Power

It is mainly in Language that ideologies are transmitted and meanings and values are learned and taught. We live in an age of great change and instability in which the forms of power, Ideology and domination (Hegemony) are being radically reshaped and changing practices of language use and vice versa.

“Ideology is a system of ideas which constitutes and pilots the large power blocks of our society. Language is a medium of ideological forces. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far as the legitimating of power relations is not articulated, language is also ideological.” (Heberman, 1973, p.78).

Power/dominance will have built through a dominant ideology which embedded in. The kind of language we use determines by the kind of ideology we follow and in turn it characterized the capacity that we are having power.

“One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies is discourse, which in turn also influences how we acquire, learn or change ideologies. Discourse is to be seen as a form of social action, always determined by values and social norms, by conventions (as naturalized ideologies) and social practices, and always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical processes” (Wodak, 1995, p.33).

Besides, if we use soft power means simply using propaganda or some facts, historical claims or myths to convince others or to dominate others, we will structure them in a certain ideological category that latter will guide us the kind of language we are able to use. Therefore, power, ideology and Literature have a strong attachment to one another. The use of language by the power holders as a weapon to inject the dominant ideology of the society, simply it means the literature serves as a weapon to inject ideologies of the powerful/dominant groups or to overthrow opinions of the elites. Those who have the power will use language to address and mainstream their dominant ideologies to others.

Scholars like Bloor (2007), believed the source of social power is discourse and social power is maintained through language. Here, we can see the strong connection of language and power.

'Power is conceptualized both in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in particular socio-cultural contexts.' (Bloor, 2007, p.21)

It is at this crucial point where discourse and critical discourse analysis come in: managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk, though that such mind management is not always bluntly manipulative. *'Dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and quite acceptable.'* (Van Dijk, 1993, p.16).

Modern and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interests. On top of this, critical discourse analysis is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, the already set of rules and principles of equality and justice by those who wield power.

2.6. Theoretical Framework

The current study primarily focuses on applying CDA approach for analysing press releases of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices. As discourse analysis encompasses both discursive and non-discursive elements, applying theories relevant to analysing the behaviour of political discourse in constructing the world view is deemed necessary. The present study approaches Political communication discourse through CDA. While doing so, Political Communication, and the Political rhetoric theories together with the Faircloughs' three dimensional theories of CDA have been applied.

2.6.1. Political Communication Theory

Political Communication is and always been "a central component in political processes whether leaders communicating with the public, media interaction, combatants struggling for international attention and sympathy, or citizens debating public issues" (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001, p.41)

To strengthen this issue let us see the schematic model about the process of political communications which guides the thinking behind this theory. Harold Lasswell(1999), divided the process of political communications into a series of steps: who (the source) says what (the content) through which channel (the media) to whom (the audience) with what effect (the impact).

In this model the news can be expected to influence public opinion directly through three main avenues: enabling people to keep up with what is happening and mobilizing them to support, defining the priority of major political issues (*agenda-setting*), and shaping people's political preferences (*persuasion*). In turn, these attitudes can be expected to influence reasoned of choices.

According to Harold (1999),these categories are understood to represent a sequence of effects in a dynamic process: from growing information and awareness of a problem, to rising public concern about these issues, and finally to persuading target audiences to shift their opinion to the desired direction.

Political communication deals with the production, dissemination, procession and effects of information, both through mass media and interpersonally, within a political context. The Communication tools (i.e. press conference, Press releases, government declarations etc.) can act as bridge between government and target audience.

“Political Communication characterizes by its ways and intentions of message senders to influence the political environment. This includes public discussion (e.g. political speeches, news media coverage, and Government officials’ talk) that considers who has authority to sanction, the allocation of public resources, who has authority to make decision, as well as social meaning like what makes someone National. The crucial factor that makes communication 'political' is the source of a message, its content and purpose.” (Denton & Woodward, 1998, p.19).

From the notion of Denton and Woodward, the factor that makes a communication political are the source of a message (i.e the sources have to be politicians, political institutions or political actors), its content (i.e. has a political touch) and its purpose (i.e the outcome, target goal has to be political). The researcher of this study also chose the press releases based on this assumption.

According to McNair (2003), the intentionality of political communication should be simply defined as purposeful communication about politics. The scope of such a definition includes: Forms of communication undertaken by political dissidents for the purpose of achieving specific objectives.

“This not only covers verbal or written statements, but also visual representations such as dress, make-up, hairstyle or logo design. With other words, it also includes all those aspects that develop a "political identity" or "image"” (McNair, 2003, p.54)

Classic definition of political communication theory focus on the source and motivation, political communication flows out from the political sphere and must have a political aim. Nevertheless, such definition would not be completely suitable for many of modern state, particularly given the role of media. Therefore, modern texts focus on three on three actors, "some of whom operate beyond the boundaries of any single state, each of whom produce political communication" (Habermas, 1992, p.32). These are: the political sphere itself (they communicate their actions to the society in order to gain legitimacy), secondly non-state actors where "We would include a range of organizations with political motivations as well as corporate bodies and the voters" (Habermas, 1992, p.32). Each of these actors communicate message into the political sphere, in hope of having an influence on public life. Finally, media which communicate about politics, and influence both: the public as well as political scene.

Reflecting on the relationship between political communication and contemporary agenda-building, Bakir(2013) defines:

“Strategic Political Communication (SPC) as comprising 'political communication that is manipulative in intent, that utilizes social scientific techniques and heuristic devices to understand human motivation, human behaviour and the media environment, to inform effectively what should be communicated – encompassing its detail and overall direction – and what should be withheld, with the aim of taking into account and influencing public opinion, and creating strategic alliances and an enabling environment for government policies – both at home and abroad’”.(p.22)

The strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters to is the other feature of political communication. Swanson and Nimmo, also

key members of this sub-discipline. They emphasize the strategic nature of political communication, highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse.

“SPC mainly focus on persuasive discursive activity which included the propagation and repetition of a few key messages consistently over time, with the aim of winning public attention at home and abroad. The consistency of key messages over time, together with the offering up of specific evidence, creates the required or the already set hidden desire of the propagate. Hence, the strategic generation of key messages and selectivity of supporting information that will present through communication tools will the public potentially fool into thinking that justice/truth has been served.” (Swanson & Nimmo, 1990, p.11.)

The problem of political communications directs the attention towards the relationship between three main elements of it by which political communication is initiated and achieved: These are Political organizations: those who may seek to do this by attaining institutional, to influence the decision-making process, the target audience (i.e local and international) and the media.

So, in general; the present study believed the Political communication theory is suitable for textual analysis of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs offices press releases. I mentioned earlier, a political communication theory focus on three things: these are the source of a message (i.e the sources have to be politicians, political institutions or political actors), its content (i.e. has a political touch) and its purpose (i.e the outcome, target goal has to be political). When I evaluated the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases with the above mentioned criteria, the sources of the press releases are higher official politicians and a political institution of the two countries called Foreign Affairs Office. Moreover, the content is purely political because I chose the press releases which have only a political touch. On top of this, their purpose is to maintain the national interest of their respective country.

2.6.2. Political Rhetoric Theory

This study is about the political discourse of Ethiopian and Egyptian governments towards GERD. Hence, theory of political rhetoric has been also applied.

According to Van Emersson (2010), Political rhetoric is used to maintain the best interest of the state, the party in power or the politicians individual or collective or group interests. The purpose the politicians' way of using the political rhetoric method determines the outcome.

2.6.2.1. Tools of Political Rhetoric

As I mentioned above in the political communication theory section, persuasion is one of the feature of political communication. Hence, to persuade audience metaphors plays a great role. Metaphors and political myths are the powerful tools to set a political rhetoric. Complex and nuanced political platforms can be communicated simply and effectively using metaphoric association and myth. Through relating the situations, events, historical coincidences or truths of politician can easily win the consent of their target audiences. Therefore, metaphor and political myth play the vital role in persuasion.

“Metaphors are powerful vehicles of persuasion. Used as a bridge between the familiar and the literal, they transfer meaning from what is easily understood to more complex concepts that are harder to grasp. By establishing ethical credentials, shaping and communicating political arguments around the recognizable, heightening emotive responses and, above all, creating potent political myths, the careful and attentive use of metaphor is a valuable weapon in the arsenal of any politician. In terms of myth-making, metaphor provides the link between the unconsciously implicit understandings of people (be it historical, cultural, physical, etc.) and the explicit ideology and policies of a politician.” (Chantal, 2011, p. 21)

Political Myth is one of the powerful tools for the politicians to bring their already set goal in to reality. Besides, it helps them to create an image on the eye of their target audiences as if their arguments have logical, historical and legal roots.

Chantal's main argument is that the creation of political myth, or 'telling the right story', is particularly effective in persuasion:

“By drawing on deeply rooted cultural schemata politicians are able to represent their beliefs and their policies as heroic tasks and themselves as epic heroes. Likewise, they are able to demonize their enemies and depict opposing policies as villainous.” (Chantal, 2011, p. 23)

2.6.2.1.1. Rhetorical Political Analysis (RPA)

Finlayson argued that political rhetoric deals both with areas of empirical uncertainty (in inter-subjective disagreement) and also disputes which result from the fact that citizens approach the same issue from different perspectives (multi-subjective disagreement).

Finlayson (2007), argued that political reasoning is necessarily dialogic, in so far as any political theorist needs to justify their beliefs to others who may well adopt very different points of view. Moreover, he suggested that political ideas and beliefs are not simply expressed in the course of debate, but rather that political concepts, values and intentions are in fact formulated through an on-going process of argument.

Finlayson (2006), provided a general outline of the ways in which RPA has been conducted. *‘First, RPA would approach any particular political debate in relation to its original rhetorical context, and also with a view to the ways in which the mediated character of contemporary politics can serve to render rhetorical situations fluid and ambiguous. Second, analysis should consider how the topic (the point of the controversy or bone of contention) is itself argumentatively established. Third, RPA would analyse the substantive content of any particular political argument. This would include attention to:*

- (a) The ways in which the policy under dispute is framed in relation to the axes of the universal and the particular;*
- (b) The formulation of specific states of affairs through metaphor,*
- (c) How particular policy/laws/regulations are rhetorically linked to general ideological or state political commitments. ‘ (p.552)*

2.6.2.1.2. Strategy of Political Rhetoric.

In this section, I will discuss some of the strategies that contemporary political communicators may use to achieve consubstantiality when faced with composite audiences. First, we consider how speakers may present their own rhetorical projects as exercises in political consensus. Second, we consider cases in which politicians appeal explicitly to broadly defined in-groups. Third, we examine the ways in which political commentators address aspirational categories, representing consubstantiality as a future project rather than a current condition. Finally, we discuss how speakers may implicitly display allegiance with mixed and multiple audiences, focusing in particular on the use of first person pronouns.

A) Taking and Avoiding Sides.

One way in which a political communicator may deal with the problem of audience diversity is simply to side with one group against another. Mapping us Vs them category is one of them.

“Rhetorical strategies are often polyvalent, serving a number of communicative functions simultaneously. For instance, it might be the act of siding with the “ordinary people” in opposition to the “the elite”. (Atkins, 2010, p. 24)

B) Explicit Appeals to Common In-group Membership.

Reicher and Hopkins (2001) argued that political leaders act rhetorically as entrepreneurs of identity. According to this perspective, effective political leadership requires,

- (1) Regrouping diverse communities into a single overarching identity category;
- (2) Framing the (aspiring) leader’s own political project as the instantiation of the norms and values of that identity category, and
- (3) The (aspiring) leader’s self-presentation as a prototypical in-group member.

C) Constructing Aspirational Identities.

Rogers (2012), suggested that the use of aspirational (rather than descriptive) appeals to common identity may have particular purchase when a speaker is acting as advocate for a group which is currently positioned outside, or on the margins of, a particular political community, as exemplified in Martin Luther King’s (1963), I Had a Dream speech.

D) Implicit Displays of Rhetorical Alignment.

Perhaps the most obvious way in which a speaker may implicitly display alignment with others is through the use of first person plural pro-terms: “we”, “us” or the possessive “our”. Rogers (2012) suggested that the repeated use of “we” in political rhetoric serves to create immediate impression between speaker and audience as if they have unity and common purpose.

The three dimensional model of CDA developed by Fairclough has been applied in this study flexibly to answer the research questions. Among the various approaches to CDA, Fairclough approach was favoured by the study because, it critically analyses the relationship between text, discursive practice and social practice and language, ideology, and society “critical discourse analysts want to understand, expose, and resist social inequality.” (Teun Van Dijk, 1993, p. 16)

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter discussed how the research is designed and the type of research method which employed in this study. The Qualitative method which is more suitable for textual analysis was concisely discussed. Moreover, the archival data gathering method that the researcher used to collect press releases from the archives of the two countries properly defined.

Consequently, it dealt the sampling technique that was chosen to pick out the required press releases based on the already set objective of the study. Therefore, there is discussion on why purposive sampling has been employed to collect the samples of the data of this study. Moreover, the thematic categories of the analysis of the data also analysed to provide a brief insight about the sub-sections of the analysis.

3.1. Research Design and Method

This research is designed to describe, interpret and analyse critically political phenomenon of the discourses (i.e. the press releases of the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs offices) on GERD. The first goal of the analyst was to describe the relationships among certain texts, interactions and social practices; the second goal was to interpret the configuration of discourse practices; and the third goal was to use the description and interpretation to offer an explanation of why and how social practices are constituted, changed, and transformed in the ways that they are. “Critical discourse analysis tries to unite and determine the relationship between three levels of analysis, namely: The actual text, the discursive practices and the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices.” (McGregor, 2010, p.3).

The study employed a qualitative research methodology in order to achieve this foremost goal. Qualitative method is more suitable for text/discourse analysis. ‘Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that has been adopted and developed by constructionists (Fulcher, 2010, p.1).

Qualitative research offers complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. Furthermore, Fossey (2002) contend that qualitative researches particularly in mass communication research are geared towards:

“Attending to questions concerned with developing an understanding of meaning and experience dimensions of human life and social world from the perspective of the social actors themselves.”(p.717)

In addition to employed qualitative research method, the study also adopted the interpretative approach during analysing the text/discourse (i.e. press releases of the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices).

Textual analysis adopts an interpretive approach that endeavours to explore the ways in which language are presented, combined and used in discourse (Poindexter & McCombs, 2000). As a result, words, ideas, themes, contexts or any verbal messages that can be depicted from the press release are subjected to investigation.

Therefore, this critical discourse analysis method relies on textual analysis. In doing so, the selected press releases of the Foreign Affairs Offices of the Ethiopia and the Egypt government that were released from April, 2011 up to March, 2015 were interpreted.

McGregor (2010) argues that critical discourse analysis challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition. Hence critical discourse analysis studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take particularly in discourse form.

Moreover, the researcher employed the three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis method with aiming to systematically explore, events and texts with wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. Besides, there is investigation of how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power between Ethiopia and Egypt.

In this study the CDA approach was used flexibly to apply only the textual and the social practice part of the three dimensional model. The discourse practice part of the trio model was left out because of the practical difficulty to conduct the discourse practice analysis.

Therefore, the present study has been designed to analyse the discourse critically with qualitative method of interpretive approach to see how the GERD constructed and interpreted in the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs offices press releases and interpreting the extent of the alignment of the selected press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices with the policy positions of their respective countries with respect to the GERD.

3.2. Method of Data Collection

3.2.1. Archival Method

The researcher gathered data from the archives of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office and the Egyptian Embassy in Ethiopia. Although I, the researcher physically assessed the archives of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office, the distance makes it impossibilities to search the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office archives. Hence, the Egyptian Embassy in Ethiopia provided the documents with request. I went through the press releases with the time frame of April 2011(i.e immediate after the inauguration of GERD) to 23 March 2015(The signing of the Declaration of Principles on the GERD among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan) and picked twelve press releases which are political discourses. After March, 2015 the press releases of Egyptian and Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Offices have been focused more on tripartite meetings of Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan Foreign Affair Offices or Water Ministries of the three countries. Hence, I believed that should be left for the upcoming researchers who would like to take this study further.

Although I found out a lot of press releases associating with GERD, I took only 12 press releases (i.e 6 from Ethiopia and 6 from Egypt) which have political discourses of the GERD for this study. Unfortunately, but not purposely I got six relevant press releases from each country.

3.3. Sampling Techniques

Deacon (1999) discussing on the subjects of sampling contend that “in communication and Media studies, sampling issues involve all kinds of area, most commonly people, social groups, events, activities, institutions and texts” (p. 40).

One of the ways of making a given research scientific is the sampling mechanism. “A sample is a subset or sub segment of the population that is taken to be representative of the population” (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p.58), so that the result can be generalized.

The current study scrutinized the discourse (Press releases) in the selected countries Foreign Affairs Office with relying only political concepts. Yet, considering the limited time and resource at hand to cover the bulk of texts on both archives released since 2011, purposive sampling was taken as the favourable approach for the data collection. Accordingly, the

researcher sampled some of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Governments Foreign Affairs Office press releases that were released almost for 4 years.

3.3.1 Purposive Sampling Method

In this study the researcher employed purposive sampling method. According to Oliver (2012), purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or possibility of accessing information.

The researcher believes that this sampling method enable him to select texts/press releases that have rich ideas and meanings that can fit to investigate within the theoretical framework of this study. The researcher focused only on press-releases which have political themes rather than social themes. The Ethiopian government delivered a number of press releases that have associated with the bond purchasing phenomenon of its' citizen for the construction of the GERD but press releases like these were not the concern of this study. Therefore, purposely I selected only press releases that have trans-boundary political messages specifically to Egypt associating with GERD. The same method was used when I selected the Egyptian Press release too.

“Purposive sampling in general employed when the researcher needs to focus on a limited number of information, whom you select strategically so that their in-depth information will yield ideal insight into the issue which in turn would help to better understand and come up with highly detailed description” (Berger, 2000, p.17).

Therefore, I purposely picked press releases that have political discourse on the GERD.

3.3.2. Sample Size

Taking the time, access and financial constraints into account, the inquirer obliged to limit the sample size; of course, in such a way that does not affect the research's objectives. As I mentioned above, the source of the press releases was the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office and the Egyptian Embassy. Therefore, I took purposely six press releases from Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office and another six press releases from Egyptian Embassy.

I went through all the Press releases and picked out those only texts which focused on the GERD are taken as samples. As a result, only twelve representative press releases have been

taken from both the Ethiopian and the Egyptian sides. The press releases which have been released from April 2, 2011 till March 23, 2015 were taken for critical discourse analysis as per to the aforementioned sampling techniques.

3.4. Method of Data Analysis

The analysis of the data using Fairclough's model of CDA can be done at least in two ways. Some study makes the analysis by combining the elements in the model; while others do it separately. This study follows the latter as it found it analytically and pedagogically clear.

Following to the gathering of the desired data from texts of the press releases, all data transcribed, translated from Amharic into English (Most of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Offices press releases used Amharic Language), and categorize into topics and sub-topics of their relevance. More specifically the textual data analysed from the viewpoints of injustice, historical contexts, and equity and power relationships.

3.4.1 Thematic Categorization

Thematic category is about trying to identify meaningful categories or themes in a body of data (Fulcher, 2010). Accordingly, as a researcher I stratify/sub-group themes that have extremely different or similar meanings for the textual analysis. By looking at a text, the researcher identified groups within the perspective of the theoretical perspective of this particular research.

In this study associating with Fairclough's CDA approaches the following sub-groups of ideas investigated.

A) Textual Analysis: The textual analysis section discussed the way the GERD was constructed and interpreted in the political discourses of the press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices. Here, the meanings of the texts of the selected press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices discussed with the perspective of the theoretical framework of this study.

B) Social practices: This section discussed the relevance of the selected political discourses of the two country Foreign Affairs Office press releases in line with the foreign policy of the respective countries. Moreover, there is a section which revealed the similarities and the differences of the viewed of the two country Foreign Affairs offices towards GERD.

In CDA absence is as crucial as presence. Therefore, the present study has a mini-thematic category that viewed the deliberate absences in the two country Foreign Affairs press releases

3.4.2. Data Analysis

To analyse the texts (i.e. Press releases), CDA analysis allows flexibility as far as it helps to answer the research questions. It is not mandatory to strictly follow any given order in textual analysis to proceed from a given element to the other. For example, one can start from textual analysis and proceed to the social practice or vice versa (Fairclough, 1992). Hence, in the analysis part of this thesis, the study begins with the textual analysis and proceeds to social analysis.

Meanings in texts (are not just “read off” but they are constructed through the interaction between texts, readers and writers with the context it carries (Richrdson, 2007). This entails that texts may not get interpreted the same way by all text analysers let alone by the critical discourse analysts. Hence, the result of this study may not be an absolute reality as reality is socially constructed. What the study claims is the method used and the theory applied are appropriate for the study.

Howitt and Cramer (2010) state that “In thematic analysis the task of the researcher is to identify a limited number of themes which adequately reflect their textual data.”(p.211). Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns of (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke 2006). Therefore, in this study, the already identified themes were analysed and discussed under their own thematic category.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

The focus of this chapter is to analyse the selected press releases of the Ethiopian and The Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Offices, which are one of the main political news source of media & political communications discourses, associated with GERD.

The two countries Foreign Affairs Office press releases that were released from April 2011(i.e immediate after the inauguration of GERD) up to 23 March 2015(The signing of the Declaration of Principles on the GERD among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan), discussed and analysed. Generally, twelve press releases have been interpreted from the Fairclough's perspective of critical discourse analysis.

The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis has mainly been applied to answer the research questions raised in the study. The questions were:

- How the GERD was constructed and interpreted in the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases?
- To what Extent did the selected Press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office align with the foreign policy positions of their respective countries with respect to GERD?
- What are the Deliberate Omissions in the selected press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices?

The study applied Fairclough's approach to discourse flexibly, therefore; the data analysis section didn't include the discursive analysis section due to the complication of the data.

This chapter has three main analysis sections: these are textual analysis, social practice analysis and a discussion of the deliberate omissions of the press releases. Discourse is not something out there that researchers pick; "rather, it is constructed analytically" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 147). Hence, we don't know what discourse is espoused in a text until a proper analysis is done.

According to CDA, discourse is both constitutive of and constituted by the social world (Fairclough, 1995; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In line with this I discussed the type of political communication the two countries press releases addressed through texts.

Accordingly, the analysis of the social practice encompasses the political, the institutional, the social, the legal and the historical factors which could shape the political communication discourse (press release) on the GERD by the two countries selected press releases. On top of this, it discussed the alliance of the two countries press releases with the Foreign policy of their respective countries.

Moreover, in CDA, absence is as important as presence. Hence, the filtering elements that contributed for the absence could be seen also in the analysis of this chapter.

4.1. Text Analysis

The focus of the study under this subtopic has been on the text analysis. It looked into how the GERD is constructed or interpreted in the selected press releases of the two countries foreign affairs offices.

According to CDA's view, discourse is both constitutive of and constituted by the social world. Discourse is analysed not only as a mere "verbal object" but also as a social practice "or as a type of communication in a social, legal, cultural, historical or political situation" (Van Dijk, 2008, p.3).

In the current section, the texts of the selected press releases that can be one of the sources of local and international media have been analysed to see the construction and interpretation of the two foreign affairs offices political communication discourses associated with GERD. In other words, how discourse is constitutive of the social world was the concern of the text analysis part of the study.

4.1.1 How the GERD was constructed and interpreted in the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases?

On April 2, 2011 Ethiopia officially announced the inauguration of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) when the corner stone was laid down in a place called Guba, in Benishangul Regional State. The event became a major media story all over the world because it was taken as a threat to Egypt's opposition against water projects on the Nile basin in any of the upper Nile states, especially Ethiopia from where 86% of the Nile water comes. In the following section, the texts of the two state countries selected press releases have been interpreted to see what kind of political discourse has been constructed in the texts of the two countries press releases in their coverage of the GERD.

1) Us vs Them Category

A political communicator may deal with the problem of audience diversity is simply to side with one group against another. Mapping us Vs them category is one of them. The Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases were engaged to get the attention of their citizens, the local and international media houses as well as the International Communities members with such a political rhetoric strategy.

“We can’t have starving people in Ethiopia, unable to make use of the water when someone downstream uses the same water to irrigate desert. It isn’t the reality of the 21st century to depend on the rainfall which might come or not” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, December 18, 2013).

The text ‘**we can’t have**’ and ‘**someone downstream**’ of the Ethiopian press release showed us the us Vs them political debate. Here ‘we’ represented the Ethiopian who are not yet utilize the river Nile and ‘someone downstream’ represented the Egyptian who has been used the river Nile. Moreover, the text aimed to seek local as well as international support for the construction of the GERD. When we see the full text the press release, it tried to send a message which implies if a country which is dessert is capable enough to change its’ people life with using the river, why not for us is the discourse.

We can see also found discourses which were designed in us Vs them method in the Egyptian side too.

“... The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative. Egyptians would not tolerate any encroachment on their historic quota of Nile water ” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, June 18, 2013).

One of the fears of Egypt behind the construction of the GERD is that the dam will affect the amount of the Nile water which flows to Egypt. Therefore, to address their fear usually they declared their interest with using strong words and phrases to the local and international public. As we have seen in the above mentioned press release ‘**our blood is the alternative**’ is one of the us Vs them category discourse. Here, the word ‘our’ let us know that there is what the Egyptian called as ‘us’ implicitly. The message is for those who they called them ‘us’ implicitly. Without hesitation these are Ethiopians because currently the one which might be a cause for the reduction of the Nile water flows to Egypt could be the GERD.

On the other hand, **‘our blood is the alternative’** has a message of using military power. The Egyptian government tried to send a message that they entered into war if the GERD diminishes or affects the Nile water of Egypt or what they called it *‘historic quota of Nile water’*.

Us Vs them categorical description repeatedly cited in the Egyptian press releases to foster a dialogue that can maintain the interest of the government in power.

“The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative....” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, June 18, 2013).

Here the phrase ‘as one great people’ has an implication of ‘us’. Egyptian is labelled as ‘great people’ but this ‘great people’ faced a treat associated with the river Nile. The treat is the construction of the mega dam over the river Nile by Ethiopia.

Moreover, ‘one great people’ has a sense of unity and dignity in it. Therefore, the phrase ‘as one great people’ tried to create solidarity within the diverse community of Egypt or it might have aimed to put this diverse community under one umbrella.

The Construction of the GERD would affect the greatness of ‘the great people’ might be the message for the Egyptian and the rest of the target audiences. It can be a mechanism to create solidarity and brotherhood among the Egyptian and their allies. Defining or constructing a common enemy that can bring harm on the life of every one of the group, member or society would be a means to achieve the already set political goals. On the other hand, to strengthen the solidarity of the Egyptian and to foster a sense of brotherhood among the Egyptian, the discourse of the Foreign Affairs office used the sentence ‘The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]...’. Apart from it, it tried to tell us the lives of Egyptian and the river Nile is inseparable. It is a replication of the usual Egyptian motto called ‘No Nile No life’

2) Metaphor

Political Myth is one of the features of Metaphor. Political Myth is the powerful tools for the politicians to bring their already set goal in to reality. Besides, it helps them to create an image on the eye of their target audiences as if their arguments have logical, historical and legal roots. Therefore, in this study I found out political myth from the Egyptian and Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office press releases.

One of the political myths that the Egyptian has been tried to implemented is that as if Egyptian has the ‘historic right’ over the river Nile. To reassure this concept they reputedly addressed it through their press releases.

“.... Egyptians would not tolerate any encroachment on their historic quota of Nile water ” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, June 18, 2013).

“Historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile.....” (Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, December 12, 2013).

The purpose of the texts like ‘historic quota of Nile water’ and ‘historically, only Egypt and Sudan’ aimed to construct an idea as if only Egypt has the right over the river Nile. On top of this, indirectly it planned to address that the rest of the upper riparian states had no any right or history of utilizing the river Nile. The Egyptian used such a phrase to reassure their argument has historical route by saying ‘historically only Egypt and Sudan’ have the history of utilizing the river Nile. Moreover, to give a legal ground to their argument, they mentioned the 1959 Nile water agreement between Egypt and Sudan which left the lion share of the river Nile to Egypt with the exclusions of all the upper riparian states.

“.... Egypt never and ever let it to negotiation its historic rights...” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, May 5, 2011).

This repeated expressions of the discourse ‘historic rights’ definitely portrayed the image of what the Egypt government seek on its’ supporters and allies as well as on impartial viewers of the situation. Therefore, those who used the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases as a news source would definitely start to believe as if the Egyptian has a historic right over the river Nile.

The other Political Myth which I found out from the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press Releases is that they informed their listeners and followers that the upper Nile basin countries have no tradition of using the river Nile.

“Historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile. The other Nile Basin countries did not have any need for the water...” (Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, December 12, 2013).

This exclusion of the upper riparian countries from utilizing the Nile with using past histories and phenomenon is a way of seeking support from local and international media and political actors to marginalize the upper Nile states from implementing projects over the river Nile.

Moreover, to strengthen the ‘historic right’ myth of the Egyptian over the river Nile they repeatedly cite what the Greek Historian, Herodotus (c.486-425B.C), long observed: “the Nile is Egypt and Egypt is the gift of the Nile”. This quote aimed to underline that the Egyptian has a ‘historic right’ on the Nile River.

3) Implicit Displays of Rhetorical

Implicit Displays of Rhetorical is one of the ways to address the political commination concepts to supporters and counter supporters. The political seek supporters and mobilize the target groups with their already set goals with using this implicit display of rhetorical. It is a mechanism to create immediate impression between speaker and audience as if they have unity and common purpose.

In the review of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affair Office Press releases, I found out the above mentioned mechanisms. For instance, the Egyptian government defined as if the office of the government and the each of Egypt citizens are one and undivided interest and stand towards the river Nile.

“.... the Egyptian government and people never hesitate to take any actions to defend Egyptian national security” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, June 12, 2013).

The text ‘Egyptian government and people...’ tried to reveal as if the government of Egypt and the Egyptian People have a common interest. But CDA looks words beyond their propagating meanings. In this expression there is some deficiency of reality. Even if, Egyptian has a selfish interest over the river Nile, they might have differences in their way of achieving their benefit of the Nile River.

Accordingly, there would be institutions, civil society associations or political and social actors who viewed the Nile confrontation from a different perspective of the Egypt Government. Although there are such facts within the social phenomenon of a given state, but the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices press releases deliberately portrayed the viewed of the Egypt Government and people are one and the same with using words and phrases. In turn

such discourses might have biased local and international Media houses and the diplomatic societies.

Employed Implicit Displays of Rhetorical mechanism is not only used by Egyptian but it has been used by the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs of press releases.

“... the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam is a major undertaking of the people and government of Ethiopia....” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, 11 August, 2013).

The discourses of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office press release tried to portrayed an image that the GRED project isn't the project or development plan of the government in power alone but it was initiated, constructed and implemented by the Ethiopian government and the people jointly.

Even though, it has plain facts, there might be some differences associating with its' implementation and construction process. But expressions like **'is a major undertaking of the people and government of Ethiopia'** send a strong message to the allies of the project and the rivalries of the GERD project. It is a way of portraying the power or the task force behind the project.

4) Irony

In the case of verbal Irony, the speaker's meaning of the words is usually quite the opposite but discourses often contain other kinds of irony besides such verbal irony. A situation, for example, can be ironic if it contains some contrast or incongruity.

*“.....Ethiopia won't ask anyone's consent to utilize her own natural resource....”
(Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, July 7, 2011).*

There is ironical expressions from the Ethiopian side for the 'historical right' discourse of the Egyptian over the utilization of the river Nile. The phrase '...to utilize her own natural resource' is a counter discourse of the 'historical right' discourse of the Egyptian.

The message is clear from the Ethiopian side to the Egyptian. Simply it says, if you have said that you have a 'historical right' over the river Nile, on the contrary we Ethiopian have a natural right over the same river.

Now the ‘historical right’ discourse of the lower riparian country specifically Egypt has faced comparable discourse from the upper riparian country specifically Ethiopia. It showed also the power struggle between Ethiopia and Egypt. This discursive power struggle has an immense implication on the overall Nile Riparian countries and the region itself.

It also indicated the birth of a new discourse that could challenge the Egyptian old discourse of ‘historical right’ over the river Nile. The Ethiopian discourse of ‘Natural right’ over the river Nile might initiate the rest Nile basin countries like Uganda which is the source of the White Nile. This ironical discourse battle makes the negotiation more difficult and impossible to bring a solution that could maintain the mutual interest of both sides.

Moreover, the text ‘Ethiopia won’t ask anyone’s consent’ described that Ethiopia has to do what it want to do over its’ natural right-the river Nile without consulting or inviting others interests. Here, we can understand that there were groups or institutions that are expecting their consent or agreement is vital to construct the GERD. ‘Ethiopia won’t ask anyone’s consent’ was a response for those who believed their approval has to be considered on the construction of the GERD.

It is not only the discourse of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases used Irony to address its core messages to the target audiences but Egyptian also used ironical expression to seek support from within and outside of the country.

“... If Ethiopia will continue its’ unjustified mega project on the Nile, Egyptian water security would be affected.” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, June 12, 2013’.

Justification is associated with rationality and being legal. Therefore, the phrase ‘unjustified mega project on the Nile’ was used to portray on the political and media actors of Egyptian and the rest as if the GERD is illegal and contrary to the international laws of dam construction.

Generally, both countries Foreign Affairs offices used words and phrases to address the desired message to the target audiences. The discourses of the press releases of both countries used political rhetoric mechanisms. The us Vs them categorical political discourses of the two countries Foreign Affairs offices aimed to gain a mass support and solidarity by allocating the other side has a negative interest over them.

The Ethiopia press releases used the us Vs them political discourse to address the rationality of their mega project-the GERD and the envy of the Egyptian on the renaissance of the country and the GERD; whereas the Egyptian used it to portrayed the GERD would negatively affect the ‘greatness’ and the survival of the Egyptian. Therefore, both offices defined as if it is the gain of one side is the loss of the other.

The two offices have been engaged with discursive struggles with using texts. Texts are used as tools of employing National interests of the two countries and dismantling the interests of the opposing sides.

Metaphor like Political Myth was widely used in the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases to acknowledge that the Egypt has a ‘historic right’ over the river Nile. This discourse of the Egyptian led as for the emergence of other Ironic discursive struggle from the Ethiopian side.

The Ethiopian press release discourses have been found engaged with a counter discourse for the Egyptian ‘historical right’ discourse of the river Nile. The ‘Natural Right’ discourse emanated from the old discourse of Egyptian’ ‘Historic Right’ discourse. It was portrayed ironically in the way to manifest the power struggle between the lower and the upper riparian Countries-Egypt and Ethiopia. The power struggle over the river Nile becomes more sensitive and strong between these two countries because Ethiopia contributing (86%) and Egypt consuming (99%) the Lion share of the river Nile.

Moreover, both countries tried to address to the local and international media members and the public as if the government and the people are one and the same and inseparable on their own way. The Egyptian Foreign Affairs Press release tried to speak that the government and the Egyptian people have a firm stand to defend Nile and their Nile water share without differences while the Ethiopian Government tried to legitimize the GERD project is implemented and constructed by the people and the government with full consent of both sides. Therefore, such unity and solidarity makes us to defend any danger that comes outside of the state interests.

All in all, discourse is textually constructed by the two country Foreign Affairs Offices, with using political rhetoric strategies and political communication mechanisms. All the above mentioned textual analysis categories are strategies of the Political rhetoric theory and features of political communication.

The features of Political communication which are enabling people to keep up with what is happening and mobilizing them to support, defining the priority of major political issues (agenda-setting), and shaping people's political preferences (persuasion) were clearly deployed in the above textual analysis categories. Moreover, Political rhetoric is used to maintain the best interest of the state, the party in power or the politicians individual or collective or group interests.

4.1.1.1. How the GERD was constructed differently in the Egypt and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office selected press releases?

A) National Security Vs Poverty way out Discourse

The two countries have extremely different discourses associated with Nile. Egypt has been addressed that Nile is associated with its National security but Ethiopia has been declared the GERD project is the main layout of deep rooted poverty of the country. Both countries addressed the stand of their government through the press releases that were taken out from their Foreign Affairs Offices.

The Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office spokesperson declares the Egyptian government stand towards GERD after a month of the inauguration of the dam.

“The construction of a dam that directly affects the right of Egypt over the Nile river isn’t something that Egypt takes modestly because it is a threat of the people's lives and security. Egypt never and ever let it to negotiation its historic rights. It is important avoiding a conflict over the Nile water that could have had drastic effects on both countries. Nile isn’t simply to us; it is a way to maintain the National Security of the nation too” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, May 5, 2011).

The press release portrayed the construction of the GERD in Ethiopia as a threat to Egyptian security that could have led to a confrontation because it is an issue of security for Egypt. Here there is also a phrase called a ‘drastic effect’. *It may be interpreted as conflict which may go to a drastic effect on their diplomatic relations or which may lead to a military confrontation.* So, it indicated us the Egyptian are ready to use the soft power as well as the hard power. The soft power means the diplomatic war that they already have engaged with the upper riparian countries especially with Ethiopia due to the Nile water. On the other hand, the hard power means launching a war with a country which tries to make a water project over Nile.

Moreover, the spokesperson wanted to address to the Egyptian and the rest of people who have the concern on it that the construction of the dam has a negative effect on Egypt to the magnitude of affecting its security drastically. This is so because the Nile water is taken as a national security issue for Egypt. The spokesperson would like to address in a firm stand that the Egyptian people life and its' National security is inseparable.

“..... Nile is highly associated with the survival of the Egyptian. Anything that affects the Nile is a treat of the Egypt's National security. On such undesired but obliged situation the Egyptian government and people never hesitate to take any actions to defend Egyptian national security” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, June 12, 2013).

When we see in the above mentioned press releases of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office, the Egyptian associated the issue of Nile with their survival. Besides, the Egyptian described as if Ethiopia is pushing them to launch war. The phrase ‘undesired but obliged situation’ declared their determination to take action, the action that they are going to take may be war against Ethiopia.

In both press releases which were released in 2011 and 2013 the Egyptian Foreign Affairs offices tried to inform to the media and the diplomatic community that the issue of Nile is inseparable from Egyptian National Security and if anyone let it in danger, the Egyptian Government seems ready to take any action-the action they may take might be to launch war because in both the above mentioned press releases they used phrases like ‘it isn’t something that Egypt takes modestly’, ‘drastic effects’ and ‘undesired but obliged situation’, hence the implicit meaning of these phrases may be to launch war over countries which have been tried to work a water project on the river Nile-most probably this country would be Ethiopia because currently Ethiopia has been constructing a dam on the river Nile.

On the contrary Ethiopia claims that it has the right to make a water project over the river Nile to fight against poverty and to bring sustainable development. As if Nile is an issue of National security and survival for Egyptian, it is also a means of nation-wide poverty reduction and survival for Ethiopians too.

Prime Minister Haile Mariam Dessalegn said that:

“The construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam is a major undertaking of the people and government of Ethiopia to lift the country out of poverty and no one has the power

to halt the construction project. Egypt won't go to war over the Nile issues unless its leaders go mad. I hope the Egyptian politicians to prioritize cooperation and negotiations to benefit the two friendly people” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, 11 August, 2013).

In the Ethiopian side, The Foreign Affairs Office has been addressed the issue of Nile is associated with a way out of poverty. That is what they want to indicate when they say ‘to lift out of poverty’.

Moreover, we have also found the two Foreign Affairs offices engaged with war rhetoric discourses because Ethiopia also have a counter war rhetoric discourse for the Egyptian war launching warnings phrases like ‘it isn’t something that Egypt takes modestly’, ‘drastic effects’ and ‘undesired but obliged situation’ by saying ‘no one has the power to halt the construction project’. Therefore, the Ethiopian Gov’t also addressed with clear words that it can defend any foreign attack associated with the GERD. The spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign affairs explained that:

“Ethiopia will continue to use Abay/ Nile River for the benefit of her people fairly and reasonably complying with universal laws. Ethiopia won't ask anyone's consent to utilize her own natural resource. Beside to this, the Renaissance dam project is undertaken to eradicate the poverty of the nation. This dam is constructed for Ethiopians and by Ethiopians and is crucial for the survival of the nation” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, July 7, 2011).

As if ‘National security’ is the main discourse of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases ‘Poverty lay out’ is also the main discourse of Ethiopian Press release. Ethiopia repeatedly assured the GERD will use to reduce the poverty of the nation ‘the Renaissance dam project is undertaken to fight the poverty of the nation’. It is a major development project undertaken by the people and the government. The government’s clearly indicated its’ firm stance and commitment to effectively use water resource and bring about sustainable development and ultimately eradicate poverty. The text even overemphasized the main development discourse. The notion “to eradicate poverty” could send a message that the dam and water utilization could be an ultimate weapon to eradicate poverty.

B) Historic Water Quota Vs Equitable Water Quota Discourse

The Egyptian rapidly addressed in their press releases that they have a ‘historic right’ over the Nile River whereas the Ethiopians’ claim that they have the ‘natural rights’ over the Blue Nile River. The Egyptian President confirmed to the Egyptian political parties the determination of the Egyptian government to protect the Egyptian Nile water quota from any danger or treats. On his speech he said:

"Egypt's water security cannot be violated at all.....As president of the state, I confirm to you that all options are open... The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative. Egyptians would not tolerate any encroachment on their historic quota of Nile water " (Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, June 18, 2013).

The use and distribution of the Nile waters among the ten countries is still remains as a political question and a hot issue in media too. Egypt claims that it has a ‘historical right’ on the Nile. The Egyptian repeatedly cites what the Greek Historian, Herodotus (c.486-425B.C), long observed: “the Nile is Egypt and Egypt is the gift of the Nile”. Egyptian usually use the above mentioned observation of Herodotus to claim that they have ‘historic’ right over the river Nile.

According to the text, Egypt should maximize the current utilization of Nile water; otherwise, the water security of the country is at risk. It is a matter of life or death to maximize the utilization of the water resource as its current water share is not enough, let alone reducing the already ascribed share in the colonial time treaties. The current utilization by Egypt means the 55.5 BMC water share Egypt allotted by the 1959 agreement. In 1959 Egypt and Sudan signed the agreement for the full utilization of the Nile waters. This replaced the 1929 agreement, where Egypt and Britain (on behalf of the East African colonies) negotiated the Nile Water Agreement, which stated that “no irrigation or power works or measures are to be constructed or taken on the River Nile and its branches, or on the lakes from which it flows...” (Terige Oestigared,2010,p.11). In the 1959 agreement all the water in the Nile was divided between Egypt and Sudan. Of the average 84 billion cubic metres that flow along the Nile each year, according to the agreement, Egypt should receive 55.5 billion cubic metres and Sudan 18.5 billion cubic metres, and the rest disappears through evaporation.

The government of Morsi already used a strong term by warning Ethiopia that Egypt wouldn't allow a drop of water to be reduced from its 'historic water quota' of the Nile water-55.5 BCM. Therefore, the notion "historic right" refers to the right which was stipulated in the exclusive water agreements which gave Egypt a veto power over the Nile and the 55.5 BMC.

Hence, if the GERD is threatening the maximization of the current water utilization of Egypt, then Egypt is threatened because it is a question of life or death to maximize the current water utilization.

The Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia, Alemayehu Tegenu eases the lower riparian states:

“Ethiopia strongly believes on the equitable utilization of the waters of the Nile. Nile would be a means of cooperation, solidarity and development for the region. Ethiopia’s determination to tap its water and hydropower potentials should not be source of anxiety for riparian and its neighbouring nations rather it would encourage more cooperation, rational and efficient water utilization” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Press releases, September 4, 2011).

Ethiopia strongly opposes the 'historic right' notion of the Egyptian discourse and heightens the notion of equitable distribution of water resources among the Nile riparian countries. That is what the Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia tried to address by saying 'Ethiopia strongly believes on the equitable utilization of the waters of the Nile.' That is the reason Ethiopia initiated the new agreement that would bring a win-win solution among the riparian called Cooperative Framework of Agreement (CFA). It may seem a counter agreement of the 1959 agreement. The Cooperative Framework Agreement is a proposed international treaty, which lay down principles of cooperative water resources management among all the countries sharing the river Nile. Therefore, the 55.5 BMC quotas for Egypt of the 1959 agreement can't be acceptable in the equitable and reasonable utilization of Nile. How can this be compromised with the new provisions in the CFA that promotes equitable and reasonable utilization? How can any development scheme on a given water body could be welcomed by Egypt while Egypt is insisting on maintaining its water quota? It could be a diplomatic way of expression to prevent Ethiopia from utilizing the water without the prior approval of Egypt if it reduces.

The Egyptian water security speech indicates only by maintaining the previous colonial era agreements the issue of using the river Nile resolved.

“Historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile. The other Nile Basin countries did not have any need for the water; they receive enough rainfall every year to cover agricultural needs” (Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, December 12, 2013).

What the Egyptian called it “historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile” is the 1959 agreement of over the river Nile. The 1959 agreement is disputed by the other Nile basin countries.

Moreover, Egyptians argue that the upstream states have no tradition for use and control of the Nile and they also have alternative water resources, which Egypt does not have. Of course Egypt is totally dependent upon the Nile.

“The Nile is literally the life-artery of the country and it makes Egypt extremely vulnerable to changes in the water supply. The country is listed among the top ten countries in the world which will be most threatened by water shortage in the future” (Terige Oestigared, 2010, p.11).

On the contrary Ethiopia has been argued the annual rain fall isn't consistent and untreatable. That is the reason repeatedly the country was affected with drought. Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world, where only 5% of the land suitable for irrigation is developed, and its future prosperity is dependent upon utilisation of more water resources-mostly Nile.

“..... We can't have starving people in Ethiopia, unable to make use of the water when someone downstream uses the same water to irrigate desert. It isn't the reality of the 21st century to depend on the rainfall which might come or not” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, December 18, 2013).

This is a direct counter discourse of the above mentioned Egyptian historical water share argument.

C) No Harm Vs Insignificant Harm

The notion No Harm Vs Insignificant Harm is the other exciting discourse of the Egyptian and Ethiopian Government Foreign Affairs press releases. The Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia, Alemayehu Tegenu states:

“.....Ethiopia chose to the win-win alternative with no significant harm to the other riparian states. Hence, series of consultations, information exchange and joint discussions with riparian countries to work out the best implementation modalities that would ensure win-win outcomes, in which no one would be significantly affected” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases, September 4, 2011).

When the Ministry of Water and Energy says “... no significant harm to the other riparian states”, he entails that there could be a tolerable harm, which is not significant, which Ethiopia could negotiate with riparian states based on equitable and reasonable utilization. This could be the reduction of water to evaporation.

According to the Egypt Foreign Affairs Office spokesperson Irrigation Ministry of Egypt addressed.

“Egypt is already suffering from a water deficit of 20 billion cubic metres a year, which means it cannot accept any other possible fall & harm in its water quota” (December 12, 2013).

The above mentioned press release indicated that Egypt never allows the kind of project which brings a water deficit on the Egypt water quota. Here water quota indicates the 1959 water share agreement. When the Irrigation Ministry of Egypt said “...it cannot accept any other possible fall & harm in its water quota”, it explicitly declared there shouldn't be harm over the river Nile. It implies that significant harm is intolerable. On the other hand, harm on the water quota implies the water quota of the 1959 agreement that Egyptian claimed as we discussed earlier.

The principle of not to cause significant harm is widely recognised by international water and environmental law (Khalid, 2004, p.11). The International water law approves significant harm and doesn't have space for the notion 'No harm'. However, question remains on the definition or extent of the word 'significant' and how to define 'harm' as a 'significant harm'.

‘No state in an international drainage basin are allowed to use the watercourses in their territory in a way that would cause significant harm to other basin states or to their environment, including harm to human health or safety, to the use of the waters for beneficial purposes or to the living organisms of the watercourse systems’ (Eckstein, 2002, pp.82–83).

It is a plain fact that the loss of some amount of water to evaporation at GERD won't be unexpected though it couldn't be as much as that of the amount which is being lost in Aswan High dam in Egypt which is 10 BCM. One of the reasons could be because the GERD is being built in a highland while Aswan High Dam was built in the desert. In any way, the reduction may go beyond a “drop of water” marking the reduction of the Egyptian “water quota” with some amount though not significantly.

In addition to the significant or no harm privileged discourse of discussion the justification of the GERD project also a point of argument between the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Government.

“.....The possibility of Egypt's High Dam to generate electricity may be negatively affected by the GERD and the Nile water would decrease and unable the power it generates currently. If Ethiopia will continue its' unjustified mega project on the Nile, Egyptian water security would be affected” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release, June 12, 2013).

It suggested that as the Egyptian water security would be affected if Ethiopia was allowed to complete the dam; hence the dam should be halted. Apart from it, the press releases tried to convince us the GERD is as if it is illegal mega project with its' discourse of '*unjustified mega project on the Nile*'.

On the other hand, the Ethiopian government tried to reveal that the GERD is justified and considers the rights of its' people and others. Moreover, the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office tried to assure that they are maintaining the universal laws when they are constructing the dam. The law that Ethiopia would respect might be 'not to cause harm' over others. The Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office spokesperson declared as follows:

“... Ethiopia will continue to use Abay/ Nile River for the benefit of her people fairly and reasonably complying with universal laws” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, July 7, 2011).

4.1.1.2 How the GERD was constructed similarly in the Egypt and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office selected press releases?

1) Enhancing Cooperation

There are some visible remarks that show the enhancement of cooperation between the upper and the lower Nile basin countries in general and Ethiopia and Egypt in Particular. They signed some governing agreements and established tripartite committee (i.e. a community consists of Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan) after the inauguration of the GERD.

A) The Inauguration of the IPoE

International Panel of Experts (IPoE) was established in May 2012 to investigate the impact of the GERD on lower riparian Countries-Egypt and Sudan. IPoE has two experts from each of the three countries and the rest four were international experts each from France, Germany, England and South Africa.

The IPoE presented its findings with its recommendation to Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan 30th of May 2013. The study report becomes a proof that the GERD doesn't harm the downstream states. The Ministry of Water and Energy of Ethiopia on the findings of IPoE said that:

“The report showed the Dam offers high benefit for all the three countries and would not cause significant harm on lower riparian countries...” (The Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press Releases, December 18, 2013).

Therefore, as the report proved Ethiopia is not affecting the development of any other nation in the basin. The “no cause significant harm” notion is among the web of signs in the development discourse which revolves around the nodal point, water security. Ethiopia's position on the water security notion is not just for one riparian state as it was in the Egyptian case. It was connoted as the water security of every Nile riparian state and it doesn't harm the lower basin countries significantly.

The GERD may have an impact on the riparian states but it is not significant. The insignificant negative impact could be negotiable as the benefit overshadows it. There could be loss of water due to evaporation as it reserves some water; but still it has less evaporation rate in comparison with the evaporation in Egypt and the Sudan. Moreover, the reduction of silt in the water that reaches Egypt and the Sudan, the controlled and regulated water flow

downstream, the less evaporation rate, and the provision of cheap electric power are the benefits of the GERD for lower basin states which the above mentioned press releases referred as a “high benefit”.

B) The signing of Declaration of Principles on the GERDP

The Declaration of Principles on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam Project (GERDP) was signed on 23 March 2015 among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan. It signalled the intention of the three countries to cooperate on the issues surrounding the GERD rather than confronting on it. It has 10 articles covering issues such as cooperation, development, regional integration, and sustainability, no causing significant harm, equitable and reasonable utilization of water, confidence building, exchange of information and data, dam safety, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and peaceful settlement of disputes. The agreement may not be binding until it is ratified by the parliaments of the three respective countries.

During the signing of the declaration both countries leaders stated their opinion as follows: President El-Sis,

“Ethiopia and Egypt agreed to elevate the existing all round cooperation to the highest level ... such agreement would lay the foundations of a strong trust and confidence for future cooperation over the waters of the Nile” (Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, 23 March 2015).

Ethiopian Prime Minister’s on his part said,

“...the agreement will open a door to mutual trust and cooperation. It will perhaps bring Egypt and the Sudan to join the signing of the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA)” (Ethiopia Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, 23March 2015).

According to the above text, Egypt was expecting that the future cooperation would be based on the strong trust and confidence among the three signatories. The confidence building could include issues provided in the declaration such as “Principle of dam safety” which considers the recommendations by the international experts and “confidence building” measure which was expressed through giving priority to the lower basin states to purchase the electric power the GERD generates.

The agreement however was taken by the Ethiopian side as a step closer for the lower riparian states to agree on the CFA. This was because some concepts in the provisions of the

declaration such as “not to cause significant harm”, “equitable and reasonable utilization” of the water were already provided by the CFA. Hence, the fact that Egypt and the Sudan accepted the “not to cause significant harm” implies that some harm like a little reduction of water by evaporation in the dam can be tolerated by the lower basin states.

2) Mutual Benefit

The Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office released information as if a mutual interest has been raised between Ethiopia and Egypt. According to the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Ethiopia is considerate of the concerns of the two lower basin countries regarding the water utilization when it reported on the issues discussed between the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Ministers in Addis Ababa.

“The ministers agreed to take into account the developmental interests of Ethiopia as well as the water security concerns of downstream countries...the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia reiterated Ethiopia’s previous position, which is committed to a win-win approach as the basis for future cooperation” (Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release, 18 June 2013).

The statement shows the mutual concerns in both countries. The *statement “agreed to take into account the developmental interests of Ethiopia as well as the water security concerns of downstream countries...”* implies the Egyptian position has been to make sure that the water security of Egypt wouldn’t be affected and Ethiopia assures Egypt that the GERD wouldn’t significantly affect Egypt. Although both sides released such a statement, there is no any clue on the way to reconcile these two polarized interests-water security interest of Egypt and Development interest of Ethiopia with using the Nile River. As I discussed earlier Egypt’s water security mean the 55.5 BMC water quota of the colonial time treaty which is totally against the Ethiopia’s interest of equitable utilization of water share/resources among the Nile riparian countries.

As we have seen in the above the GERD was constructed and interpreted differently in the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs press releases. The national security discourse was deliberately designed in the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases. It aimed to create a context that incorporated other related discourses such as “water share”, “water quota”, historical water right”, and “no harm” to the Egyptian historical water right. Other contexts which do not belong to this order of discourse have been excluded from the discourse because they do not fit the meaning of the central point “water security” in Egyptian context.

The Egyptian Foreign Affairs office has been tried to inject the media members and the diplomatic community as if Nile is inseparable from the national security of Egypt and the survival of the Egyptian whereas the Ethiopian Government Foreign Affairs office has been addressed to use Nile is a way to pave poverty and bring development for Ethiopians. Simply Egyptian has been tried to attach the water security is as the same as the national security of the Egyptian. On the other hand, Ethiopia would like to share us it is associate with altering/eradicating the poverty of its’ people. Therefore, both of them has been tried to attach it with the survival of their people. So, both offices made the argument difficult for those who tried to negotiate.

The ultimate goal of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs office was to maintain the old assumption which favoured and allocated the lion water share of the Nile to Egypt. The political discourses of their press releases tried to legitimize as if they have a ‘historical water right’ over the river Nile and any other water project over Nile is a treat to their National security and survival. Therefore, currently the GERD is emerging as a treat of their water security discourse.

On the other hand, the “water security” contextual discourse in the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases was related to development of the state; hence, it favours to include concepts such as “equitable and reasonable utilization”, “win-win solution”, “mutual benefit”, and ‘cooperation’. This order of discourse in its part excludes the notions “water quota”, “historical water right and “no harm” because it doesn’t fit the development discourse of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases.

The ‘historical right’ rhetoric of the Egyptian relied up on the 1959 agreement of Egypt and Sudan. The agreement was made before all of the countries had become independent, and today they all agree that the sanction of using Nile waters has hindered their development. This has always been a controversial issue and raises many questions. To what extent is

agreements made during the colonial times still valid today? Are water agreements made by two countries binding for the other countries which were excluded from the negotiations? Can downstream states deny upstream states the right to use water flowing through their countries? And can upstream states deny downstream states the use of Nile waters? Even if Egyptian claim the 1959 agreement assures their ‘historic right’ over the river Nile, the rest riparian countries have the right not to bind by the agreement which didn’t consult them. Moreover, the agreement was deliberately ignored the upper Nile riparian countries and hadn’t consider their interests as well as desires of using the river Nile.

Here, the political discourses of Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases engaged in counter discourses for the Egyptian press releases. There is a discursive struggle between the two country Foreign Affairs Offices. The Ethiopian side tried to prove that the GERD has no significant harm over the neighbouring Nile basin countries especially Egypt. Moreover, it aimed to foster a dialogue for implementation of equitable water utilization of the river Nile among the Nile basin countries.

On the other hand, the agreement on “equitable and reasonable utilization” of water could lead to rethinking about the ‘historical right’ and ‘water share’ claims by the lower basin states. The Comprehensive Framework of Agreement (CFA) (2010) which has already been signed by six riparian states including Ethiopia promotes equitable and reasonable utilization of Nile water and the water security of every state in the basin.

There is also a power struggle between Egypt and Ethiopia. The emergence of a new mega project which is the GERD worries Egypt because the regional power that came with Aswan High Dam in 1960s could diminish with the Ethiopia’s emergence as a regional power hub after the completion of the GERD and several electric power schemes of the country.

Almost all the selected Egyptian Foreign Affairs press releases the utilization of Nile water by Ethiopia, especially the construction of the GERD, was reported as violating the Egyptian “historical right” and as a threat to Egypt’s existence. But the fact that the 21st century Egypt is totally different from the 19th and 20th century Egypt was left aside. Some disagree that Egypt’s recourse lies only on Nile as source of sustenance. Today’s Egypt cannot be equated with Nile as “Egypt is Nile” is an out dated discourse. This is because Egypt can see other alternatives for its economy as well as a source of water. Egypt has ceased to rely on Nile for its survival as its economy is diversified.

In the contemporary Egypt, the industrial and service sector contribute more than 80% of the Egypt's GDP reducing the contribution of the agricultural sector to the economy of Egypt relatively to insignificant level of 16.8% while the Egyptian population which depend on agriculture dropped to 31.5% from 55% in 1965 and the service sector is growing fast (Selby, 2005, cited in Girma, 2013, p.72,).

Moreover, Girma (2013) noted that the underground water can be developed in Egypt as a supplementary water resource. Hence, as Egypt's existence no more relies only on Nile water as used to be, the assertion that "the Nile is Egypt and Egypt is the Nile" is becoming fallacious (Cascao, E., 2008, p.19, cited in Girma, 2013). Moreover, Ethiopia repeatedly made it clear that the GERD is electric generating dam which doesn't block the flow of water downstream in a significant way. Again, these facts were dropped out of the discourse in of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Press releases.

In a nut shell, now a new discourse which is totally different from the old discourse has begun. The new discourse is now becoming a challenge for the old discourse of the lower basin countries. This New discourse is the construction of the GERD. Now the 'historical right' Nile water discourse of Egypt has faced a serious challenge from the Ethiopian side 'Equitable water share' of the Nile. Egypt is in fear of the power shift from the Lower riparian states to the upper riparian states specifically to Ethiopia.

The theory of political communication theory and the political rhetoric theory applied properly in the political discourse of the two countries Foreign Affairs Office press release. Most of the elements of the theories are viewed in the above discussion of this section.

To strengthen this issue let us see the schematic model about the process of political communications which guides the thinking behind this theory. Harold Lasswel(1999), divided the process of political communications into a series of steps: who (the source) says what (the content) through which channel (the media) and to whom (the audience).

All the above mentioned issues of both country Foreign Affairs Offices have passed through this phenomenon because the sources of the press releases were politicians, the content were different according to the aim of the Foreign Affairs offices. In the case of Egyptian, it was only to maintain the colonial period 'water quota' of the Nile basin countries whereas in the Ethiopian case it aimed to implement 'Equitable water share' of the Nile which incorporates the interests and actual needs of the Nile basin countries. The press releases themselves are

channels and News sources of the local and international media houses and political or development actors of the river Nile and they are also considered as audiences which takes information from the two countries Foreign Affairs Offices press releases.

The political elites' world view is at the forefront of the press releases discourses. The political communication concepts could be observed functioning in moulding the political discourse. The political rhetoric theory also applied within the Press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Press releases as I showed earlier in the textual analysis section of this study.

Apart from the above extremely different discourses of the two countries Foreign Affairs Offices, there are some positive beginnings that could narrow the policy or the perception gap between the upper and the lower Nile basin countries in general and Ethiopia and Egypt in particular.

The Inauguration of the IPoE and the signing of Declaration of Principles on the GERDP has been a reason to foster dialogue among Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia. Although there is no any consensus these three countries have reached, the commencement is significant to implement a consensus that incorporates the interests of the lower and the upper riparian countries.

4.2. The Analysis of Social Practice

4.2.1. Alignment of the selected Press releases with the foreign policy positions of their respective countries associating with the river Nile

The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) which has a projected capacity of generating 6000MW electric power is expected to be the largest dam in Africa. Ethiopia and Egypt have been at loggerheads about the construction of the dam. The point of disagreement has largely associated with the national interest clash of both countries. Egypt highly attached the issue of Nile with its national security and well-being of the people whereas Ethiopian viewed Nile as a way of alleviating the deep rooted poverty of the country. Generally, Egypt complains that the project negatively affects its share of water while Ethiopia affirms the electric generating project does not significantly affect any downstream countries; it reiterates the benefit is rather cross boundary.

To what extent do the selected Press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office align with the foreign policy positions of their respective countries' national interest with respect to GERD could be the realm of the discussion in this section.

In an attempt to answer this research questions, the study found out that the discourses in the two Press releases have basically been different. The central discourse in the press releases of Egypt has been the national security discourse while it has been the development discourse which was favoured by the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Press releases. As we all know Press releases is one of the media/news sources of the journalists. Therefore, the type of information that comes out from the Foreign Affairs office through its' press releases determines the media perspectives of that country. The same event, i.e., the construction of the GERD viewed in a different way in the two countries press releases. This could be because of the variation the foreign policy and national interest of these two countries. In turn it guides or shapes how their country media/journalists viewed or report the issue.

When we see the Egyptian Foreign Policy Hydro-politics has a significant place in the Egyptian foreign policy spectrum. Egypt has included the claim of historic water right in its new constitution which was adopted in summer 2013, after president Morsi was overthrown and President Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi took power (Von Lossow & Roll, 2015). The inclusion of the historic right to the Nile water which comes from beyond the Egyptian border in its constitution shows that Egypt is still taking Nile as a national security issue. For Egypt, Nile is a "political and security issue which resulted in securitization, militarization and politicization while it is a technical issue for upstream states." (Daniel, 1999, p. 21). Moreover, the "Egyptian national interests are closely related to the Nile resources region, which represents a strategic depth for Egypt" (Hassan & Al Rasheedy, 2007, p. 29). This fact has been reflected in the speeches of the Egyptian politicians at different times and it has been reflected in their Foreign Affairs press releases.

Moreover, the Egyptian Foreign Policy associated with the war rhetoric discourses of the Egyptian officials. Anwar Sadat, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and Mohammed Morsi are among the outspoken in the war rhetoric in relation with Nile utilization especially by Ethiopia. The late Egyptian president Anwar El Sadat was quoted as saying in 1979.

"any action that would endanger the flow of the waters of the Blue Nile... will be faced with a firm action on the part of Egypt, even if that action should lead to war" (Yacob Arssano, 2007, p. 90).

The other Egyptian politician on this row is the former Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs and former Secretary General of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali who said: "The next war in our region will be over water, not politics" (Vesilind 1993, cited in Mason, 2004, p.3). Recently Egyptian President Mohammed Moursi made a comment at a live conference on GERD on June, 2013.

"As president of the state, I confirm to you that all options are open... the lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative...." (The Egypt Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, June 18, 2013).

The nineteenth century Egyptian strategy towards the Nile was to control the source of the Nile to ensure the water security of Egypt. For this ultimate purpose, it has been documented in History books that Egyptians tried to invade Ethiopia several times. Khedive Ismail Pasha (1864 – 1879) was at the forefront among the Egyptian rulers to attempt the invasion. He "made several direct attempts to control the sources of the Nile" as the major objective of the foreign policy of Egypt had been "the incorporation of the territories of the sources of the Nile" (Yacob, 2007, pp. 85-86). Hence, "between 1832 and 1876 Egypt invaded Ethiopia 17 times" (Petrides, 1983, cited in Yacob, 2007, p. 87) until it was halted with the defeat by the Ethiopian forces at the battles of Gundet in 1875 and Gura in 1876.

Therefore, it is not surprising that its foreign policy has, over the years, been characterised by a high degree of consistency and stability, which has been clearly manifested through all the stages during which the country managed to win its interests, because whatever type of government took over the president office Egyptian foreign policy has two Strategic pillars. These strategic factors impose on Egypt a foreign policy. From these two pillars one of them is about Nile.

"The first pillar aims at defending Egypt's life and survival, and working to ensure the continued flow of the Nile. Thus, it is necessary for Egypt closely to follow what is happening across its southern border, in the Nile Basin countries" (The Arab Republic of Egypt Foreign Policy, 2013, p.127).

The phrase 'Egypt closely to follow what is happening across its southern border, in the Nile basin countries' implies Egypt has been watching seriously any water projects or related

issues that let Egypt's water security in danger. This is the reason currently the Egyptian Foreign Affairs focus on the GERD.

Nile is not simply a river alone for Egyptian, it goes beyond that and intermingled with the survival of Egyptian and the existence of Egypt itself. That is why the Egyptian Foreign Policy linked Nile with the national security of the state.

‘All these steps are taken to defend Egypt's water interests and security, as well as to find alternative tracks to guarantee that. additionally, these movements continue to follow-up the hydro projects that are established by the Nile basin countries on the course of the river, in order to ensure the inviolability Egypt's share of water or harm its' rights’ (one year of foreign policy under Sisi, 2014).

Tackling the Nile issue and the impacts of Ethiopia's establishment of the Great Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Blue Nile presents a clear and present danger on the Egyptian national security. From its part, the current Egyptian regime through its foreign policy apparatus, started to get support for Cairo's position and for the steps that would need to be taken to protect its interests.

Hence, during president Sisi first participation in the African Summit in Equatorial Guinea, he hinted at his foreign policy priorities. Thus, he attained an accomplishment when he managed to reach a seven-point agreement with Ethiopia's prime minister to form a Bilateral Joint Commission to resolve the dispute (Joint statement by the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, June 28th, 2014).

As soon as the plan for the GERD was announced in 2011, tensions began to mount between the two countries, culminating with a reunion of Egyptian politicians and leaders from all spectrums led by former president Morsi aired live on Egyptian TV without their knowledge, as they suggested arming Ethiopian rebels to destroy the dam (With Cameras Rolling, Egyptian Politicians Threaten Ethiopia Over Dam. Liam Stack, June, 2013,<http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/06/06/with-cameras-rolling-egyptian-politicians-threaten-ethiopia-over-dam>).

The Ethiopian politicians have been involved in the counter discourse of Nile water utilization. The discourse in the Ethiopian side generally seems not be spiced by the war rhetoric as it was in the case of Egypt. The discourse has mostly stressed on the right to use its' water resources. The Ethiopian Foreign Policy emphasize the equitable water resource

distribution among the Nile basin countries and its' clearly declares the Egyptian monopoly over the river Nile due to the 1959 agreement.

Emperor Haile Selassie was quoted when he stated in 1958 that "it is Ethiopia's sacred duty to develop the great watershed which she possesses in the interests of her own rapidly expanding population and economy" (Yacob Arssano, 2004 cited in Mason, 2004, p.3). The late Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi also diplomatically made the point when he had a word with media about the Egyptian threat,

"I am not worried that the Egyptians will suddenly invade Ethiopia Nobody who has tried that has lived to tell the story. I don't think the Egyptians will be any different and I think they know that" (Reuters, November 23, 2010).

The current Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn followed the line when he responded to the ousted Mursi's war rhetoric saying that the Egyptians may not take the option of war "unless they go mad" (The *Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, 15 June 2013*). All in all, the discourse in the Ethiopian side was not militaristic, rather it stresses on the right of the country to use its' natural resources and the right to defend foreign invasions.

According to the Ethiopia's Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy document (2002), the problem on the utilization of water from Ethiopian side has been related with the problem with Egypt. Egypt has been against the utilization of Nile waters by Ethiopia as it believes that if Ethiopia starts to use the waters of the Nile, Egypt will be in danger. Therefore, the document gives its analysis that it has been the position of Egypt that Ethiopia should not use the waters of the Nile if Egypt has to continue using the water. To realize this assumption, Egypt uses various strategies.

"Such a policy would remind Egypt that engaging Ethiopia in different disputes and ensuring that it is mired in poverty would not work, Egypt needs to realise that the option of force and intimidation will not yield fruit. What will take us forward is if Egypt can be convinced that force and intimidation should be replaced by negotiation and balancing the interests of all concerned" (FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, Page 126-7, 2002).

For Ethiopia, utilizing the water is a development issue which is a paramount importance for the country to pool itself out of poverty which the country took as a threat to its existence. The foreign policy document states that "Ethiopia can ensure rapid development only if it can

exploit its rivers” (Ethiopian Foreign Policy, 2002, p.124). Yet, the document stated that Ethiopia solves any issue related to Nile utilization through balancing the different interests by the way of equitable and fair utilization.

“Whether we like it or not, the issue of the Nile River will remain central to our relations with Egypt. Our policy is to deal with the Nile issue by balancing interests and, by peaceful negotiation, leading to a solution that does not harm our development activities” (FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, Page 125).

We can easily see the strong alignment of the Ethiopian Foreign Policy with the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases because we can easily see the concepts of ‘development’, equitable distribution of water’, ‘Mutual benefit’ and ‘avoiding harm’.

When we go back to the Egyptian strategy, Egypt asserted its claim of “water right” not only with war rhetoric but also with several exclusive agreements on Nile water utilization. In the 20th century, several agreements on Nile water and related issues were signed among the colonialists, the colonialists and Egypt, and between Egypt and the Sudan. Among those agreements the one Egypt frequently refers as an agreement which legalized its “historical right” over the Nile water are the 1929 and the 1959 agreements. These are among the agreements Egypt claims as a legal document for its water share.

The exchange of notes from Lord Lloyd of Britain to Mahmoud Pacha of Egypt on 7 May 1929 partially reads, “... Her majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom has already recognized the natural and historical right of Egypt to the waters of the Nile” (Yacob Arssano, 2007, P.99).

The claim for historical right most of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs office press releases tried to reassure in its discourse partly emanates from the above article of the 1959 treaty. The treaty deliberately made Egypt to benefit as it allotted 55.5.8 Billion Cubic Meters (BCM) to Egypt and only 18 BCM to the Sudan and as it aimed “to ensure that the quantity of water arriving in Egypt was not reduced” (Kinfu, 2006, p.4).

On the contrary the Ethiopian Foreign Policy document clearly stipulated the historical water quota notion of the Egyptian is an acceptable and old fashioned discourse.

“They have suffered under the belief that Egypt will be exposed to tremendous danger if Ethiopia starts to use the waters of the Nile. The agreement signed between Egypt and The Sudan in 1959 does not provide for Ethiopia to use even a single litre of water. The Egyptian mentality is framed by the mantra “if Ethiopia uses the water, Egypt will be endangered. If Egypt is to use it, Ethiopia has to take her hands off the water.” The Egyptian scenario regarding the Nile is a classic example of the politics of “I win if you lose”, the zero-sum game” (FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, Page 125).

Egypt's history of cooperation with upper riparian states regarding the utilization of Nile water was not so strong. The Nile riparian states supported by the World Bank and other development partners negotiated for almost a decade since 1999 to produce a new deal from which all the parties could benefit. The negotiation finally produced the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). But Egypt refused to sign any agreement that did not guarantee its current share of Nile water” (Aljazeera, accessed on 25Sep 2014, 02:25pm).

“Egypt didn't sign the CFA as the agreement doesn't “guarantee Egypt's right to 55.5 billion cubic square meters of water annually and did not allow Egypt its traditional veto of upstream projects” such as the GERD” (Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, 23 May, 2013).

The CFA was first signed by Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda in Entebbe, Uganda on 14 May 2010; and five days later by Kenya. On 28 February 2011 Burundi joined the suit, and the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan showed their interest to sign the agreement which is also referred to as the “Entebbe Treaty” or the “Entebbe Agreement” (Salman, 2013, p.21, various media). The signing of Burundi as the sixth nation will pave the way for the agreement to enter into enforcement as it is provided in article 42 of CFA.

The Cooperative Framework Agreement which was supposed to be signed by the whole riparian states faced a disagreement from Egypt and Sudan after a decade long negotiation among the whole riparian states. The disagreement is mainly over maintaining the old agreements between Egypt and Sudan guarantying the water security of the current users on the one hand, and replacing those old agreements with the new one which guarantees the equitable and reasonable utilization of the water and water security of every riparian state. The CFA align with the Ethiopian Foreign Policy notion of Equitable and reasonable share of

the Nile water resources but not with the Egyptian Foreign Policy discourse of historical water share.

According to the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Egypt sees any attempt by upper basin countries to use the Nile water without its consent as violating its water security:

“Egypt has set three conditions before signing the Cooperative Framework Agreement: water security, being informed in advance of any planned projects on the river banks and making the completion of such projects conditional on Egyptian and Sudanese approval. Otherwise Egypt sees this as violating its water security” (Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office Press Release, 23 May, 2013).

The above discussed facts which were reflected through their foreign affairs office press releases are a reflection of both countries Foreign Affairs Policy documents which intern directly or indirectly have an impact on the state owned media products of the two countries. It was this context that shaped the discourse in Egyptian Press releases mostly focused on the national security discourse. It is in this order of discourse to include the words and expressions such as “water share”, “water quota”, historical water right”, and “no harm” came with in the Egyptian press releases discourse.

On the other hand, the “water security” order of discourse in the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs press releases related to development; hence, it favours to include notions such as “equitable and reasonable utilization”, “no significant harm”, “mutual benefit”, and ‘cooperation”.

As discussed above, both PRs of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian foreign affairs office are under the influence of their respective countries National interests in their own way. Moreover, the political elites’ world view it at the forefront in most of the political discourses. The political communication of the mass media could be observed functioning in moulding the political discourse. The political interest of the respective state could drive the media and the media discourse could be shaped accordingly. This is evident in various studies:

“Political Communication characterizes by its ways and intentions of message senders to influence the political environment. This includes public discussion (e.g. political speeches, news media coverage, and Government officials’ talk) that considers who has authority to sanction, the allocation of public resources, who has authority to make decision, as well as social meaning like what makes someone National. The crucial

factor that makes communication 'political' is the source of a message, its content and purpose" [Denton, & Woodward, 1998, p.14).

The state owned Media operating in the two countries were used by the government as an instrument an injected the interest/ stand of their respective country foreign affairs office views through the press releases that came out from foreign Affairs Offices.

Hence, the selected Press releases of the two countries align with their respective countries foreign policy positions. In light with this, they excluded certain issues which didn't fit the order of discourse of their respective privileged discourses.

4.3. Deliberate Omissions in the selected press releases

One of the reasons that cast inspiration for utilization of CDA in this research was the apparent disagreement between Egypt and Ethiopia towards the construction of the GERD in particular and the Nile water utilization in general which reflected through the foreign Affairs press releases of both countries. Consequently, the study focused on the discourse in the two countries selected PRs of their Foreign Affairs Offices.

The job of CDA research is not only to demonstrate what is occurring within the text, but also to note what is absent from the text. This is because absence is as important as presence in discourse analysis. According to CDA's approach, "[a] discourse is always constituted in relation to what it excludes" as discourse is both constitutive and constituted of the social practice (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.27).

Moreover, the analysis of the text "can often give excellent insights about what is 'in' a text, but what is absent from a text is often just as significant from the perspective of sociocultural analysis" (Fairclough, 1995, p.5). After all, CDA is all about dealing with the relation between discourse and the society. Then, why a particular selection or reduction, why here, why now (Huckin, 2002) could be in the scope of the CDA.

According to the theory of political communication, political discourses have political motives that they need to achieve. This means, what we read or see on or hear from the political speeches, press releases or news releases is a processed discourse which is channelled through a medium. The two selected press releases choose their words, expressions and even facts carefully to match their privileged discourse.

4.3.1. Exclusion in Egyptian Foreign Affairs Press Releases

As it has been found out in the textual analysis part of the present study, Egyptian press releases consistently had been privileging the national security discourse in its coverage of the GERD. Accordingly, any sign which didn't fit the privileged discourse has been excluded from the discourse.

There was no any context provided by the press realises that shows the circumstances in which the 1929 and 1959 water agreements were made. The fact that Ethiopia's stand that the 1929 water agreement made between Britain as a colonial power representing its colonies in East Africa, especially Sudan, and Egypt doesn't apply on Ethiopia because Ethiopia was not the British colony. These facts have never been mentioned by the Egyptian.

River Nile belongs to the whole riparian state, not just to one or two states in the riparian. However, the river was presented as the Egyptian water by the Egyptian press releases. The 55.5 BMC Nile water that Egypt claims as its annual share was presented as if it was a naturally gained water share. As I mentioned in the textual analysis when Egyptian say 'Water quota', it indicates the 55.5 BMC of Nile water that was taken by the press releases as if it was naturally provided while it was a mere result of the 1959 agreement between Egypt and the Sudan, the two lower riparian states with nearly zero contribution of water to the upper basin as well as an agreement ratified between the lower riparian countries alone with deliberate exclusion of the upper Nile basin countries.

The Egyptian press releases leave out the emerging discourse about mutual benefit from the Nile water with the share the other riparian states claim through equitable and reasonable utilization of the Nile water. The emerging discourse is challenging the old discourse "Egypt is Nile and Nile is Egypt". In line with this, the fact that there was no share left for the remaining riparian states from the Nile water was not mentioned in the Egyptian press releases because the discourse was aimed at convincing the target audiences that the Nile is the Egyptian river.

The upper basin states declined to accept the 1959 treaty from which the claim of the Egyptian water share emanates as they were not part of it. However, the Egyptian Press releases in the sampled texts tried to convince its audiences that any claim against the "historical right" is against the Egyptian national interest.

Egypt has been tried to convince their people and the rest of the world that Egypt will be exposed to fabulous danger if Ethiopia starts to use the waters of the Nile. We haven't seen in the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Press Releases that the 1959 does not provide for Ethiopia and the rest of the upper riparian countries a single drop of water. It was deliberately absent from Egypt foreign Affairs Office Press releases.

Nothing has been mentioned in Egyptian Press Releases about the Ethiopian or other upper riparian states' right to utilize the water that flows in their territory. Instead Egypt has argued the Ethiopia has been receiving enough amount of rainfall yearly, hence Nile should be left for the lower basin countries. On the contrary, nothing has been said in the whole sample taken for the study about the recurrent drought and at times the severe famine that Ethiopia has been suffering from while the amount of rainfall Ethiopia gains yearly was frequently a point of comparison in the selected Egyptian press releases.

Ethiopia was depicted by the Egyptian press releases as a country with abundant water resource from the rainfall; and which doesn't need any water from the Nile river. But it rarely mentioned that Ethiopia was also under the water security threat which comes with inability to use its water resources such as Nile and the recurrent draught which Ethiopia has been known for was left out of the context.

The other point the national security discourse of Egyptian press releases excluded was the meaning which was given to the concept of "water security" by the other riparian states. In Egypt's case, water security is ensured for "the current use of every other states" while it is "for every other states" in the Ethiopian and the other riparian states' case. Hence, the sign water security was linked with knots such as "water share", and "historical right", in the Egyptian press releases which were arranged in a certain pattern to make a national security discourse a privileged discourse while excluding other meanings to the water security concept such as equitable and reasonable utilization, no significant harm, mutual benefit and other notions related to the water development concept in the development discourse of the Ethiopia press releases.

It was left out from the text that Ethiopia made it public that the GERD is for generating electric power not for agricultural needs contrary to what was put in the previous text. Moreover, the rainfall water couldn't be guaranteed or secured to be available all the time as witnessed by the draught Ethiopia repeatedly faced. The target audiences who may not know how acute is the shortage of electricity and how frequent the drought has been in Ethiopia

may believe that it is only Egypt that should worry about its water security. This is the meaning that the press release consistently needed to make.

4.3.2. Exclusion in the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs press releases

It is apparent that some amount of water will be lost to evaporation at the GERD and consequently some amount from the Egyptian claimed water share could be reduced as evaporation of some amount could be inevitable. But this fact was mostly by passed by The Ethiopian side. According to the experts in the field, 0.4 BCM water would be lost to the evaporation at the GERD; yet, it is very little when it is compared with the estimated amount of 10 BCM at Aswan and 4.7BCM in Sudanese dams (Belachew, 2013).

Egypt has a great attachment with the Nile. Egypt is absolutely dependent on the river Nile. Egyptian electric Power and irrigation are depending on Nile. Without Nile their existence is unthinkable. 95% to 98% of its more than 86 million people directly or indirectly live on Nile. The historical, social and political relations of Egypt with the basin countries are targeted based on the interest over Nile water. However, there was hardly any mentioning of this fact in the sample texts of the Ethiopia PRs. This is because it could mitigate the strength of the development discourse that the Ethiopian Government favoured.

So, in general; I found out nine results from the textual and social practices critical discourse analysis of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases. Although there are some significant cooperation and agreements between Ethiopia and Egypt over the utilization of the river Nile, both the analysis of the text and the social practice part revealed that the discourses in the two countries selected press releases were varied or different. The variation was the result of the motive of the political communication and political rhetoric theories behind the two countries Foreign Affairs offices discourse which influenced the way the GERD was represented.

One of the differences the researcher found out from the textual analysis section is that the GERD constructed and interpreted differently in the two countries Foreign Affairs offices. The Egyptian constructed it as if it would affect the survival of the Egyptian, on the contrary the Ethiopian defined as if it sustains the development of the state. The survival issue attached with GERD in both country press releases but from different spectrums. The Egyptian felt that their survival might diminish by it while the Ethiopian hoped the GERD sustains the possibility of their survivals. Due to the reason this, there is a visible discursive struggle between Ethiopia and Egypt. The words and phrases that they used in their Foreign Affairs Press releases showed us that they have been engaged in political rhetoric war to gain support from the local and international target audiences and to legitimize their interests of the river Nile over others.

Moreover, the result of the textual analysis revealed that the Egypt Foreign Affairs Office press releases attached the issue of Nile and any other water projects operated over Nile with the national security of Egypt. The government of Egypt insists that Egypt has a ‘historical right’ over the Nile water. The various notions which revolve around the “water security” notion to strengthen the national security discourse were “historical water right”, “Water Quota” and “no harm”.

On the contrary, the central discourse in the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press releases was the development discourse. The notions “equitable and reasonable utilization”, “poverty lay out”, “no significant harm”, “mutual benefit” among other synonyms were arranged in a way they give a patterned meaning to the honoured discourse in the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases.

Discourses such as “water share”, “water quota”, “historical water right” which Egypt claim as exclusive right were excluded from the development discourse of the Ethiopian Foreign

Affairs Office because they did not fit to the development discourse order of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases. Rather, signs such as “equitable and reasonable utilization”, “mutual benefit”, and “cooperation on water utilization” largely included in the order of discourse of the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office press releases.

The other difference is that in both countries Foreign Affairs office press releases water share/quota of the river Nile was a central issue but both sides are engaged in discursive struggle to give water quota their own meaning. When Egyptian says water share/quota, they want to maintain the “water share”, “water quota” and “historical water right” concepts of the 1929 and 1959 agreements. On the contrary water share of the Nile for Ethiopian mean equitable distribution of the Nile water among the Nile basin countries because Ethiopia declared the colonial era agreements are illegal and never considered and invited the upper riparian countries to participate in it. Therefore, Ethiopia suggested new agreements over the river Nile among the Nile riparian countries. That agreement is called Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). Although CFA has not yet accepted by the lower riparian countries, most of the upper riparian countries ratified it.

The other result which I found out is the Egyptian is fighting to maintain the old discourse and agreements as it was before whereas the Ethiopian is struggling to replace the old discourse and agreement with a new discourse and agreement. The stand of the Egyptian government has been assuring the continuity of the veto power against any water projects on Nile water according to the colonial era agreement of 1929; and to make sure that the water share of 55.5 BMC of Nile as stipulated in the 1959 agreement. It is about securing the ‘historical water right’ of Egypt that emanates from the colonial era treaty of 1929 and the 1959 agreement between Egypt and the Sudan. In contrast, Ethiopia practically opposing the veto power of the Egyptian by constructing a huge dam on the river Nile.

Furthermore, the lay down of the construction of the GERD became the reason for the emergence of a new discourse between the upper and the lower Nile basin countries. The ‘historic right ‘over the river Nile, which is a hegemonic Egyptian old discourse, has now faced a challenge from the Ethiopian side ‘natural right’ discourse of the river Nile.

In addition to this, the lay down of the construction of the GERD would bring a regional power shift from the lower riparian countries specifically from Egypt to the upper riparian countries specifically to Ethiopia. The Egyptian lion share of the river Nile that it emanated from the 1959 agreement has been challenged by the Cooperative Framework Agreement

concept of 'Fair and equitable 'distribution of the Nile water resources from the lower riparian countries.

It may have brought power shift from the lower riparian states Egypt to the upper riparian state Ethiopia in the upcoming times because Ethiopia is now constructing the mega Nile dam over the river Nile.

On top of this, the result of the analysis of social practice part revealed that both the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office have been found to be in alignment with Foreign policy of their respective countries. This shows the political communication function on the political discourse.

There were issues deliberately omit in both countries Foreign Affairs Office Press releases. In the case of Egypt, the Foreign Affairs Office tried to address for the local as well as International medias and politicians as if Nile is a 'Historical right' of the Egyptian with hiding the fact that the 1959 agreement was excluded the upper basin countries. They didn't address that the 1959 does not provide for Ethiopia and the rest of the upper riparian countries a single drop of water.

On the contrary, in the case of Ethiopia even if that some amount of water will be lost to evaporation at the GERD and consequently some amount from the Egyptian claimed water share could be reduced as evaporation, it wasn't revealed to strengthen the development discourse of the country.

Generally, though the two countries selected Foreign Affairs Office press releases were covering the same event, the discourses in the two countries' Foreign Affairs Press releases regarding the GERD were different as they align with their respective country's foreign policy positions.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Summary

The rationality of choosing political discourses of the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs offices press release is due to the following two major issues:

- 1) Egypt is at the pole position in the opposition of the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam as it suspects that the dam may negatively affect its “historical right”; and Ethiopia’s is selected because Ethiopia is the owner of the project.
- 2) Egypt is the only country 99% dependent on the Nile River while Ethiopia is the only country that contribute the lion share of the Nile (86%) including its’ top soils to the lower riparian countries.

The objective of the study was to critically analyse the selected press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs offices political discourses on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, which is currently under construction by Ethiopia.

In an attempt to meet the already set objective, the study raised three questions and sought answers for those questions. The questions were:

- How the GERD was constructed and interpreted in the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office press releases?
- To what Extent did the selected Press releases of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office align with the foreign policy positions of their respective countries with respect to GERD?
- What are the Deliberate Omissions in the selected press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs Offices?

The press releases/political discourses which were taken from the Foreign Affairs Office of the two countries following the lay down the corner stone of the GERD (April,2011) till the Declaration of Principles on GERD (March, 2015) among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan were analysed to answer the research questions.

For that reason, six relevant political discourses/press releases which were released by the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office in the time frame set had been taken purposely while another

six relevant texts/press releases from the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office were taken to get a proportional number of texts for analysis.

The study selected the Critical Discourse Analysis approach as a method to answer those research questions. It was primarily the Fairclough's approach of CDA which was found to be fit to answer the research questions. However, the approach was used flexibly to apply only the textual and the social practice part of the three dimensional model. The discourse practice part of the trio model was left out because of the practical difficulty to conduct the discourse practice analysis. In addition to this, the three research questions were examined through the lenses of the political communication and the political rhetoric theories.

The analysis of both the text and the social practice part revealed that the discourses in the two selected newspapers were varied or different. The variation was the result of the political Communication assumption and political rhetoric usage of the two countries Foreign Affairs offices which influenced the way the GERD was represented.

The analysis of the study showed as that the two countries are already engaged in a discursive struggle to maintain their interests over the river Nile. The Egyptian are tried to maintain the 'water quota' that they gain it from the 1959 agreement of the lower riparian countries. On the contrary, the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office engaged in a discursive struggle with Egypt and others who have a concern on the GERD about the right of the Ethiopian to construct the dam and the insignificant harm that could only bring on neighbouring countries specifically for Egypt.

Accordingly, the political discourse of the press releases of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs office has been revolved around the notion of national security discourse. It tried to attach the issue of the Nile with the social and political security of Egypt. It is about securing the 'historical water' right of Egypt that emanates from the colonial era treaty of 1929 and the 1959 agreement between Egypt and the Sudan.

On the top of this, there is a power struggle between the two countries because the GERD would bring a regional power shift from the lower riparian countries specifically from Egypt to the upper riparian countries specifically to Ethiopia. It is indicated in the press releases of the two countries Foreign Affairs press releases because the Egyptian has been starting to negotiate on the issue of the Nile with altering their old discourse which is associated with 'water quota' of the 1959 Nile agreement of Sudan and Egypt.

Now a new discourse called ‘equitable water utilization’ of the river Nile which is the counter discourse of the ‘historic right’ concept of the 1959 Nile water share agreement emerged in the Nile basin context. This new discourse is a result of lay down of the corner stone of the construction of the GERD.

What is more, the result of the analysis of social practice part revealed that both the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Government Foreign Affairs Office press releases have been found to be in alignment with government Foreign policy documents of their respective countries.

5.2. Conclusion

The present study findings led me to reach into the conclusion that the old Nile basin discourse has been replaced by a new Nile basin discourse. In order to briefly define my conclusion, the following points would make it my argument more concrete and vivid:

- 1) The political discourses/press releases of the two country Foreign Affairs offices indicated that the GERD has been creating a new discourse and allies on the Nile basin region. For the first time in history Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan signed an agreement called Declaration of Principles on 23 March, 2015. Even if, Ethiopia and Egypt have a visible differences associating with the utilization of the river Nile, this consensus showed us the beginning of a new discourse on the river Nile.
- 2) The signing of the Cooperative Frame work of Agreement among the upper riparian countries to bring an equitable utilization of the Nile water share within the basin is a major step in the history of the Nile basin discourse of the upper Nile basin countries. Even if the lower riparian countries are not yet accepted the CFA, it brought a power balance between the lower and the upper riparian countries and it could be considered as a counter agreement of the 1959 Nile water agreement of Egypt and Sudan which excluded the upper riparian countries of the River Nile.
- 3) Egypt will not continue with having the lion share of the river Nile because the equitable distribution of the river Nile discourse which emanates from the upper riparian states is now becoming irreversible challenge for Egypt.

The construction of the GERD is a practical discourse for the Egyptian lion share of the river Nile. Now Ethiopia is underlying that it is using its’ own water resource which would have a meaningful lesson to other countries of the Nile basin.

- 4) The Egyptian ‘Historical right’ of the Nile water discourse has confronted a counter discourse called a ‘Natural right’ of the river Nile from the Ethiopian side and it clearly stipulated that the power of the Egyptian over the river Nile has never been as it was before because the regional cooperation of the upper Nile basin countries together with the construction of the GERD weaken or balance it.

Therefore, now the Nile basin region has begun a new discourse called fair and equitable distribution of Nile water resources that would incorporate the need and interest of each Nile basin states. Moreover, the discourses of the two country Foreign Affairs offices indicated that there might be a power shift from the lower riparian country Egypt to the upper riparian country Ethiopia in the coming times.

5.3. Recommendations

- ✓ The press releases of these two country offices have to rely on facts and figures to convince their immediate target audiences.
- ✓ The Media Houses and Journalists have to see critically the press releases of the two countries Foreign Affairs Offices press releases to come up with a rational discourse over the equitable distribution of the share of the River Nile.
- ✓ The GERD is still under construction. The discourse surrounding the dam could continue. Hence, all the stakeholders including the media, the politicians, the public diplomacy communities and the citizens of the two countries and should involve in a constructive discourse.
- ✓ The selected Egyptian and the Ethiopian press releases need to focus on professionalism. The two countries selected press releases should address the GERD based on facts and figures independently so that they could mitigate subjectivity; and their listeners could draw their own informed conclusions based on the facts which are provided by the press releases.
- ✓ Despite a long history of conflicts over Nile waters, yet currently there is no basin-wide agreement or governing body ratified by all riparian states. Hence, the upper and the lower riparian countries need to set a governing rule that maintain the interest of both countries.

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Annex

Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices Press Releases

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 1

The Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office spokesperson declares the Egyptian government stand towards GERD. (May 5, 2011)

The construction of a dam that directly affects **the right of Egypt over the Nile river** isn't something that Egypt takes modestly because it is a treat of **the people's lives and security**. Egypt never and ever let to **negotiation its historic rights**. It is important avoiding a conflict over the Nile water that could have had drastic effects on both countries. Nile isn't simply to us; it is a way to maintain the **National Security** of the nation too.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 2

Egypt sees any attempt by upper basin countries to use the Nile water without its consent as violating its water security (May 23, 2013).

Egypt didn't sign the CFA as the agreement doesn't guarantee Egypt's right to 55.5 billion cubic square meters of water annually and did not allow Egypt its traditional veto of upstream projects such as the GERD

Egypt has set three conditions before signing the Nile Basin Framework Agreement: water security, being informed in advance of any planned projects on the river banks and making the completion of such projects conditional on Egyptian and Sudanese approval. The construction of the dam is a security concern.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 3

Nile is Egyptian's National security. (June 12, 2013).

The spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign affairs addressed that Nile is an issue of National Security. According to the spokesperson, as we underlined in our Foreign policy Egypt will support the development activities of any nation unless it affects the benefits and rights of Egyptian. Nile is highly associated with the survival of the Egyptian. Anything that affects the Nile is a treat of the Egypt's National security. On such undesired but obliged situation the Egyptian government and people never hesitate to take any actions to defend Egyptian national security.

The possibility of Egypt's High Dam to generate electricity may be negatively affected by the GERD and the Nile water would decrease and unable the power it generates currently. If Ethiopia will continue its' unjustified mega project on the Nile, Egyptian water security would be affected.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 4

President Moursi declares that maximise the utilisation of its current water resources is now a matter of life or death for Egypt. (June 18, 2013)

The Egyptian President confirmed to the Egyptian political parties the determination of the Egyptian government to protect the Egyptian Nile water quota from any danger or treats. On his speech he said, "Egypt's water security cannot be violated at all.....As president of the state, I confirm to you that all options are open... The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative. Egyptians would not tolerate any encroachment on their historic quota of Nile water.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 5

The Irrigation Ministry of Egypt addressed the Nile water deficit of Egypt (December 12, 2013)

Irrigation Ministry of Egypt addressed to the Egyptian tripartite meeting of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia “Egypt is already suffering from a water deficit of 20 billion cubic metres a year, which means it cannot accept any other possible fall & harm in its water quota.

Historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile. The other Nile Basin countries did not have any need for the water; they receive enough rainfall every year to cover agricultural needs.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 6

Egypt: Ethiopia and Egypt Agreed to enhance their cooperation (March 23, 2015).

Egypt and Ethiopia signed an agreement to enhance their cooperation. According to the President El-Sis “Ethiopia and Egypt agreed to elevate the existing all round cooperation to the highest level ... Pertaining to the signed Declaration, President El-Sisi noted that such agreement would lay the foundations of a strong trust and confidence for future cooperation over the waters of the Nile”

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 1

Ethiopia will continue using Abay River for the benefit of her people and the coming generation (July 7, 2011)

The spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign affairs explained that Ethiopia will continue to use Abay/ Nile River for the benefit of her people fairly and reasonably complying with universal laws. Ethiopia won't ask anyone's consent to utilize her own natural resource. Beside to this, the Renaissance dam project is undertaken to fight the poverty of the nation. This dam is constructed for Ethiopians and by Ethiopians and is crucial for the survival of the nation.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 2

The Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia, Alemayehu Tegen eases the lower riparian states. (September 4, 2011)

According to the Minister, "Ethiopia strongly believes on the equitable utilization of the waters of the Nile. Nile would be a means of cooperation, solidarity and development for the region. Ethiopia's determination to tap its water and hydropower potentials should not be source of anxiety for riparian and its neighbouring nations rather it would encourage more cooperation, rational and efficient water utilization.

Ethiopia chose to the win-win alternative with no significant harm to the other riparian states. Hence, series of consultations, information exchange and joint discussions with riparian countries to work out the best implementation modalities that would ensure win-win outcomes, in which no one would be significantly affected

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 3

The International Panel of Experts proved the GERD would not cause significant harm on the lower basin countries. (December 18, 2013).

The Ministry of Water and Energy on the findings of IPoE said that: The report showed the Dam offers high benefit for all the three countries and would not cause significant harm on lower riparian countries.

Moreover, everyone can see rationally that we can't have starving people in Ethiopia, unable to make use of the water when someone downstream uses the same water to irrigate desert. It isn't the reality of the 21st century to depend on the rainfall which might come or not.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 4

Prime Minister Haile Mariam Descaling assured his foreign policy over GERD (August 11, 2013).

Prime Minister HaileMariam Dessalegn said that the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam is a major undertaking of the people and government of Ethiopia **to lift the country out of poverty and no one has the power to halt the construction project**. Egypt won't go to war over the Nile issues unless its leaders go mad. I hope the Egyptian politicians to prioritize cooperation and negotiations to benefit the two friendly people.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 5

Ethiopia was considerate of the concerns of the two lower basin countries regarding the water utilization (June18, 2013).

It was reported on the issues discussed between the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Ministers in Addis Ababa. The ministers agreed to take into account the developmental interests of Ethiopia as well as the water security concerns of downstream countries...the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia reiterated Ethiopia's previous position, which is committed to a win-win approach as the basis for future cooperation.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 6

Ethiopia and Egypt Signed Declaration of Principles on the GERDP (March 23, 2015)

Ethiopia and Egypt signed an agreement called Declaration of Principles on Grand Ethiopia Renascence Dam Project. During the signing of the agreement the Ethiopian Prime Minister's said, "the agreement will open a door to mutual trust and cooperation. It will perhaps bring Egypt and the Sudan to join the signing of the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA)."

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Annex

Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Affairs Offices Press Releases

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 1

The Egyptian Foreign Affairs Office spokesperson declares the Egyptian government stand towards GERD. (May 5, 2011)

The construction of a dam that directly affects **the right of Egypt over the Nile river** isn't something that Egypt takes modestly because it is a treat of **the people's lives and security**. Egypt never and ever let to **negotiation its historic rights**. It is important avoiding a conflict over the Nile water that could have had drastic effects on both countries. Nile isn't simply to us; it is a way to maintain the **National Security** of the nation too.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 2

Egypt sees any attempt by upper basin countries to use the Nile water without its consent as violating its water security (May 23, 2013).

Egypt didn't sign the CFA as the agreement doesn't guarantee Egypt's right to 55.5 billion cubic square meters of water annually and did not allow Egypt its traditional veto of upstream projects such as the GERD

Egypt has set three conditions before signing the Nile Basin Framework Agreement: water security, being informed in advance of any planned projects on the river banks and making the completion of such projects conditional on Egyptian and Sudanese approval. The construction of the dam is a security concern.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 3

Nile is Egyptian's National security. (June 12, 2013).

The spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign affairs addressed that Nile is an issue of National Security. According to the spokesperson, as we underlined in our Foreign policy Egypt will support the development activities of any nation unless it affects the benefits and rights of Egyptian. Nile is highly associated with the survival of the Egyptian. Anything that affects the Nile is a treat of the Egypt's National security. On such undesired but obliged situation the Egyptian government and people never hesitate to take any actions to defend Egyptian national security.

The possibility of Egypt's High Dam to generate electricity may be negatively affected by the GERD and the Nile water would decrease and unable the power it generates currently. If Ethiopia will continue its' unjustified mega project on the Nile, Egyptian water security would be affected.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 4

President Moursi declares that maximise the utilisation of its current water resources is now a matter of life or death for Egypt. (June 18, 2013)

The Egyptian President confirmed to the Egyptian political parties the determination of the Egyptian government to protect the Egyptian Nile water quota from any danger or treats. On his speech he said, "Egypt's water security cannot be violated at all.....As president of the state, I confirm to you that all options are open... The lives of the Egyptians are connected around [Nile]... as one great people. If it diminishes by one drop, then our blood is the alternative. Egyptians would not tolerate any encroachment on their historic quota of Nile water.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 5

The Irrigation Ministry of Egypt addressed the Nile water deficit of Egypt (December 12, 2013)

Irrigation Ministry of Egypt addressed to the Egyptian tripartite meeting of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia “Egypt is already suffering from a water deficit of 20 billion cubic metres a year, which means it cannot accept any other possible fall & harm in its water quota.

Historically, only Egypt and Sudan have shares in the Nile. The other Nile Basin countries did not have any need for the water; they receive enough rainfall every year to cover agricultural needs.

Egypt Foreign Affairs Press Release 6

Egypt: Ethiopia and Egypt Agreed to enhance their cooperation (March 23, 2015).

Egypt and Ethiopia signed an agreement to enhance their cooperation. According to the President El-Sis “Ethiopia and Egypt agreed to elevate the existing all round cooperation to the highest level ... Pertaining to the signed Declaration, President El-Sisi noted that such agreement would lay the foundations of a strong trust and confidence for future cooperation over the waters of the Nile”

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 1

Ethiopia will continue using Abay River for the benefit of her people and the coming generation (July 7, 2011)

The spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign affairs explained that Ethiopia will continue to use Abay/ Nile River for the benefit of her people fairly and reasonably complying with universal laws. Ethiopia won't ask anyone's consent to utilize her own natural resource. Beside to this, the Renaissance dam project is undertaken to fight the poverty of the nation. This dam is constructed for Ethiopians and by Ethiopians and is crucial for the survival of the nation.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 2

The Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia, Alemayehu Tegenu eases the lower riparian states. (September 4, 2011)

According to the Minister, "Ethiopia strongly believes on the equitable utilization of the waters of the Nile. Nile would be a means of cooperation, solidarity and development for the region. Ethiopia's determination to tap its water and hydropower potentials should not be source of anxiety for riparian and its neighbouring nations rather it would encourage more cooperation, rational and efficient water utilization.

Ethiopia chose to the win-win alternative with no significant harm to the other riparian states. Hence, series of consultations, information exchange and joint discussions with riparian countries to work out the best implementation modalities that would ensure win-win outcomes, in which no one would be significantly affected

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 3

The International Panel of Experts proved the GERD would not cause significant harm on the lower basin countries. (December 18, 2013).

The Ministry of Water and Energy on the findings of IPoE said that: The report showed the Dam offers high benefit for all the three countries and would not cause significant harm on lower riparian countries.

Moreover, everyone can see rationally that we can't have starving people in Ethiopia, unable to make use of the water when someone downstream uses the same water to irrigate desert. It isn't the reality of the 21st century to depend on the rainfall which might come or not.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 4

Prime Minister Haile Mariam Descaling assured his foreign policy over GERD (August 11, 2013).

Prime Minister HaileMariam Dessalegn said that the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam is a major undertaking of the people and government of Ethiopia **to lift the country out of poverty and no one has the power to halt the construction project.** Egypt won't go to war over the Nile issues unless its leaders go mad. I hope the Egyptian politicians to prioritize cooperation and negotiations to benefit the two friendly people.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 5

Ethiopia was considerate of the concerns of the two lower basin countries regarding the water utilization (June18, 2013).

It was reported on the issues discussed between the Ethiopian and Egyptian Foreign Ministers in Addis Ababa. The ministers agreed to take into account the developmental interests of Ethiopia as well as the water security concerns of downstream countries...the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia reiterated Ethiopia's previous position, which is committed to a win-win approach as the basis for future cooperation.

Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office Press release 6

Ethiopia and Egypt Signed Declaration of Principles on the GERDP (March 23, 2015)

Ethiopia and Egypt signed an agreement called Declaration of Principles on Grand Ethiopia Renascence Dam Project. During the signing of the agreement the Ethiopian Prime Minister's said, "the agreement will open a door to mutual trust and cooperation. It will perhaps bring Egypt and the Sudan to join the signing of the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA)."