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AFRICAN NATIONS' RESPONSE TO THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE: UNVEILING THE DIVERSITY OF AFRICAN NATIONS' PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONFLICT

MASTER'S THESIS

Tutor: Lukas Ivanauskas

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ENTRY

Summary: This study analyzes the diverse responses of African nations to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine with a focus on how these responses are discursively constructed and how the positions of African states reveal about Africa's geopolitical landscape on the global order. Previous studies usually attribute African nations' reactions to global issues to material interests or geographical alignments however, this thesis seeks to analyze these reactions from a constructivist angle, emphasizing how African states make use of discourse and how it constructs their identities with particular reference to the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, ES-11/1 to ES-11/5.

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Table of Contents

Table 1: African Voting in the 5 UNGA resolutions related to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

INTRODUCTION

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which has to date caused the displacement of millions of people. It claimed lives and it is still a shock throughout the international community. Despite their geographical distance, African countries displayed a wide range of responses to the conflict. African countries such as Botswana, Cabo Verde, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Benin, DRC, condemned the invasion. In contrast, others, including South Africa, Algeria, Morrocco who emphasized their ideological reasons rooted in non-alignment [1]. Africa's perspective on the war has raised questions as their reactions and positions has been nuanced and complex but is important to understand [2], as these varied responses highlight the complexity of African foreign policy, shaped by a combination of historical alliances, and ideational commitments.

African nations previous ties with the Soviet Union, especially during the Cold war provides a historical framework for understanding its current diplomacy. During this period, the USSR and its allies supported the independence movements and the struggle to end apartheid [3], such countries include South Africa and several other Southern African states. While some African states have close military and ideological ties with Russia also dating back to the Cold War, countries including Angola, Algeria, CAR. [4]. However, as globalization and the growth of new economic powers like China broadened the continent's alliances, Africa's international engagements changed after the Cold War ended. Nonetheless, as evidenced by their cautious reactions to the Ukraine war, several African states continue to base their decisions on commitments from the Cold war.

African states foreign policies are also greatly influenced by its economic reliance. Despite being geographically far from Africa, many African nations rely on agricultural products from Russia and Ukraine to meet their consumption demands, and basically the food supply in Africa has been

[1] Siegle, Joseph. n.d. "Strategic Implications for Africa from Russia's Invasion in Ukraine." *Africa Center for Strategic Studies* (blog) https://africacenter.org/spotlight/strategic-implications-for-africa-from-russias-invasion-in-ukraine/.

[2] Ryder, Hannah, and Etsehiwot Kebret. n.d. "*Why African Countries Had Different Views on the UNGA Ukraine Resolution, and Why This Matters.*" https://www.csis.org/analysis/why-african-countries-had-different-views-unga-ukraine-resolution-and-why-matters.

[3] Lopes, Carlos. 2022. "The Untamed Impact of a Faraway Shock: Africa and the War in Ukraine." *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 44 (1). 14.

[4] Tawat, Mahama. "Russia-Ukraine War: *Decoding How African Countries Voted at the UN.*" The Conversation, March 8, 2022. http://theconversation.com/russia-ukraine-war-decoding-how-african-countries-voted-at-the-un-178663.

in jeopardize because of the invasion by Russia of Ukraine [5]. Egypt, for instance, is one of the largest importers of Ukrainian wheat, and the war has negatively impacted their economy and reduced supply for its country [6], as expressed by the Egyptian representative Mr. Mahmoud, at the UN General Assembly meeting. These dependencies often limit African states diplomatic freedom, forcing them to balance moral imperatives with practical reasons. While some African nations took a more cautious stance motivated by the goal of protecting their economic interests, others prioritized international principles and sided with Western democracies.

While historical ties and economic factors are undoubtedly significant, they fail to account for the ideational dimensions that shape African states' responses. One major limitation is the tendency to view African nations' responses through the lens of economic vulnerability. Studies frequently highlight Africa's dependence on Russian and Ukrainian grain exports, or the impact of global energy prices, and the pursuit of strategic interests. Although these factors influence policy decisions, they do not fully explain the diversity of African responses, nor do they capture their identities being constructed through these responses. For instance, South Africa's abstention from the UN votes cannot be solely attributed to economic considerations but must be understood within the broader discourse of non-alignment just as five other countries, including Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, all under the Nation Liberation Movement; default positions were all non-alignment [7]. This overemphasis on material realities reflects a broader trend in international relations scholarship, which often prioritizes tangible variables over the constructed realities articulated through discourse [8].

Diversity in African nations' responses to global crisis highlights the role of discourse in constructing identities. While Western-aligned democracies align with territorial integrity and sovereignty, nations like Eritrea frame their own position through the discourse of Resistance to Western Dominance. Similarly, the African Union's statements on the Russia-Ukraine war which emphasized the importance of sovereignty, and peaceful resolutions, aligning with the continent's

[5] Thusi, Xolani, and Victor H. Mlambo. 2023. "THE GRASS SUFFERS WHEN ELEPHANTS FIGHT: LESSONS FOR AFRICA FROM THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT." *Humanities and Social Sciences Quarterly* 30 (2): 135–146; 139.

[6] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14 , 13.

[7] Adeoye, Aanu. 2022. "UN Vote on Russia Invasion Shows a Changing Africa | Chatham House – International Affairs Think Tank." March 7, 2022. https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/03/un-vote-russia-invasion-shows-changing-africa.

[8] Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.

advocacy for these values [9].These contrasting positions reflect how African governments create their identities by reflecting their responses in ways that appeal to both local and regional audiences, in addition to aligning or opposing.

Despite the richness of these discursive constructions, most existing literature surrounding African nations' response and position of the Russia-Ukraine war ignores the ideational aspects of African foreign policy and focuses mainly on the tangible considerations like geopolitical interests and economic dependency. This disparity emphasizes the necessity of a discourse driven analyses that look at how African countries use language and narratives to express and create their own identities. This study fills a vacuum in the literature by focusing on the discursive framework that are prevalent in African nations' response to the Russia-Ukraine war with the main object of this work being African nations.

This research is guided by the central question: **How discursively constructed identities shape African nations' responses to the Russia invasion of Ukraine, and what do these contrasting positions reveal about Africa's geopolitical landscape in the global order?**

The aim of this study is to analyze the discourses through which African nations' construct their identities in response to the Russia invasion of Ukraine and how it reveals Africa's geopolitical landscape on the global order. By focusing on these discourses prevalent among African nations, in this thesis, with a major focus on the UN General Assembly resolutions surrounding the Russia-Ukraine war, this work provides a framework for understanding the diversity of responses among African nations.

To effectively address the research question, the following objectives will be pursued:

1. To conduct a detailed analysis of African nations' statements and the voting pattern at 5 UN General Assembly meeting resolutions on the Russia-Ukraine, to uncover discourses that construct and articulate their identities.
2. To interpret how the identified discourses reflect Africa's evolving geopolitical identity in the global order.

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[9] African Union. "Statement from Chair of the African Union, H.E President Macky Sall and Chairperson of the AU Commission H.E Moussa Faki Mahamat, on the Situation in Ukraine | African Union." https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20220224/african-union-statement-situation-ukraine.

This research utilizes qualitative discourse analysis to examine the diverse responses of African countries to the Russia invasion of Ukraine. Discourse analysis will facilitate a deeper understanding of the language and narratives embedded in African nations' statements revealing how perceived historical, ideological, and geopolitical factors shape these responses and thematic analysis to identity the themes in the discourse. This work relies on primary and secondary data such as UN reports under the resolutions, scholarly publications, media reports, and historical analyses, that contextualize African countries' responses to the war.

The relevance of this study lies in its contribution to the larger literature on African foreign policy. It addresses the prevalent narrative that African states' governments responses to global crises are for the most part driven by economic interests but instead pointing out the significance of historical legacies and ideational commitments, and making use of a constructivist framework to contextualize African governments' responses in the context of identities, thereby emphasizing the continent's agency in creating foreign policy.

The scope of this research is focused on African nations' responses to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, with particular attention to African nations statements and voting's at the UN General Assembly resolutions centered on the Russian-Ukraine war. The study surrounds diverse set of African countries to understand differences in political regimes, economic conditions, and ideological commitments. This defined scope ensures a focused and relevant analysis of African countries' foreign policy and its implications for global governance

In conclusion, the findings of this thesis will contribute to the knowledge of Africa's changing place in the global system and its geopolitical identity. The following chapters will expand and explore the factors influencing Africa's foreign policy and its implications in the global order.

Chapter 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter primarily lays out the concepts and theoretical framework well suited for this work and focuses majorly on answering the research questions. Constructivist theory creates a strong and important foundation for this thesis and will be expanded upon in this chapter.

1.1 The Role of Discourse in Constructing Identities

Discourse is central to the process of identity as it forms the medium through which meanings are created and negotiated. In his analysis on discourse, Michel Foucault made a fruitful analysis, stating that discourse does not just represent reality but forms and produces it [10]. It is upon this assertion that the argument of this paper rests that national and political identities are not essentialist but are instead constructed constantly through discourses. Thus, discourse can be a tool for constructing socially recognizable identities, with language functioning as a marker of shared norms and values [11]. Therefore, identity is not a fixed essence but rather a performative and constructed reality that depends on political, cultural, and historical narratives. Hence, the state's identity can reflect in the state's choices, decisions and actions, and states make use of their identity while making creating alliances, or making decisions that might affect national interests, and interactions between each other and among other actors. It is of particular importance for this study to show how discourse shapes identity because it explains how African countries express their stances and alliances in reactions to global events or war and in this case, the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Discourse in the context of international relations means how the states understand the processes occurring in the world and how they represent themselves. The theoretical relationship between discourse and identity has mostly been explored by social constructivist theorists. As Onuf noted, social relations make or construct us into the kind of beings that we are, and conversely, we make

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[10] Foucault, Michel. 1972. "*The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. 1971." Trans. AM Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon., 216-217.
[11] Gee, James. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method, 20-21.*

the world what it is, from the raw materials provided [12]. In his 1989 book *'World of our making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International relations'* is frequently credited with coining the term 'constructivism'. Constructivism brought about a significant shift in the study of international relations by making people realize that international relations are in fact 'socially constructed' [13].

However, the most well-known figure to have contributed to the idea's evolution within the international relations framework is Alexandra Wendt, where his classic work: '*Anarchy is what States make of it: The Social construction of power politics*, serves as a masterpiece. This theoretical stance, as posited by Wendt, holds that the world of nations is constituted by a social structure, not by material structure, and that such structure compels state action instead of ontology. In its simplest form, it applies the ideas that identities and interests are social constructions, constructed through relations, norms, and discourses [14]. Identities are developed by the actors with expectations of themselves through engagement in shared or collective meanings [15]. This view in the context of this thesis, accords with the postcolonial assumption that an African nation's stance on the Russain-Ukraine war is not a functionalist discourse of global political events but a discursive production of the nations' geopolitical subjectivity. It is imperative to note that his perspective counters the dominant international relations theories of liberalism and realism, which prioritize material possessions and power politics to reflect a state's behavior, constructivism argues that these paradigms overlook the role of ideational factors in shaping global norms and state identities.

In addition, discourses are useful in shaping global events to fit a nation and regional agenda and interests. According to Entman, the notion of framing pose that discourse selects out some aspects and highlights certain aspects of reality while omitting others, thereby influencing how audience perceive events [16]. For example, African nations' sovereignty and multilateralism discourse in

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[12] Nicholas Onuf,1998. "Constructing Constructivism." In *International Relations in a Constructed World*. Routledge. 59.
[13] Nicholas Onuf,1998. "Constructing Constructivism." In *International Relations in a Constructed World*. Routledge. 59.
[14] Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425.
[15] Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425., 397
[16] Entman, Robert. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *The Journal of Communication* 43 (December):51–58.

reacting to the war, they are using discursive activities that make that frame them as international law defenders and non-interventionists, and therefore through these discursive acts they construct and project particular international identities.

Identities are also necessary in international politics and domestic society alike, in order to ensure at least some minimal level of predictability and order [17], as argued by Ted Hopf, who insists that a world without identities would be one of chaos and peril, and this argument by Hopf reflects that identity is in the center of each state's existence and state's understand others according to the identity it attributes to or share with others.

To conclude, identity shows the perception of how a state and other actors in the international scene are perceived globally and this perception accounts for their existence and being. Through interaction and communication, states mold their identities to fit the changing social environment, making them dynamic and flexible throughout.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW
2. African Diplomacy and Identity Construction

Foreign policy and diplomatic practice in African nations have been influenced by historical commitments, principles of sovereignty and non-alignment. However, construction of these experiences is highly discursive, and this allows the states to both articulate and reconstruct their identities in relation to happenings on the global level. Previous and current literatures on African diplomacy underscores the continent's unique approach to international relations, emphasizing identities such as collective identity, regional solidarity, sovereignty. Africa's international relations have not necessarily always been on their own terms, but it has often been defined and oriented by the dominant international and geopolitical agendas of the day [18]. African diplomacy has mostly been shaped by historical experiences such as colonization, the struggles for independence and emphasis on sovereignty.

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[17] Hopf, Ted. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 171–200.
[18] Murithi, T. (Ed.). (2013). Handbook of Africa's International Relations (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203803929, 1

Constructivist theorists, like Wendt, have argued that states' identities are not fixed but are shaped through social interactions [19], therefore, identity construction can be regarded as a dynamic process, where states shape their identities to fit the situation at hand, and often through discourse. Discourse itself can be understood as the use of language to constructing socially recognizable identities [20], and in the context of this work, through the diplomatic statements, votes, speeches, African states are able to construct their identities in the global arena.

The African continent's anti-colonial struggle and post-independence attempts to secure sovereignty are fundamental to the history of African diplomacy. Foundational values such as Pan-Africanism and non-alignment have continued to shape African foreign policy. Pan-Africanism which is the expression of spirit of solidarity and co-operation among African countries and societies [21]. The Non-aligned movement, one of the principles of African's foreign policy is a discursive construction. Originally defined after the Bandung Conference of 1955, which many African countries joined after the Cold War; non-alignment has been presented as a posture that offers protection and resistance to global powers during the Cold war, and a stance where states refused to side with either party [22], which strengthened the continent's collective identity, which was based on independence and resistance to dominance.

This historical legacy is still very much alive and being used by African states. The concept of sovereignty is much often used by African nations in response to pressure from external actors or international interference. According to the AU's Constitutive act, 'members of the union shall not interfere in the internal affairs of another member state and respect borders existing on achievement of independence'[23]. And in addition to acting as a guiding principle, these normative commitments also act as distinctive feature that set African diplomacy apart in the global arena. For instance, Algeria, during one of the UN resolutions on Russian invasion of Ukraine (ES-11/4 resolution) abstained based on the principles of non-alignment.

Sovereignty which is one of the recurring themes in the literature on African diplomatic discourse, Makinda and Okumu offer a deep dive into this theme in the book: *'The African Union: Challenges*

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[19] Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425
[20] Gee, James. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. 21
[21] Murithi, T. (Ed.). (2013). Handbook of Africa's International Relations (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203803929, 1
[22] Murithi, T. (Ed.). (2013). Handbook of Africa's International Relations (1st ed.). Routledge., 397
[23] "Constitutive Act | African Union." n.d. https://au.int/en/constitutive-act. G

of globalization, security and governance'. After colonialism in Africa, some of the ideas like territorial integrity and state sovereignty remained in Africa in constructing the modern states [24]. They contend that sovereignty has consistently been emphasized by African leaders as an essential principle of regional cooperation [25], and this emphasis on sovereignty, thus, is an understanding not only of the colonial legacy but also discursively a means by which African states seek to present itself as the protector of international law.

Another theme is the use of multilateralism to form a collective identity among African states. African states engaging with the United Nations, African Union, regional bodies such as ECOWAS. African nations' use these organizations as a platform to push for collective solutions. For instance, using the AU as a platform brought about the African peace mission to Russia and Ukraine headed by a delegation of seven African nations and a 10-point peace proposal on the 16th and 17th of June 2023 [26]. This peace mission was intended to show that African states are interested and important stakeholders in maintaining the international rules-based order, and the centrality of the UN Charter.

Despite the growing interest in the African foreign policy, very few studies have analyzed how African states use discourse to construct their identity in response to global crisis, as most of the studies have been centered on material factors such as economic dependencies. This gap is also evident in the context of the Russian Ukraine war, as scholars who have analyzed the voting behaviors of African states during the United Nations General Assembly resolution have focused on the material and geopolitical factors, hence this thesis seeks to address this gap by analyzing African states responses not only from national or strategic interests but as discursive acts that shape their international identity.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain the methodological approach used in this research for analysis. This research design uses qualitative research method. Qualitative research is understood as a method that will help to identify and uncover the deeper, in-depth meaning, and in the case of this research,

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[24] Makinda, S.M., & Okumu, F.W. (2007). The African Union: Challenges of globalization, security, and governance, 15.
[25] Makinda, S.M., & Okumu, F.W. (2007). The African Union: Challenges of globalization, security, and governance, 35-36.
[26] Bhattacharya, Samir. "Evaluating the African Peace Mission to Ukraine and Russia: What Did It Achieve?," July 10, 2023. https://www.vifindia.org/article/2023/july/10/evaluating-the-african-peace-mission-to-ukraine-and-russia-what-did-it-achieve.

it would help to understand the responses of African states and identify themes prevalent amongst the nations.

The following sections will go into detail to account for how the data selection process was carried out. For the purposes of data analysis, thematic analysis has been chosen as it is a method that includes the selection of keywords and quotations, coding, theming, interpretation, and the development of a conceptual method which fits this work [27]. It allows the researcher to search for themes to capture the narratives with the available data which is best suited for this research.

3.1 Data Collection Methodology

The research employed qualitative research approach which allows to gather information of relevance to African nations' responses to the Russia-Ukraine war. For the purposes of this research, primary sources were utilized for this research. The primary data used in this work were gathered from the UN General Assembly resolutions meetings which would provide insights into the official positions of African states during the resolutions covering the Russia-Ukraine war, that is, ES-11/1, ES-11/2, ES-11/3, ES-11/4 and ES-11/5, together with African nations' representatives statements at these resolutions, all which would be further discussed in the following sub chapters. As part of the thematic analysis process, which involves data familiarization, and coding of the data, the data were coded using ATLAS.ti software and generating key themes.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 African nations' voting in the UN General Assembly

Following the outbreak of the war on the 24th of February 2022, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) met regarding the issue, however, Russia used its veto power to block it. This veto prompted the US and 94 countries to call an emergency meeting of the UN General Assembly

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[27] Naeem, M., Ozuem, W., Howell, K., & Ranfagni, S. (2023). A Step-by-Step Process of Thematic Analysis to Develop a Conceptual Model in Qualitative Research. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 22.

on 27th February 2022 [28]. This assembly which consists of 193 member states, including African nations, all with equal and fair representation allows a stage to allow countries to make their decisions accordingly.

In line with a description of the voting behavior by African members in the UN General Assembly, the African caucus confined itself strictly to African issues, but more recently tried to co-ordinate members' positions on other issues as well to rally for collective support [29]. The argument here is that African nations have repeatedly voted on issues that they believe are significant at a given moment, considering the interests of all African nations' members, keeping in mind their shared identities and beliefs.

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) has had five important votes, which could show how African states collective means of engagement in these votes, reflects their identities; and the positions taken by different countries, in the UN voting process can reflect their own interests, historical ties, and geopolitical considerations.[30] The following sections will go into more depth details about the UN resolutions.

Table 1: African voting in the 5 UNGA resolutions related to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

UN RESOLUTIONS	VOTED IN SUPPORT	ABSTAINED	VOTED AGAINST	NOT PRESENT
ES-11/1 (02-03-2022) [31]	Benin, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Chad, Comoros, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC,	Algeria, Angola, Burundi, CAR, Republic of	Eritrea.	Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Guinea,

[28] Tawat, Mahama. "*Russia-Ukraine War: Decoding How African Countries Voted at the UN.*" The Conversation, March 8, 2022. http://theconversation.com/russia-ukraine-war-decoding-how-african-countries-voted-at-the-un-178663.

[29] Meyers, Benjamin D. "African Voting in the United Nations General Assembly." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1966): 213–27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/158945.

[30] Botchway, Cynthia. *Global Leadership Dynamics in the Wake of Russia Ukraine Conflict*: African Perspective, 2023. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.34537.26727.

[31] "*Aggression against Ukraine :: Resolution /*: Adopted by the General Assembly," March 2, 2022. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3959039.

	Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tunisia, Zambia.	Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Senegal, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe.		Guinea-Bissau, Morocco, Togo.
ES-11/2 (24-03-2022) [32]	Benin, Cabo Verde, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Tunisia, Zambia.	Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burundi, CAR, Equatorial Guinea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Republic of Congo, South Africa, Sudan, Togo, Tanzania,	Eritrea.	Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Comoros, Guinea, Morocco, Somalia.

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[32] "Ukraine: *General Assembly Passes Resolution Demanding Aid Access, by Large Majority* | UN News," March 24, 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/03/1114632.

		Uganda, Zimbabwe.		
ES-11/3 (07-04-2022) [33]	Chad, Comoros, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mauritius, Seychelles, Sierra Leone.	Angola, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Egypt, Eswatini, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda.	Algeria, Burundi, CAR, Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Mali, Zimbabwe.	Benin, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Mauritania, Morocco, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Somalia, Zambia.
ES-11/4 (12-10-2022) [34]	Angola, Benin, Chad, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Comoros, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana,	Algeria, Burundi, CAR, Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Guinea,		Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe.

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[33] "*General Assembly Adopts Text to Suspend Russian Federation from Human Rights Council*, Continuing Emergency Special Session on Humanitarian Crisis in Ukraine | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases." . https://press.un.org/en/2022/ga12414.doc.htm.

[34] "*Territorial Integrity of Ukraine : Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations* :: Resolution /: Adopted by the General Assembly," October 12, 2022. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3990400.

	Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tunisia, Zambia.	Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zimbabwe.		
ES-11/5 (14-11-2022) [35]	Benin, Cabo Verde, Chad, Comoros, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Seychelles, Somalia, Togo, Zambia.	Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eswatini, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Mauritania, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South	CAR, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mali, Zimbabwe.	Burkina Faso, Cameroon, DRC, Morocco, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Tanzania.

[35] "*Furtherance of Remedy and Reparation for Aggression against Ukraine :: Resolution /*: Adopted by the General Assembly," November 14, 2022. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3994052.

		Africa, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda.		

4.1.1 UNGA votes on the condemnation of the Invasion on the 2nd of March 2022 (ES-11/1).

In an effort to uphold Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and demand that Russia stop its military actions, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution 'ES-11/1'entitled aggression against Ukraine. Since it was the first official reaction to the invasion by the international community, it served as a benchmark for nations' adherence to the UN charter and territorial sovereignty. Globally, most nations were against the invasion, however, the division across African countries revealed different factors.

The total votes for African UN member states (consists of 54 African countries) in this resolution were divided into 28 voting in support, 17 abstained, 1 voted against, and 8 were absent (as seen in table 1).

4.1.2 UNGA resolution - "Humanitarian consequences of the Aggression of Ukraine" (ES-11/2), 24th March 2022.

The UN resolution 'ES-11/2' entitled 'Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine' was adopted on the 24th of March 2022 as the second round of votes to tackle Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This resolution condemned Russia's humanitarian violations in Ukraine and the resolution allowed for states to express its concerns for the humanitarian principles and the protection of civilians. According to Ukrainian Ambassador, the main purpose of the draft resolution was to *'address the urgent need to alleviate the humanitarian suffering on the ground. It demands an immediate cessation of hostilities by the Russian Federation, in particular any attacks against civilians... and respect for international humanitarian law, human rights law and*

refugee law' [36].African nations responses were also divided in their votes in this resolution, with 27 countries voting in support, 20 countries abstaining, 1 country voted against and 6 countries absent.

4.1.3 UN resolution on the Suspension of Russia from the Human Rights Council on the 7th of April 2022 (ES-11/3)

On the 7th of April 2022, the UN adopted the resolution to suspend the rights of membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights council. According to the United Nations Human Rights documents, which was set out to ensure that human rights are universally protected, it also states that the General Assembly by a two-thirds majority being present and voting, may suspend the rights of membership of a member of the council that goes against the violations of human rights [37]. The representative speaking on behalf of Ukraine urged countries to support the resolution in his statement,

"We are in a unique situation now, when, on the territory of a sovereign State, a member of the Human Rights Council commits horrific human rights violations and abuses that are tantamount to war crimes and crimes against humanity... Bucha and dozens of other Ukrainian cities and villages, where thousands of peaceful residents have been killed, tortured, raped, abducted and robbed by the Russian army, serve as an example of how dramatically far the Russian Federation has gone from its initial declarations in the human rights domain. " [38]

Among African countries votes, there was a high level of abstention in this resolution, 24 countries abstained, 11 were not present, 9 voted against, and only 10 supported the resolution.

4.1.4 UN resolution on Russia's attempts to illegally annex Ukraine's territory on the 12th of October 2022 (ES-11/4).

The United Nations on the 12th of October 2022, voted on the ES-11/4 resolution in response to Russia's attempt to illegally and forcibly annex more of Ukraine's territory that is, Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhya. This resolution declared Ukraine's territorial integrity and reaffirmation of the UN principles on state sovereignty, and the voting pattern during the resolution

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[36] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 7th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 23 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.7

[37] United Nations. "*General Assembly, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 15 March 2006*, 60/251. Human Rights Council"https://docs.un.org/en/A/RES/60/251., 3

[38] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 10th Plenary Meeting* Thursday, 7 April 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.10., 2

revealed how countries hold the UN Charter despite having differences and the UN Charter reflected the shared and existing identity in the international system, as according to the UN Charter, article 2 section 4, all members countries should refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity of any state [39]. Among African nations' voting, there was an increase in the support for the resolution, with 30 African countries voting in favor, however, there was still quite a few African countries that abstained as 18 in total abstained, and 7 African countries were not present.

4.1.5 UN resolution on Russian Reparations for Ukraine on the 14th of November 2022 (ES-11/5)

The UN General Assembly adopted the ES-11/5 resolution for Russia to provide reparations and compensation for damage caused by the war to Ukraine and with nearly 50 nations co-sponsoring the resolution to establish an international mechanism for compensation for damage, loss and injury, it insisted by the Ukrainian Ambassador Sergiy Kyslytsya that Russia be held accountable for their violations of international law [40]. This resolution witnessed a very high level of abstention from African countries, very few supporting the resolution, and African countries too fell into the category of countries that also voted against the resolution, with only 16 countries supporting the resolution, 25 abstaining, 5 voted against and 7 absent countries.

4.2 Thematic Analysis

4.2.1 Themes Supporting Ukraine

These themes come from African nations who demonstrated support for the UN resolutions as seen in Table 1 (ES-11/1, ES-11/2, ES-11/4). Prevalent themes that influenced African countries responses include sovereignty, territorial integrity and a rule based international order.

- **Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity**

Several African nations voted in favor of ES-11/1, ES-11/2 and ES-11/4 reflecting the discourse of Sovereignty and Territorial integrity, as they believed that the sovereign state of a nation should

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[39] United Nations. n.d. "Chapter I: Purposes and Principles (Articles 1-2)." United Nations. United Nations. https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-1.
[40] United Nations. 2022. "General Assembly Adopts Resolution on Russian Reparations for Ukraine | UN News." November 14, 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130587.

be respected. This theme is based on the post-colonial historical experience of many African nations' where sovereignty is a deeply ingrained symbol of independence, self-determination and national identity rather than just a legal ideal.

ES-11/1 resolution which was mainly about the condemnation of Russia's actions and the demand for Russia to withdraw from Ukraine, African countries which voted in favor of the resolution and also gave explanations for the votes reflected their stances in their speeches, as Kenya's representative Mr. Kimani, stated in the ES-11/1 resolution;

"As a member of the Security Council, I am very sorry that we were unable to fulfil our responsibility to maintain international peace and security in the case of the conflict in Ukraine. In the meantime, we must make our stand clear here in the General Assembly. According to Kenya, that stand is to affirm the sovereign equality of Ukraine and to recognize Ukraine's right to ensure that its political independence and territorial integrity are not forcibly violated by the Russian Federation. We have spoken repeatedly about how important it is that we stand united in defense of the Charter of the United Nations" [41].

This stance by Kenya's representative stresses on the sovereignty as a foundation of its foreign policy approach. Kenya not only denounces Russia's action but also emphasizes on the adherence to the UN Charter even after expressing his disappointment as a member of the Security Council who were not able to fulfil their responsibilities. However, sovereignty and territorial integrity remains a high priority for African countries given their post-colonial experiences hence the reflection of this identity in the statement.

Another similar response in Ghana's representative, Mr. Agyeman,

"We therefore call on Ukraine, the Russian Federation and all other parties to give the dialogue.... without compromising Ukraine's inalienable rights as a sovereign and independent nation. Ghana is fully unwaveringly committed to preserving the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine" [42].

Just in the same vein as Kenya, Ghana reaffirms its support for Ukraine's sovereignty even while still pushing for dialogue between both parties. In the statement by Ghana's representative, where

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[41] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 2nd Plenary Meeting* Monday, 28 February 2022, 3.20 p.m. New York," February 28, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.2.
[42] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 3rd Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.3 6-7.

he mentioned 'without compromising Ukraine's inalienable rights' [43] emphasizes that the resolution between the parties should still not come at the expense of Ukraine's territorial integrity, which still reflects Ghana's commitment to sovereignty.

Gabon's representative, Mr. Biang, also gave the explanation for the country's vote,

"Whenever the security and dignity of the peoples of the world is violated, the Assembly must make its voice heard with determination and vigor.... Gabon is firmly committed to peace and to respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of every member of the United Nations. My country believes in multilateralism, international solidarity and the international rules-based order, and not in the rule of the strongest" [44].

Cote d'Ivoire representative Mr. Adom also expressed their views,

"*My country will vote in favor of this draft resolution before us to show its commitment to respect for the integrity, territorial sovereignty, and independence of states and to the peaceful settlement of disputes, as prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations Cote d'Ivoire will therefore vote for peace and will defend it everywhere against war and against might makes right"*[45].

Mr. Nze, Nigeria's representative also expressed the theme in his statement,

"Moreover, in accordance with international law, we believe that the borders of countries are sacrosanct and that their sanctity must always be upheld. That is a fundamental issue from which there should be no deviation. We believe a rules-based world order is essential for our common security. Violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine or of any other nation, including through illegal occupation or annexation, is unacceptable" [46].

The statements from Gabon, Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria, also illustrate the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Looking at each of these statements, they all collectively reflect the shared

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[43] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 3rd Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.3 , 7

[44] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 3rd Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.3 16

[45] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 4th Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 3 pm. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.4 , 2

[46] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 4th Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 3 pm. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.4 , 20

African nations commitments to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity shaped by their post-colonial experiences.

This theme was also carried over to the ES-11/2 resolution, although the resolution was more focused on the humanitarian consequences, many African countries still relied on the theme of sovereignty but also with respecting international humanitarian law since the resolution was about humanitarian concerns in Ukraine. As expressed by Sierra Leone's representative Mrs. Sulimani,

"Similarly, we recognize as a matter of principle that humanitarian resolutions are meant to enable the delivery of humanitarian assistance, in accordance with the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality. In this regard, we were guided in our vote by the framework agreed by the General Assembly in resolution 46/182 of 1991. We gave appropriate consideration to the principle of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of states..."[47].

Cote d'Ivoire representative, Mr. Adom, also expressed the country's explanation for the vote in the ES-11/2 resolution,

"Cote d'Ivoire reaffirms its commitment to respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence of states and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations. It is vital that we respect the texts that regulate our shared life and that we have freely endorsed...My country strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights perpetuated in Ukraine" [48].

In the ES-11/4 resolution, which was centered on the forceful annexation of Ukraine territories, this resolution marked the highest number of African countries voting in support amongst all five resolutions. The famous speech by Martins Kimani, Kenyan Ambassador at the UNSC, where he mentioned that Kenya, and many other African states came to be because of the ending of an empire, referencing the post-colonial experience of Africa, and how African borders were not to their choosing, but to settle for the border inherited to allow peace reign in Africa [49]. He also

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[47] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 20

[48] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 2

[49] Amb. Martin Kimani. *"STATEMENT BY AMB. MARTIN KIMANI, DURING THE SECURITY COUNCIL URGENT MEETING ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE | Kenya."* Accessed March 24, 2025. https://www.un.int/kenya/statements_speeches/statement-amb-martin-kimani-during-security-council-urgent-meeting-situation

emphasized the rejection of 'irredentism and expansionism' [50] of all kinds, and the violations of international law that have been put into place and respected for the past decades.

The other group of African countries that support this resolution also held similar views to what had been said previously by the Kenyan ambassador, and this theme, linking Africa's colonial experience and how their own territories has once been contested just like Ukraine's situation, reinforces the theme where African states particularly African countries that supported the resolution saw themselves as defenders of territorial integrity, as truly most African countries resonate with the post-colonial experience, so amongst the African countries that explained their votes, this was one of the prevalent discourses among African countries supporting the resolution.

As expressed in Angola stance by its representative, Ms. Ferreira,

"The Republic of Angola voted in favor of resolution ES-11/4 in accordance with its convictions concerning the well-founded, sacrosanct principle of territorial integrity enshrined in its own constitution...Our position is also in line with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Constitutive act of the African Union, the organization of African Unity, laid down the basis for the same principle when the founding fathers wisely decided, in 1964, to maintain the principle of the intangibility of the borders inherited from colonialism" [51].

Angola's support in this resolution was deeply rooted in its commitment to territorial integrity and by justifying its position in domestic legal principles (that is, Angola's constitution) and regional norms (which is, the African Union, and previous Organization of African unity), on upholding colonial borders [52], Angola stresses the historical and legal continuity of its stance. And its reference to the 'intangibility of the boarders inherited from colonialism' [53] yet shows the post-colonialism reflection which is significant in the African context.

A similar view was expressed by Egypt's representative, Mr. Mahmoud,

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[50] Amb. Martin Kimani. *"STATEMENT BY AMB. MARTIN KIMANI, DURING THE SECURITY COUNCIL URGENT MEETING ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE* | Kenya." https://www.un.int/kenya/statements_speeches/statement-amb-martin-kimani-during-security-council-urgent-meeting-situation , 17

[51] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 12

[52] Heads of African States and Governments. (1963). *OAU CHARTER* https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7759-file-oau_charter_1963.pdf

[53] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 12

"The delegation of Egypt voted in favor of resolution, ES-11/4 in accordance with its position of principle namely, adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, rejection of the threat or use of force in International Relations... and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. Egypt, a founding country of the United Nations has adhered to those principles for seven decades without deviating from or denying them at any stage" [54]

Another view expressed by Mauritius representative, Mr. Nayeek,

"Maritius voted in favor of resolution ES-11/4 because Maritius firmly believes in respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, big or small. We are also firm supporters of the principle of non-interference in the internal matters of any state unless mandated under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations" [55].

This was also seen in the statement by Liberia's representative, Mrs. Mc Gill,

"As the United Nations, we continue to witness inexcusable acts of violence and forceful annexation of regions within Ukraine's recognized borders: Luhansk, Kherson, Zaporizhzhya and Donetsk. This is one of the unprecedented moments in international history and one that leaves an indelible stain on our great Charter. Once again, there is a territorial integrity issue. Russia's sham referendums and forceful annexations of the aforementioned four Ukrainian sovereignty are in flagrant violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity" [56].

These positions expressed by African countries in their votes in support reflects the themes and not only a moral or political stance but as defenders of sovereignty, and advocates for upholding international law, that is, a reaffirmation of the UN charter's principle, which in turn constructs an identity that aligns with the principles of multilateralism and African unity against external aggression.

Sovereignty and territorial integrity are both important fundamental pillars of international law and world order and these African nations by voicing an approval to the UN resolution against Russia, expound different but harmonious histories anchored on sovereignty and historical justice,

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[54] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 14
[55] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 16
[56] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 13th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.13 , 16.

and order. Despite their historical background or geographical differences, African nations that fall under the category that were voting in support, agree with one another that sovereignty is not only one of the principles of international law but also one of the protections against the instabilities and aggressions.

The resolutions were African countries voted in support reaffirmed fundamental legal tenets, such as the need to settle conflicts amicably, the restriction against the use of force and the illegality of acquiring territory by force. According to the UN charter, articles 1 and 2, all countries should respect and refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity of any state and take effective measures for prevention and disputes that might lead to a breach in peace [57]. Despite African countries having different historical, economic, or ideational background, the respect for the UN charter shows the shared existing identity in the international border.

The theme was expressed in Djibouti's representative statement after voting,

"*"The aggression against Ukraine is putting stress on the system of international law and international relations that the Charter put in place. Let us not allow decades of efforts to strengthen the rule of law and revitalize multilateralism to go down the drain"* [58].

Another similar view was expressed by the representative on behalf of Tunisia, Mr.Ladeb,

"Tunisia stresses that maintaining universal respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter is fundamental for maintaining international peace and security, as one of the basic components of multilateral actions, thereby enabling the United Nations organization to fulfil the tasks and role for which it was established" [59].

African countries which voted in support framed their votes as a defense of legal multilateralism and calls for other nations to respect the rules put into place in the UN Charter.

The respect and adherence for international law was prevalent in the ES-11/2 resolution with reference to humanitarian law adherence too. For instance, few African countries that gave reasons

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[57] United Nations. *"Chapter I: Purposes and Principles (Articles 1-2)."* United Nations. United Nations. https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-1.

[58] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 5th Plenary Meeting* Wednesday, 2 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," February 3, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.5.

[59] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 4th Plenary Meeting Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 3 pm. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.4 , 22

for the votes referred to the 1949 Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols which basically manage the conduct of war and the protection of civilians, as seen below,

"My country strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights perpetrated in Ukraine. We call for strict respect for international humanitarian law as well as respect for the legal provisions that govern it, in particular the 1949 Geneva conventions and its additional protocols of 1977" [60], this was expressed by Mr. Adom, representative of Cote d'Ivoire.

The representative of Lesotho, also expressed similar view on the adherence to international law in its statement by Mrs. Tlalajoe,

"Lesotho voted in favor of resolution ES-11/2 motivated by our deep desire for humanitarian action to be taken immediately...Lesotho's position today was based on its respect for the Charter of the United Nations, humanitarian law and the territorial integrity of nations" [61].

Similar view was also raised by Ghana's representative Mr. Aygeman,

"Such commitment to the Charter and respect for international law, as required of all peace-loving members of the United Nations, is not a passive responsibility but an active duty requiring our engagement in support of peace, especially at moments of great challenge" [62].

In referring to this allows African states to further justify their positions based on a universally recognized humanitarian law rather than political alignments between Russia or the West. This framing is particularly important as it distanced the humanitarian issues from political alignments, and in turn reflects an identity of African nations with similar views as countries committed to the respect and defenders of international humanitarian law.

4.2.2 Themes reflecting Indecisiveness on Ukraine

These themes are derived from African states that either exhibited shifting stances or continuously refrained from voting. Their discourse reveals caution, pragmatism and global power dynamics.

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[60] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 3

[61] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 23

[62] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 13th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.13 22-23.

The themes that was common amongst this category of African states were non-alignment and mediation and double standards and selective enforcement of the UN.

- **Non-Alignment and mediation**

Looking at each resolution, no less than 10 African countries abstained during the voting sessions, although some countries were consistent in abstaining in all resolutions, such countries include Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Sudan and Uganda.

Amongst the African countries that abstained, these themes as mentioned earlier were quite prevalent between the countries that abstained. ES-11/1 resolution on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukraine, 17 African countries abstained, however, only few of the African countries that abstained gave its explanation for the vote at the United Nations General Assembly meeting.

South Africa stressed on the need for mediation and dialogue stressed the need for dialogue between both parties as seen,

"We stress that peace is best built through diplomacy and negotiation within the framework of the institutions for global dialogue, especially the United Nations" [63].

"South Africa has always appreciated the value of dialogue in averting crises and de-escalating conflict. That is in line with our strong commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflict. In that regard, we urge the Security Council to use the existing tools at its disposal in support of the peaceful settlement of disputes. We also believe that the good offices of the Secretary-General could make a positive contribution to finding a lasting solution to this conflict and should be utilized" [64].

A similar view can be found in the statement of the United Republic of Tanzania by Mr. Gastorn,

"The United Republic of Tanzania believes that diplomacy is the best way to end this conflict. To this end, we appeal to all parties to the dispute to uphold human rights and their obligations under international law and international humanitarian law in order to de-escalate the conflict and give peace a chance" [65].

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[63] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 3rd Plenary Meeting* Tuesday, 1 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.3., 15
[64] The same, 15
[65] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 5th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 2 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," February 3, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.5., 20

This theme could also be identified in Algeria's statement by Mr. Larbaoui,

"Based on Algeria's principled positions regarding the promotion and preservation of the multilateral system, and in line with our commitment to developing friendly relations among states on a basis of peaceful coexistence, the peaceful settlement of disputes and mutual respect for international obligations and security guarantees, Algeria feels compelled to join all the diplomatic efforts aimed at easing the current tensions and encouraging dialogue in order to promote peaceful coexistence among states and maintain international peace and security" [66]

Just as ES-11/2 votes were carried out, the African countries that abstained still maintained the same theme of mediation, South Africa for instance, who was consistent with its votes in abstaining, said this in her statement in the ES-11/2 resolution,

"South Africa believes that mediation, dialogue and negotiations are the most sustainable methods of resolving even the most intractable divisions. We have therefore welcomed the rounds of negotiations between Russia and Ukraine, and we hope that they can lay the basis for long-term peace and the resolution of all differences" [67].

Just as Senegal's representative Mr. Niang, shared a similar view in his statement,

"Senegal is for de-escalation, an immediate cessation of hostilities in Ukraine and continued negotiations aimed at reaching a peaceful and lasting solution to the crisis" [68].

This discourse portrayed by the likes of South Africa, Tanzania, and the other African nations' that fall under the abstention and not present group, places them as mediators, therefore constructing an identity that prioritizes Africa's diplomatic autonomy based on their shared beliefs and commitments.

Then during the resolution, we had Algeria under the ES-11/4 relying on the Non-Aligned movement as one of its reasons from abstaining from the votes, in the statement below by Mr. Larbaoui,

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[66] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 5th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 2 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," February 3, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.5., 20

[67] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 8th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 23 March 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.8 , 17

[68] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 10th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 7 April 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.10., 8

"In that regard, based on our principled positions and our profound belief in the values of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries, Algeria once again confirms that we are firmly committed to the basic rules of international law and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations... Algeria stresses that multilateral international efforts require the strengthening of dialogue and cooperation and the intensification of meaningful international diplomatic efforts to find a solution to the crisis and prevent a collapse of diplomatic norms" [69]. This language as echoed by other African nations that voted to abstain or were not present at all for this resolution were rooted in their shared historical commitments to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) of all African nations, except for South Sudan. The Non-aligned movement includes withholding from the use of force and not interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Just as reflected in Uganda's position to abstain, as they were in the incoming chair of NAM, just as Ethiopia who are fully committed to the Non-aligned movement and its principles.

The abstentions show how mediations, neutrality, and non-alignment continue to influence Africa diplomacy despite the emphasis placed by each African nation. Africa's agency in negotiating the complexity of a multipolar world is reflected in this approach, which highlights the non-alignment strategy's ongoing importance. As a result, their abstentions are not merely passive, but strategic to show a desire for multipolarity and equitable engagement in the global stage.

- **Double standards and selective enforcement of the UN**

Another recurring theme behind African countries that abstained from the voting session, was the double standards and selective enforcement of the UN with global crisis.

South Africa in the first resolution, ES-11/1, abstained based on the discourse of non-alignment and mediation, however, she took a different turn during the ES-11/2 resolution; which was passed based on the humanitarian consequences, focusing on the actual humanitarian situation rather than geopolitical considerations, and double standards in the UN responses to conflicts globally.

South Africa, just like other countries at the UN General assembly meeting also stressed the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine as the priority of the UN and calling on mediation between Russia and Ukraine; the representative speaking on behalf of South Africa, however, made this statement,

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[69] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 13.

"Unfortunately, rather than putting the humanitarian crisis and our response at the center of our deliberations, the political divisions in this Assembly suggest that in the minds of some delegations the humanitarian response is perhaps secondary to geopolitical objectives" [70].

This statement reflected the discourse of South Africa on geopolitical considerations being the focus for some countries and therefore questioning the credibility of the humanitarian concerns raised by other countries supporting the resolution, which also connects to the other prevalent theme of double standards in the UN. South Africa referred to the Iraq War and how more than 2.4 million people have reportedly died since 2003, and even other countries have suffered wars that are not on their own doing, and the role that powerful countries have in most of these conflicts, even in Africa which has historical experiences of its conflicts [71]. This statement was calling out the inconsistency in applying international law and sees it as impartial, which is why they have abstained and even pushed for another draft of the resolution as reflected in the statement below

"Political issues that may result in Member states failing to agree on a text should be addressed elsewhere. We believe that an impartial humanitarian resolution should focus purely on addressing humanitarian needs" [72].

Meanwhile with Algeria, compared to South Africa were not as direct with their critique, still maintaining their discourse of non-alignment urged the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) to assume its primary responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security in its statement below,

"In that regard, Algeria urges the Security council to assume its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and to cooperate in working for world peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" [73].

Under the ES-11/3 resolution centered on the suspension of Russia from the Human rights council, there was also a high level of abstention of African countries with 24 countries abstaining from this vote. None of the other countries that voted in support explained the votes at the UNGA and

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[70] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting* Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 10

[71] The same, 10

[72] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting* Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 11

[73] The same, 18

only very few of the countries that abstained gave reasons. Such countries include Senegal, South Africa, Egypt, Botswana, and Algeria.

South Africa, which has been consistent with its abstention and audible with the reasons for their votes, called out the double standards and selective enforcement of the UN which in turn undermines the credibility of the General Assembly, which was the prevalent theme in this resolution, in the statement below,

"Unfortunately, the draft resolution that we are considering today will further divide and polarize States — and the General Assembly itself on this matter without following due process. South Africa maintains that in considering the suspension of a member of the Human Rights council, we must be consistent and not selective, as this would undermine the credibility of the General Assembly and the Human Rights council. For these reasons, South Africa will abstain" [74].

Just as Egypt also made a similar view in the double standards and selective enforcement here,

"Egypt is deeply uncomfortable with continued double standards that are tantamount to measuring with more than one yardstick. Many times, before and not so long ago, less decisive and more lenient resolutions pertaining to human rights violations were adopted" [75].

Egypt also held a similar view to South Africa's with the same theme and an additional theme of prioritization of the UN institutions, as these countries believed that this resolution undermines the United Nations organs and specialized agencies, and the credibility of international multilateralism in the statement below,

"The draft resolution before us undermines the United Nations processes and systems that have long enjoyed the international community's trust. It threatens to undermine the credibility of the organization and its mechanisms, leading to further negative repercussions for its ability to shoulder its responsibility pursuant to the charter and 73 years of work" [76].

Lastly on the ES-11/3 resolution, most of the African countries did not give explanations for their own votes to avoid any direct alignments to either of the parties involved or towards the west,

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[74] United Nations. "*General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 10th Plenary Meeting*, 9
[75] The same, 9
[76] The same, 10

which could reflect a strategic move to not strain any diplomatic relationships, other instances such as economic dependencies.

The ES-11/4 resolution which was in response to Russia's attempt to illegally and forcibly annex more of Ukraine's territory. There were still a few African countries that abstained and still maintained the theme of the double standards of the UN.

Algeria was one of the African countries that abstained and gave the reason for the abstention still under the theme of double standards, called out the General Assembly with the statement below,

"Algeria calls on the international community and the United Nations to discharge their basic responsibilities and to fully abandon the approach of double standards. We call on them to end all forms of occupation and annexation of territories by force that may have been on their agenda for decades, particularly in Palestine, the occupied Syrian Golan and Western Sahara" [77].

Lastly, the ES-11/5 resolution, which was passed based on reparations for Ukraine, witnessed a high level of abstention from African countries. African states that either abstained or voted against reflected on the history of colonialism, slavery or apartheid with African nations have experienced, yet no reparations or agreements have come out of the previous talks. Still reflecting the theme of double standards, this was expressed by South Africa's representative, who has remained one of the most audible African countries during most of the resolutions,

"During the past seven decades, the Assembly has heard clarion calls for reparations for slavery, colonialism, apartheid and many other contemporary conflicts. Regrettably, in all those instances we have not been able to find agreement on reparations due to the opposition of many that are co-sponsoring today's draft resolution. We are clearly sending a message of exceptionalism and that reparations matter in some cases and do not matter in others. The United Nations loses its credibility when it is seen to be partisan and exercising double standards in its work. As member states, we should refrain from perpetuating such practices." [78]

A similar view was held by Egypt's representative as part of the many reasons, the representative said while abstaining from the resolution's vote,

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[77] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 14th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 12 October 2022, 3 p.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.14., 18

[78] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 15th Plenary Meeting Monday, 14 November 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.15., 22

"Fourthly, if the General Assembly addresses this issue in the context of one particular conflict while excluding other conflicts, legitimate questions could be raised as to the consistency of its practices and its ability and willingness to create similar reparation mechanism in future for many countries demanding compensation for internationally wrongful acts, whether in the distant past or currently. We believe that the General Assembly's inability or hesitation to take a coherent approach in the future about such efforts would undermine the credibility of the Assembly and the United Nations, which we should all want to preserve" [79].

This was also expressed by Sierra Lone who also abstained from voting in the ES-11/5 resolution,

"In this regard, Sierra Leone abstained in the voting in order not to acquiesce to a political approach that does not recognize all victims, past, and present, who have the rights to remedies and reparations and for whom the international community must continue to keep faith, in consideration of the plight of all victims, survivors and future human generations and reaffirm international law in the field....We therefore note with regret the serious political opposition to reparations for colonialism and slavery that remains among countries that benefited the most from both" [80].

To conclude, the countries that abstained framed their identity still as a rejection of the double standards of the UN, and these statements from African countries shows that they are fully aware of the global power imbalances and then positioning themselves as nations that resist greater power influence and still maintain a diplomatic relationship with the parties involved.

The positions of African countries in this resolution, once again reflects the division of African nations according to their identity construction and trying to balance outright condemnation to the countries involved in the war and maintaining diplomacy.

4.2.3 Theme against supporting Ukraine

The theme under this section came from African countries that voted against the resolutions. Noteworthy to mention that Eritrea, a small state in African was the most consistent in voting

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[79] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 16th Plenary Meeting Monday, 14 November 2022, 3 p. m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.16 , 2.
[80] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 16th Plenary Meeting Monday, 14 November 2022, 3 p. m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.16 , 8

against all 5 resolutions and only abstained in ES-11/4 resolution. The theme that could be identified is the Resistance to Western Dominance.

- **Resistance to Western Dominance**

ES-11/1 had several African countries voting in favor of the resolution, a total number of twenty-eight (28) African countries voted in favor and seventeen (17) abstained, and only one (1) African country voted against the resolution. Eritrea, being the only African country that voted opposed the resolution. In terms of economic, political, and military might, Eritrea is not considered as a major power in Africa, but their position in this resolution reflects the theme of Resistance to Western Dominance and their perceived shared identity with Moscow seeing them as an ally against imperialism and seeing United States of America as a 'great threat', as Eritrea has always consistently voted against all resolutions and human-rights related issues made by the United States and the West in general. The Eritrean representative Mr. Giorgio in his explanation for the votes mentioned,

"Eritrea opposes all forms of unilateral sanctions and deems them illegal and counterproductive. For two decades, Eritrea has been subjected to these kinds of measures, including new sets of unilateral measures, and we therefore understand that sanctions do not resolve peace and security problems" [81].

Eritrea in this statement criticized the sanctions and internalization of the issue, with the conclusion that, as a country themselves, they have been subjected to these same measures, and in the end, it does not resolve the peace and security problems. It is a critique against Western led sanctions and interventions which has often caused more harm than good in which they referenced how Eritrea has its own history with sanctions. In sum, referencing how the sanctions and legal actions with Eritrea's history under sanctions, basically using this reference to delegitimize the West's punitive measures to the Russian Ukraine War. This position reflects the Resistance to Western Dominance identity of opposing the status quo, and this theme is a shared belief and identity of Eritrea, which is to avoid any association with the West. Since Anti-western policies seems to be their focus and to counter the West, this reflects the response based on their perceived identity.

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[81] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 5th Plenary Meeting Wednesday, 2 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," February 3, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.5., 19

ES-11/2 focused on the humanitarian issues in Ukraine, Eritrea, once again voted against this second resolution just as the first resolution, the same theme of Resistance to Western Dominance can be seen in this resolution. Eritrea's identity of opposing the West was seen in its statement below,

"Finally, on a more serious political note, the current campaign or drive to return to a unipolar world order by tightening the noose on Russia, as Eritrea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has put it, is becoming an increasingly dangerous and risky military confrontation that runs counter to the fundamental pillars of robust multilateralism and the lofty aspirations of the majority of the world's people and nations" [82].

In this statement, Eritrea's critique of what is called a 'campaign or drive to return to a unipolar world' reveals a deeply ingrained anti-western mindset. By condemning Western efforts to isolate Russia as a danger to multilateralism, Eritrea has constructed the identity to oppose the West and by using the phrase 'tightening the noose' [83] basically implies that the conflict is being purposefully reframed as a Western led power consolidation rather than Russia's aggression.

Algeria also echoed the same theme under the ES-11/3 resolution (suspension of Russia from the Human Rights Council) which they voted against amongst 9 other African countries, however, Algeria was the only African country that gave its explanation for its votes. Looking at the statement below from Algeria's representative,

'There is no doubt that the images we have seen about certain cities in Ukraine are horrific and strongly condemned. The alleged crimes related to them are extremely serious. However, it is imperative to allow existing United Nations mechanisms to investigate the facts on the ground in an impartial manner...Ensuring that the competent United Nations mechanisms discharge their mandates and tasks in accordance with the norms of international law and relevant United Nations resolutions ,free from any interference or prejudgment, constitutes for Algeria a sine qua non to establish the facts about the gross and systematic violations of Human Rights that have been committed' [84]

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[82] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 21

[83] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 9th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m. New York," March 24, 2022. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.9., 21

[84] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 10th Plenary Meeting Thursday, 7 April 2022, 10 a.m. New York,". https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.10 , 20

In this statement by Algeria, the stance of the country is a sign of resistance from accepting Western narratives about the violations of Human Rights in Ukraine without the responsible mechanisms of the United Nations carrying out the necessary investigations and it reflects a distrust of Western led information and basically calling for an investigation without external influence or interference and this constructs their identity still as non-aligned actors that they have maintained from previous resolutions but particularly in this resolution resisting Western information or prejudgments without further validations.

It is imperative to note that no vote was recorded from any African county voting in the ES-11/4 resolution, like Eritrea for instance who had voted against all other resolutions abstained in this resolution.

The ES-11/5 resolution was enacted for Russia to provide reparations to Ukraine and to be held accountable for their actions. With only seventeen (17) African countries supporting the resolution, and a high level of abstention, twenty-five (25) in total, we still had five (5) African countries against the resolution.

The theme of Resistance to Western Dominance was also reflected in Eritrea's statement while giving the explanations for their vote and additional speaking on behalf of like-minded countries including Zimbabwe which also voted against the resolution,

"In that context, we should not forget that colonial powers caused enormous damage and suffering to the peoples of present-day developing states. We also recall detrimental external interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, including foreign interventions and invasions in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Carribean.... In that context, we cannot overemphasize that any attempts to entrench a Cold war era mentality and bloc politics based on confrontation, the deepening of divisions and the imposition of disparate visions and agendas should be rejected by all responsible members of the international community, as it contributes in no way to addressing, through peaceful means and cooperation, the complex, emerging and common challenges faced nowadays by humankind" [85].

This statement is clear communication of Eritrea's stance, which was evident in its rejection of what is described as a revival of 'cold war era mentality and bloc politics' [86], therefore invoking

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[85] United Nations. "General Assembly Eleventh Emergency Special Session 15th Plenary Meeting Monday, 14 November 2022, 10 a.m. New York," n.d. https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-11/PV.15., 6-7
[86] The same, 7

the history of ideological confrontations dominated by the United States and its allies, and the disparate visions and agendas that is, the UN resolutions, reflects more of self or geopolitical interests and not global consensus. This critique resonates with broader anti-imperialist discourses in Africa's foreign policy, where many nations challenge the legitimacy of a global system seen as disproportionately favoring Western nations. Eritrea's rhetoric extends this critique by positioning itself as a defender of global equity, even if it results in diplomatic isolation.

In conclusion, the pattern of their response to the voting in the resolutions showed how they positioned themselves in the war against Ukraine, clearly resisting pressure to conform to dominant global powers. This stance reinforces its reputation as an outlier in African diplomacy, often willingly to take unpopular positions in defense of its own principles.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Looking at the findings from the UN General Assembly resolutions on African nations' position, including the voting behaviors and public discourses of African nations regarding the Russian invasion of Ukraine, it reveals a variety of geopolitical alignments and historical backgrounds. Even with the continent's shared history, the diversity of responses reveals the visible national identities and foreign policy strategies among African countries. From ES-11/1 to ES-11/5 resolutions it even reveals that even states with almost identical identities claims voted differently, abstained, shifted positions and even voted against.

The contrasting positions in the resolutions, however, do not undermine the essence of discourse analysis, rather in this work, it shows the dynamic and strategic nature of identity expression in global diplomacy. State's identities are not fixed eternally, but interactions and communication can remake or reshape identities depending on the specific context of the resolution in this case. But it still does not take away the already existing identity, rather states make use of the already existing identity and newly developed identity when making decisions.

In ES-11/1, ES-11/2 and ES-11/4, several African countries emphasized on the theme of sovereignty and territorial integrity, which is fundamentally connected to post-colonial state identity and rule based international order in showing their support for Ukraine, some of these states took a different turn in ES-11/3 and ES-11/5 when the focus was shifting to suspensions from the Human Rights council and reparations for Ukraine, a number of African states abstained or moved to a different stance citing the themes on non-alignment, mediation, the double standards and selective enforcement and Resistance to Western Dominance. The findings from the statements of African nations, while they frequently draw on the identity themes such as sovereignty, non-alignment, and other themes identified, it also shows that their diplomatic or voting behavior are not strictly determined by these identities, instead, identity is strategically mobilized, African states in the resolutions emphasized aspects of their discursive identity to suit the current situation or language and contents of the resolution, or the perceived political implications. For instance, in the resolutions, we have states like Gabon, who voted in support for Ukraine in most of the resolutions emphasizing sovereignty concerns but voted against in one resolution, or Algeria who maintained the principles of non-alignment and abstained in most of the resolutions, voted against Ukraine since the humanitarian concerns were perceived as masking geopolitical agendas. This demonstrates that identities within the international system are not just

static but develop and reproduce by interacting and communications, and as a resource available for states to use, states use it while interacting with other actors and navigating strategic pressures. The findings contribute a clearer understanding of African states agency and adaptability in responding to global events since there is an assumption that African states behaviors can be mostly associated with economic dependencies for instance. Secondly, it shows that African countries are actively engaging in the international system and are willingly to adapt or shift their responses accordingly even if it creates inconsistencies within them. African states shifting positions on different contexts of each resolution based on their identity reveals a diplomatic approach which is fit to navigate in the multipolar international system and rather than conforming to rigid blocs, several African states are choosing to move between different centers of power, and this positioning approach is crucial as more global competition intensifies.

It is beyond the scope of this study to analyze African states speeches outside the General Assembly as this thesis is limited by its reliance on official speeches by African nations' representatives at the United Nations General Assembly resolution (that is, ES-11/1-ES-11/5), and may not fully capture behind the scenes talks within each state and also, focusing mainly on discourse means that material factors like economic dependencies, was not analyzed even though it likely interacts with identity construction, however, with these limitations, it does not undermine the central point that identity are not fixed but rather flexibly used rather than rigidly adhered to. It would be good if more studies can be carried to continue these research findings, for instance, covering statements by African nations outside the United Nations General assembly to fully understand the behind the scenes and capture states insights.

Future researchers can also include and benefit more insights from making use of discourse analysis with interviews with African nations diplomats to better understand how they perceive the relationship between identity and strategic interests. A comparative study between African regions can also be conducted to reveal whether certain historical or regional experiences influence how governments deploy identity differently.

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SUMMARY (English)

This study explores the diverse responses of African nations to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine with a focus on how these responses are discursively constructed and how the positions of African states reveal about Africa's geopolitical landscape on the global order. Previous studies usually attribute African nations' reactions to global issues to material interests or geographical alignments however, this thesis seeks to analyze these reactions from a constructivist angle, emphasizing how African states make use of discourse and how it constructs their identities with particular reference to the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, ES-11/1 to ES-11/5.

The primary aim of the research was to uncover the underlying discourses African nations used in reacting to the invasion and during the General Assembly meetings. This thesis analyzed the official statements and voting patterns of African nations in all 5 mentioned resolution meetings and then categorizing the official statements of African nations employing the thematic analysis to identify the themes in the official statements into 3 categories namely: Themes supporting Ukraine, themes showing indecisiveness on Ukraine and lastly, themes against supporting Ukraine. Under the themes supporting Ukraine, contains African nations that consistently voted in support of the resolutions and condemned Russia for their actions, themes showing indecisiveness against Ukraine were African nations that abstained or later shifted positions during the voting sessions and lastly, the theme against supporting Ukraine were African nations that voted against the resolutions.

Under the theme of countries supporting Ukraine, the prevalent discourse was Sovereignty and respect for territorial integrity and a rule based international order. The African nations under this category such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Benin, Cote d' Ivoire, invoked on the post-colonial experiences of African nations and how the sovereignty and borders of countries should be always respected and through these discourses, the African nations supporting Ukraine positioned themselves as defenders of sovereignty, and advocates for upholding international law, that is, a reaffirmation of the UN charter's principle, which in turn constructs an identity that aligns with the principles of multilateralism and African unity against external aggression.

Looking at the theme of African countries showing Indecisiveness to Ukraine, the African states under this category called upon mediation and also invoked the principles of non-alignment, the principles of non-alignment which has been an historically stance for African countries right from the period of the Cold War, could be seen also in this category. These African countries such as

South Africa, Algeria, Mozambique, Namibia. It is important to note that some of the African countries under this category also expressed the double standards of the United Nations which was another prevalent discourse under the theme. In sum, the positions of African countries under thus category, reflects the division of African nations according to their identity construction and trying to balance outright condemnation to the countries involved in the war and maintaining diplomacy.

Lastly, the theme against supporting Ukraine, the number of African countries that voted against the resolutions were not in great numbers, however, the discourse invoked by these African nations was the Resistance to Western Dominance. The African countries voting against such as Eritrea, CAR, Zimbabwe, these nations criticized the global powers, mostly Western powers in the explanations of their votes, and this critique resonates with broader anti-imperialist discourses in Africa's foreign policy, where many nations challenge the legitimacy of a global system seen as disproportionately favoring Western nations.

This thesis revealed that African nations' identities are not fixed as supposed, but these interactions and communication can remake or reshape identities depending on the specific context of the resolution, and it also reveals African states agency and adaptability in responding to global events since there is an assumption that African states behaviors can be mostly associated with material interests. Future studies can benefit more from making use of discourse analysis with interviews with African nations diplomats to better understand the relationship between constructing identities and strategic interests.

SUMMARY (Lithuanian)

Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamos įvairios Afrikos tautų reakcijos į Rusijos invaziją į Ukrainą, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant tam, kaip šios reakcijos yra diskursyviai konstruojamos ir kaip Afrikos valstybių pozicijos atskleidžia Afrikos geopolitinį kraštovaizdį pasaulinėje tvarkoje. Ankstesni tyrimai dažniausiai Afrikos tautų reakcijas į pasaulines problemas siejo su materialiniais interesais arba

geografiniais pažiūromis, tačiau šiame darbe siekiama išanalizuoti šias reakcijas konstruktyvistiniu požiūriu, pabrėžiant, kaip Afrikos valstybės naudoja diskursą ir kaip jis konstruoja jų tapatybes, ypač atsižvelgiant į Jungtinių Tautų Generalinės Asamblėjos rezoliucijas ES-11/1–ES-11/5.

Pagrindinis tyrimo tikslas buvo atskleisti pagrindinius diskursus, kuriuos Afrikos tautos vartojo reaguodamos į invaziją ir Generalinės Asamblėjos posėdžių metu. Šiame darbe analizuojami oficialūs Afrikos tautų pareiškimai ir balsavimo modeliai visuose 5 minėtuose rezoliucijų posėdžiuose, o tada, taikant teminę analizę, suskirstant oficialius Afrikos tautų pareiškimus į 3 kategorijas: temas, palaikančias Ukrainą, temas, rodančias neryžtingumą Ukrainos atžvilgiu, ir galiausiai temas, nukreiptas prieš Ukrainos rėmimą. Pagal temas, remiančias Ukrainą, yra Afrikos šalys, kurios nuolat balsavo už rezoliucijas ir smerkė Rusiją už jos veiksmus; temos, rodančios neryžtingumą Ukrainos atžvilgiu, yra Afrikos šalys, kurios susilaikė arba vėliau pakeitė pozicijas balsavimo sesijų metu; ir galiausiai tema, nukreipta prieš Ukrainą, yra Afrikos šalys, kurios balsavo prieš rezoliucijas.

Kalbant apie šalis, remiančias Ukrainą, vyraujantis diskursas buvo suverenitetas ir pagarba teritoriniam vientisumui bei taisyklėmis pagrįstai tarptautinei tvarkai. Šiai kategorijai priklausančios Afrikos šalys, tokios kaip Gana, Kenija, Nigerija, Beninas, Dramblio Kaulo Krantas, rėmėsi Afrikos šalių pokolonijine patirtimi ir tuo, kaip visada turėtų būti gerbiamas šalių suverenitetas ir sienos. Per šiuos diskursus Afrikos šalys, remiančios Ukrainą, pozicionavo save kaip suvereniteto gynėjas ir pasisako už tarptautinės teisės laikymąsi, t. y. JT chartijos principo patvirtinimą, kuris savo ruožtu kuria tapatybę, atitinkančią daugiašališkumo ir Afrikos vienybės prieš išorės agresiją principus.

Žvelgiant į Afrikos šalių neryžtingumo Ukrainos atžvilgiu temą, šiai kategorijai priklausančios Afrikos valstybės ragino tarpininkauti ir rėmėsi neprisijungimo principais. Neprisijungimo principai, kurie istoriškai buvo Afrikos šalių pozicija nuo pat Šaltojo karo laikų, taip pat matomi ir šioje kategorijoje. Tai tokios Afrikos šalys kaip Pietų Afrika, Alžyras, Mozambikas, Namibija. Svarbu pažymėti, kad kai kurios šiai kategorijai priklausančios Afrikos šalys taip pat išreiškė Jungtinių Tautų dvigubus standartus, kurie buvo dar vienas paplitęs diskursas šia tema. Apibendrinant, Afrikos šalių pozicijos šioje kategorijoje atspindi Afrikos tautų susiskaldymą pagal jų tapatybės kūrimą ir bandymą subalansuoti visišką pasmerkimą kare dalyvaujančioms šalims bei diplomatijos palaikymą.

Galiausiai, tema prieš paramą Ukrainai – Afrikos šalių, balsavusių prieš rezoliucijas, skaičius nebuvo didelis, tačiau šių Afrikos tautų inicijuotas diskursas buvo pasipriešinimas Vakarų dominavimui. Afrikos šalys, balsavusios prieš, pavyzdžiui, Eritrėja, Centrinė Afrikos Respublika, Zimbabvė, kritikavo pasaulines galias, daugiausia Vakarų galias, aiškindamos savo balsus, ir ši kritika rezonuoja su platesniais antiimperialistiniais diskursais Afrikos užsienio politikoje, kur daugelis šalių ginčija pasaulinės sistemos, kuri laikoma neproporcingai palankia Vakarų šalims, teisėtumą.

Ši disertacija atskleidė, kad Afrikos šalių tapatybės nėra fiksuotos, kaip manoma, tačiau ši sąveika ir komunikacija gali perkurti arba pakeisti tapatybes, priklausomai nuo konkretaus rezoliucijos konteksto, ir ji taip pat atskleidžia Afrikos valstybių veiksnumą ir prisitaikymą reaguojant į pasaulinius įvykius, nes daroma prielaida, kad Afrikos valstybių elgesys dažniausiai gali būti susijęs su materialiniais interesais. Būsimiems tyrimams būtų naudingiau panaudoti diskurso analizę su interviu su Afrikos šalių diplomatais, siekiant geriau suprasti tapatybių kūrimo ir strateginių interesų ryšį.