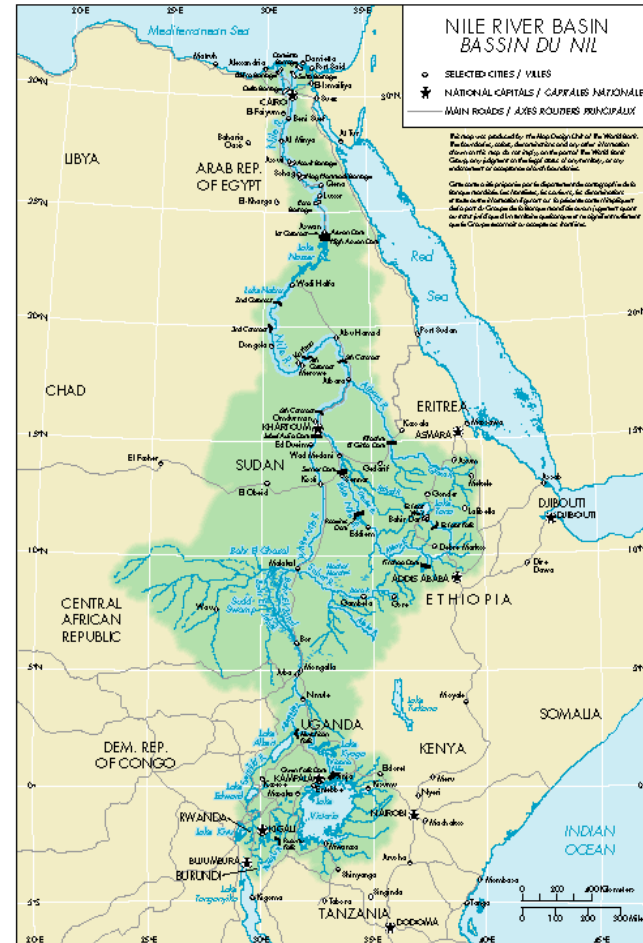


NILE RIVER BASIN

1. Water Event Intensity Scale

2. Power relations: Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony



WATER EVENT INTENSITY SCALE

BAR SCALE	EVENT DESCRIPTION
7	Voluntary unification into one nation
6	International Freshwater Treaty or Major strategic alliance (regional or international)
5	Military economic or strategic support
4	Non-military economic, technological or industrial agreement
3	Cultural or scientific agreement or support (non-strategic)
2	Official verbal support of goals, values, or regime
1	Minor official exchanges, talks or policy expressions--mild verbal support
0	Neutral or non-significant acts for the inter-nation situation
-1	Mild verbal expressions displaying discord in interaction
-2	Strong verbal expressions displaying hostility in interaction
-3	Diplomatic-economic hostile actions
-4	Political-military hostile actions
-5	Small scale military acts
-6	Extensive War Acts causing deaths, dislocation or high strategic cost
-7	Formal Declaration of War

Source: Wolf et al, 2003

WATER EVENT INTENSITY SCALE

Insights

- Identification of historic events and interactions – Water as the Driver of the Event
- Water-related Events ranked by INTENSITY and NATURE
- Clear definition of conflict and cooperation – different levels of Intensity
- Visualisation of Trends and Patterns
- Analysis – Across riparian states
- Analysis – Across the time
- SCALE – Spectrum of events ranked by intensity

(Wolf et., 2002)

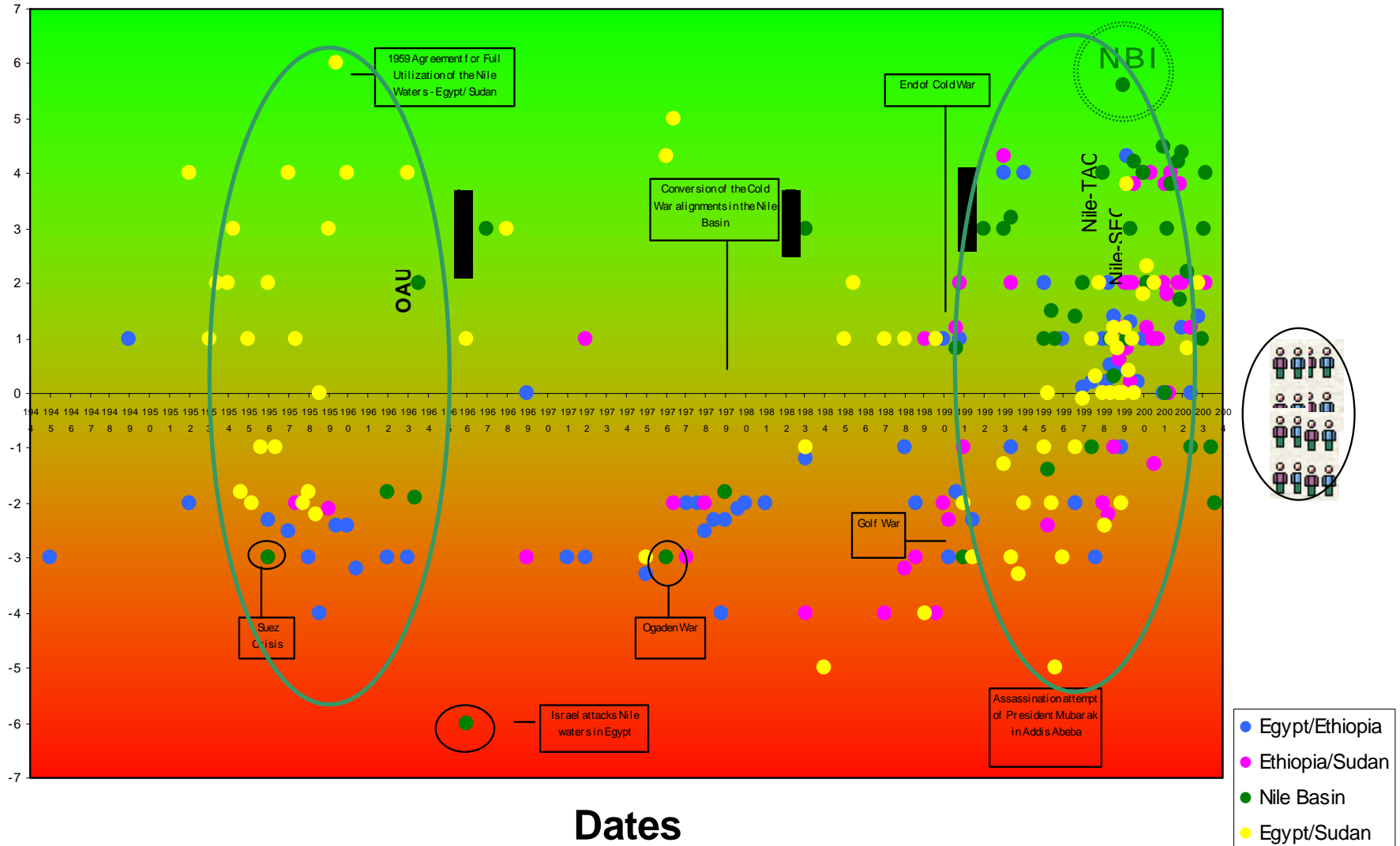
Limitations

- Excessive quantitative focus – extrapolation of conclusions
- Focus not in Power relations
- Scale does not include Intra-national events
- TFDD – All water treaties are coded at the same level of intensity of cooperation

BAR Scale – Nile Basin (1945-2004)

Bar Scale

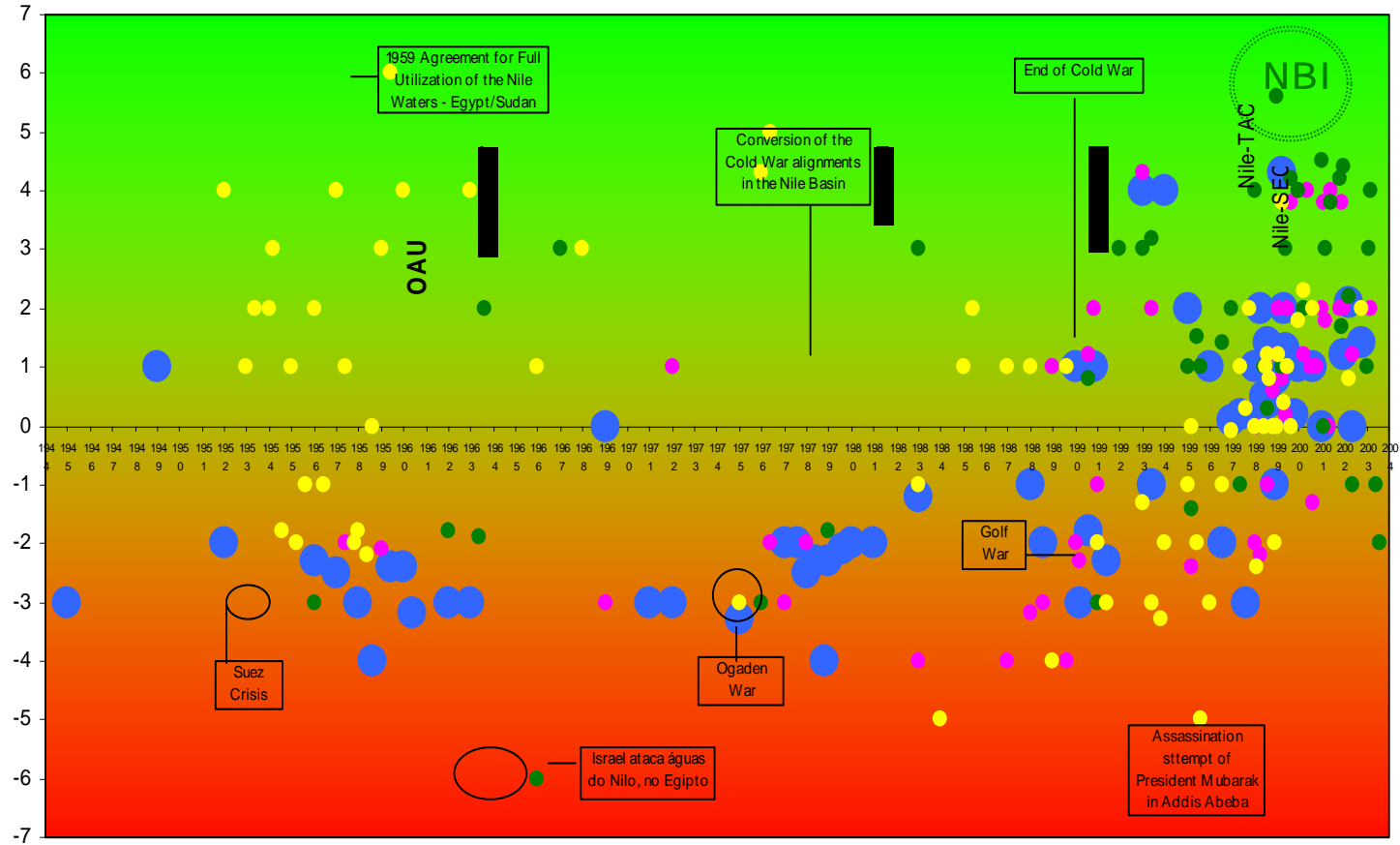
Conflict/Cooperation on the Nile



BAR Scale – Nile Basin (1945-2004)

Ethiopia-Egypt

Bar Scale



Dates

- Egypt/Ethiopia
- Ethiopia/Sudan
- Nile Basin
- Egypt/Sudan

NILE – Power relations

Downstream

- Egypt – the downstream *Hegemon*
- “Stable Control” of Nile waters
- Methods: hydraulic mission, securitisation, knowledge construction, sanctioned discourse, etc.
- Accumulation of Power

- **Hegemony** →



LEADERSHIP
LEGITIMACY
IDEAS
CONSENT

- Goal: *Status quo*

Gramsci, 1971

NILE – Power relations

Upstream

- Upstream – no mobilisation of resources
- “Historical consent” to Hegemony
 - Ethiopia – “incapacity”
 - Sudan – “unwillingness”
 - White Nile – “wait-and-see”
- Ethiopia – the “silent partner” in the Nile?

From **Consent** to **Contest**

“When there is hegemony, there is always a locus for counter-hegemony”

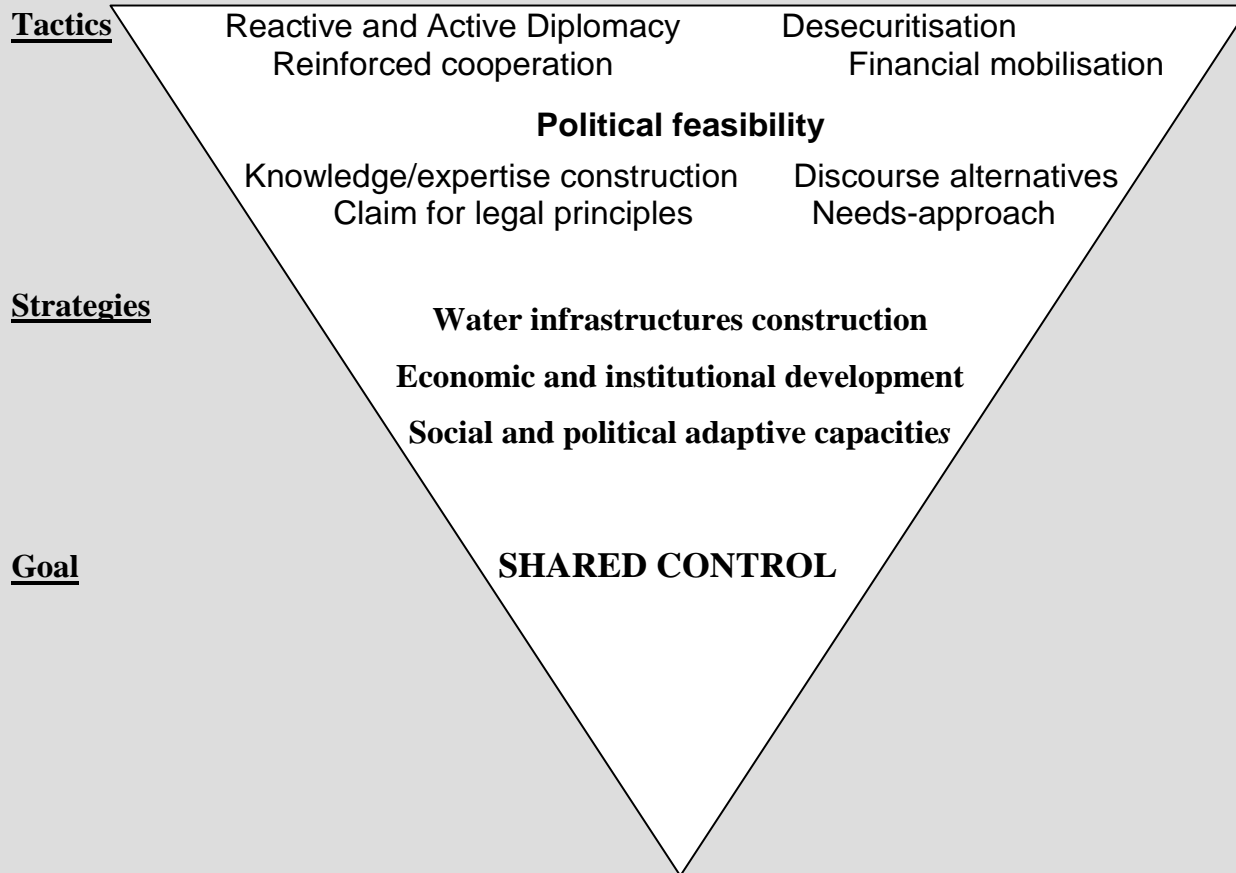
(Warner, 2000)

“War of position”

(Gramsci, 1971)

ETHIOPIA – Challenges to Hegemony

Inverted Triangle – How to challenge Hydro-Hegemony?



COUNTER-HEGEMONIC TACTICS

- **Political feasibility** – central tactic
- **Diplomacy** – Letters of protest, participation in conferences and forums, transnational lobby campaigns, grasp international support
- **Desecuritisation** – institutional arrangements, capacity and confidence-building, changing perceptions, water regimes

“Regimes begin at home” (Waterbury, 2002)

COUNTER-HEGEMONIC TACTICS

- **Reinforced Cooperation (NBI)** – constructive shared control, *win-win* outcomes, “watchdog” to avoid domination
- **International financial commitment** – multilateral and regional banks, mix public-private, incremental mix, NBI
- **Knowledge/expertise** – improve expertise, create knowledge, accurate information, dissemination, public debates (interests groups)

COUNTER-HEGEMONIC TACTICS

- **Discourse alternatives** – deligitimise “sanctioned discourse” and belief systems, emphasis on “new” knowledge, prevent areas of ignorance
- **Legal principles** – focus on “equitable use”, refutation of 1959 Agreement, D3 Project
- **Rights approach** – move from a rights-based perspective to needs-based approach (Wolf, 1999), clear definition of needs

CONCLUSION

Challenge the *status quo*

90s – new context – **Nile Basin Initiative**

Ongoing cooperation process

Goal: Shared control

Political momentum