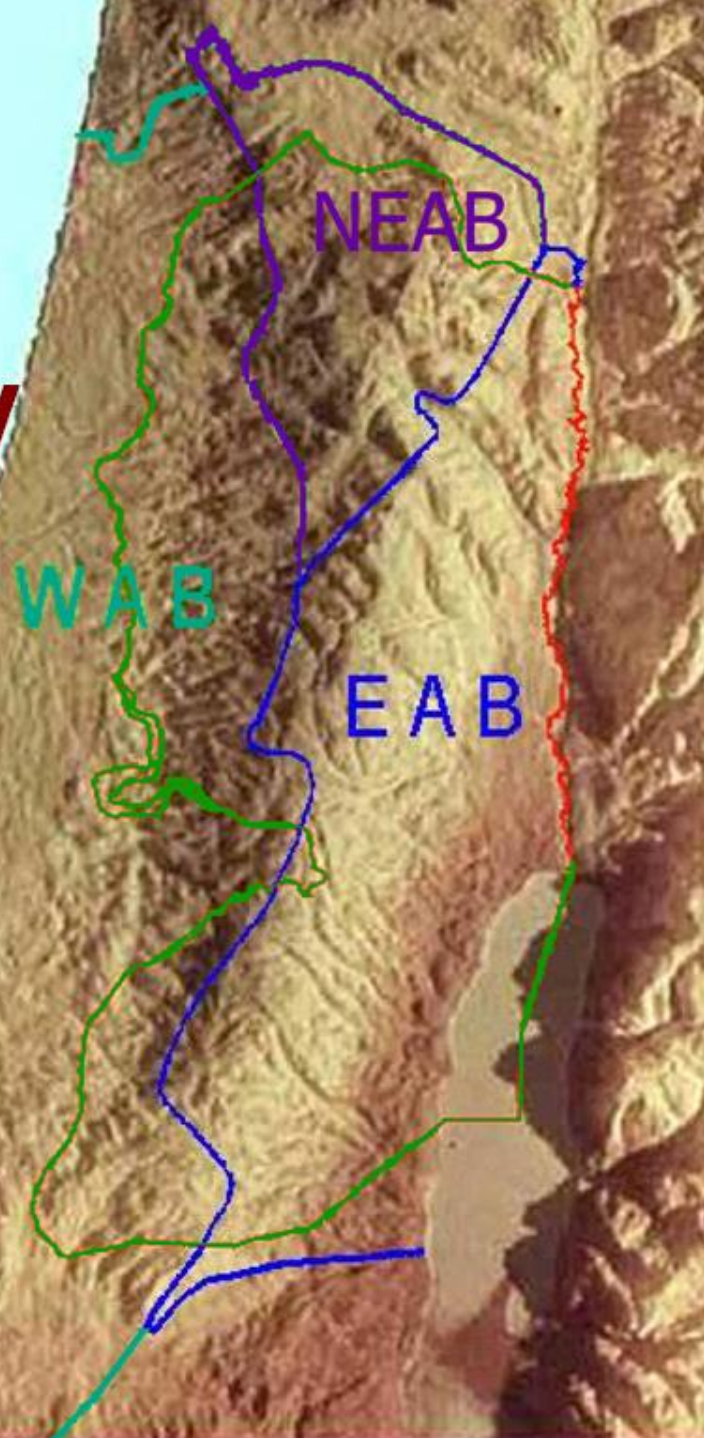


Abu Shafra

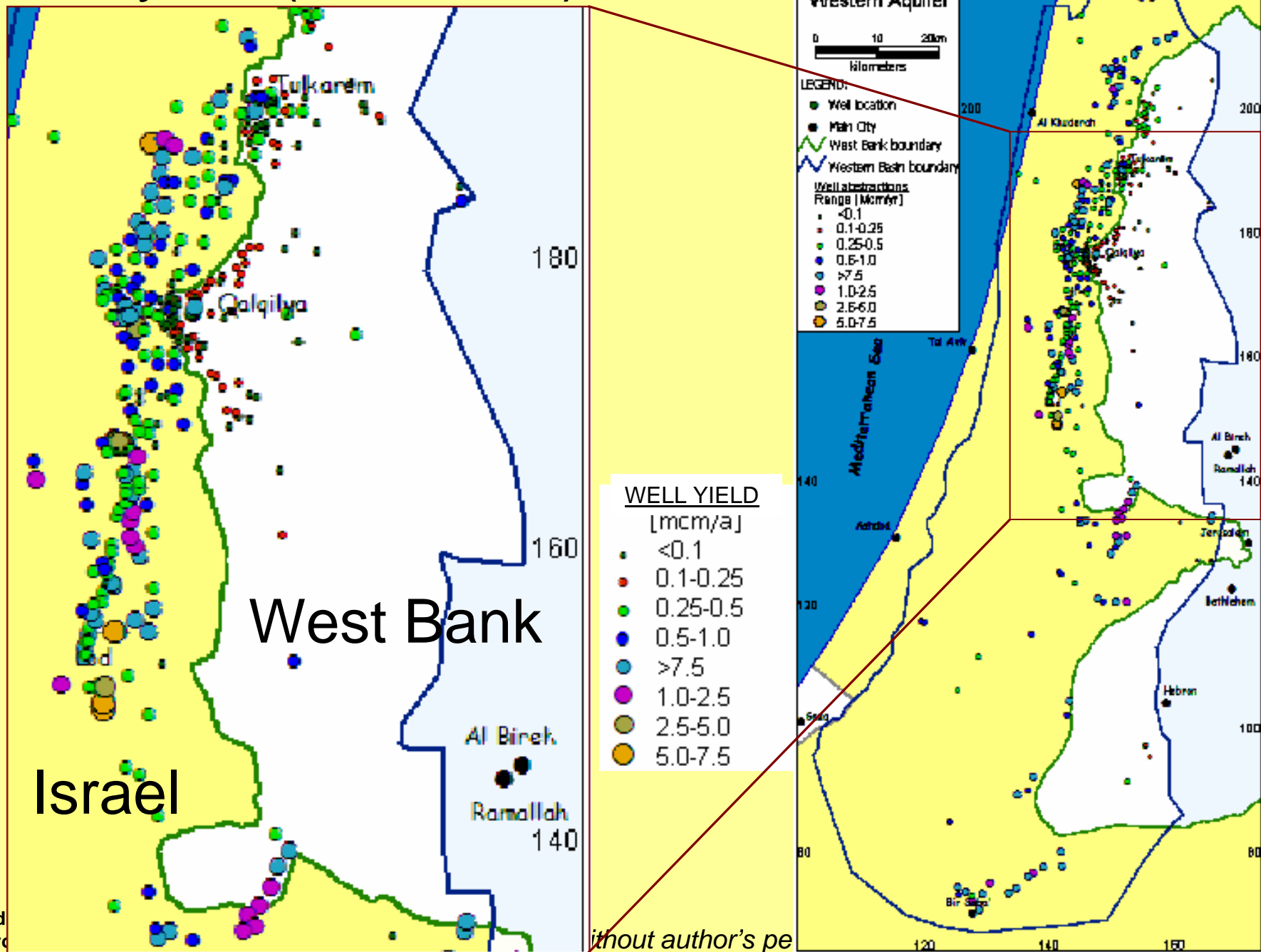
Hegemony & Counter-Hegemony over Shared Aquifers --- The Palestinian Experience



Military Order 291 [19 Dec 1968]

“All prior settlements are no longer valid”; military commander can cancel any regulation; even overrule Israeli civil courts.

Well yield (& number)



Cooperation, only...

...where Israel sits downstream (no cooperation on Gaza aquifer/Jordan River)

...where Israeli supply is entangled with Palestinian water infrastructure within the West Bank (Jerusalem and settlers)

D e – d e v e l o p m e n t (active down-development)

- **Drinking water** supply $1/4$ of the Israeli consumption
- **Agricultural supply** ($1/100$ of the Israeli sector)
 - Destruction of independent Palestinian economy

SINCE OSLO: Separation

- Close down JWC (Mar 06); zero licenses; → freeze all Pal. activities
- Israel acts unilaterally, Palestinians should keep commitments
- Settlers are still connected & served (without JWC)

THE PROCEDURE OF LICENSING WATER
PROJECTS IN THE JWC

ISSUING LICENSE

'FAIR COOPERATION'
would look like this:

FINAL DECISION
JWC (JOINT WATER COMMITTEE)

ISRAELI COORDINATOR (JTSC)

PALESTINIAN COORDINATOR (JTSC)

REGISTRATION OF APPLICATION
Isr Water Comm. Prepare Documents

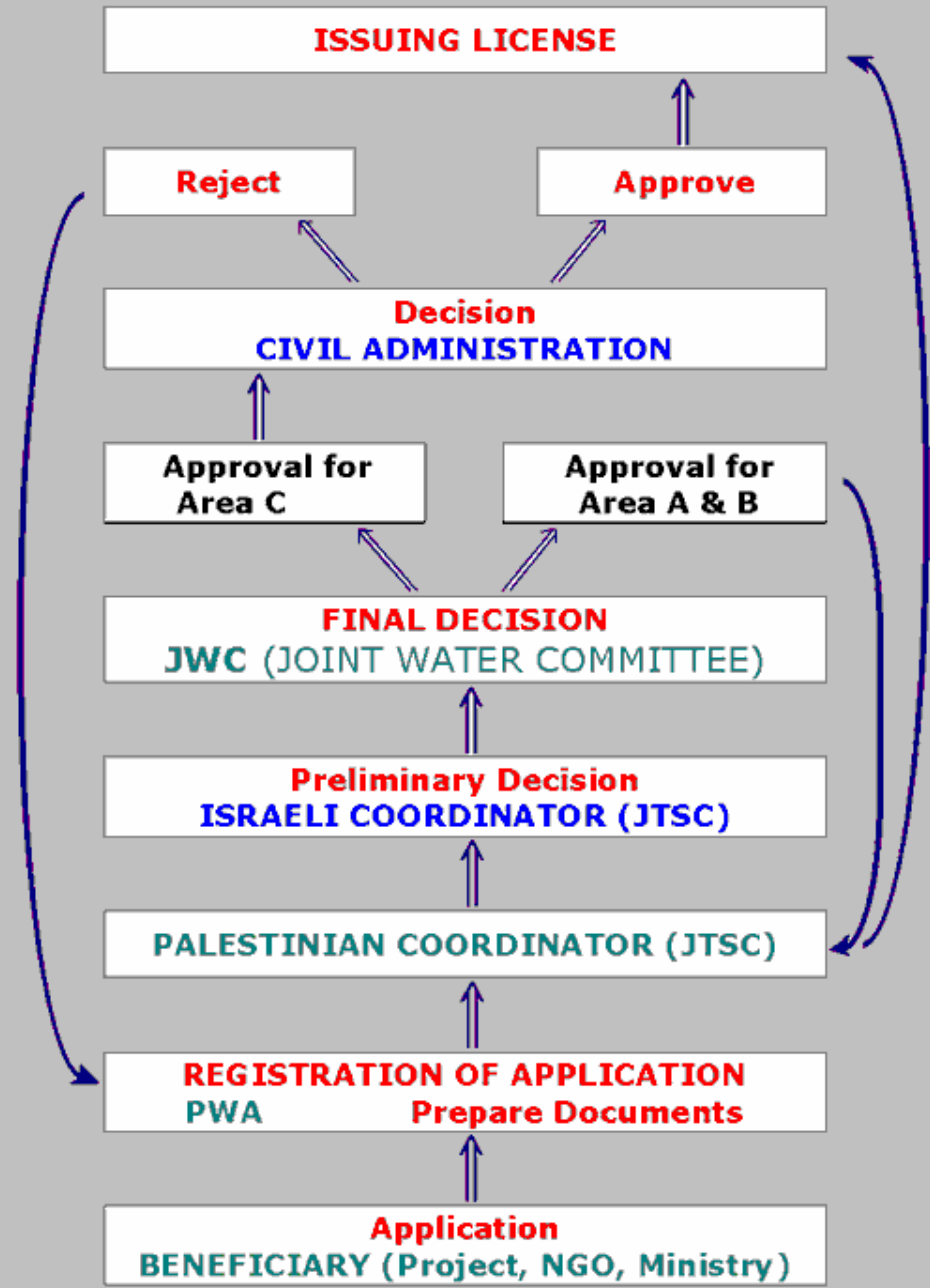
REGISTRATION OF APPLICATION
PWA Prepare Documents

Application
ISRAEL (Project, NGO, Ministry)

Application
WEST BANK (Project, NGO, Ministry)

THE PROCEDURE OF LICENSING WATER PROJECTS IN THE JWC

The reality looks like this:



Oslo: No water success story

No „Autonomy“, but cooperation at any cost, regardless of outcome. Instead of 80 mcm/a (promised under Oslo-II) only 15mcm/ were added to the supply through new wells – clearly not a success story!

For Donors

Western politics and Donors shy away from confronting any of Israels illegal policies. Insist on compromise (on behalf of Palestinians) through cooperation.

For Israel

Oslo legalized the occupation. Cost covered by international community. Political issues downgraded to technical issues

For PA

Particular interest of ruling class, money and power, consent to act as „contractors for the occupation

For Palestinian population

Little if any improvement, some new wells, slightly widened supply areas, but at the same time, for example, Ramallah is more dependant on purchasing Mekorot water than before.

Still 40% of Palestinian communities are without any water supply network

Advantages of the Oslo system

- Ecological (sustainable yield)
- Existence of PWA as new player
 - That could do a lot as a national regulator and for setting and unifying the domestic water agenda
 - But is de facto co-opted into the mismanagement and as a contractor to the occupation...

What should be done?

- COUNTER-HEGEMONY
 - Public discourse / unify / regional alliances
- NEGOTIATIONS
 - Set priorities, strategies + Red lines / Diverging internal interests → public debate / privatization?
- DOMESTIC HOMEWORKS
 - Organize water sector / prioritize work / facts on the ground / develop hardware

Additional (conceptual) thoughts

- “Cooperation between Elephant & fly” (Chomsky)
or rather cooperation between **prisoner & prison guard**?
- Transboundary water interaction = **mix** of coercion & persuasion (Zeitoun)
 - Cascao (Gramsci): coercion & consent (role of PWA here)
 - The concept of hegemony includes confrontation and cooperation as two sides of the same coin
 - Conflict and cooperation do **not only** occur **simultaneously** (Allan); coerced cooperation should be understood as an **expression of the conflict**
- The hegemon **sets the agenda**, he decides upon the topics what to cooperate on, what to negotiate about
 - Not wells in Gaza and Jericho, not local springs, not inside Israel
- JWC as an example for **weak & strong** cooperation **simultaneously** (Allan)
 - weak in sharing, strong in control (prison guard)
- Different strategies/concepts of the conflict → different concept of cooperation.
 - How you conceptualize cooperation also depends on how you view the conflict, the issues at stake and their solution, for example: Water
 - ~ as a human right (equal supply) ↔ ~ as a national right (separate control)

THEORY

THEORY

Forms of control: contested, but in the same time also shared (in West Bank, through JWC)

Israel is a peculiar *Centaur*. A full horse (coercion, force and violence) with some features of the *Man* on top of it (immaterial power, legitimacy, ideas)

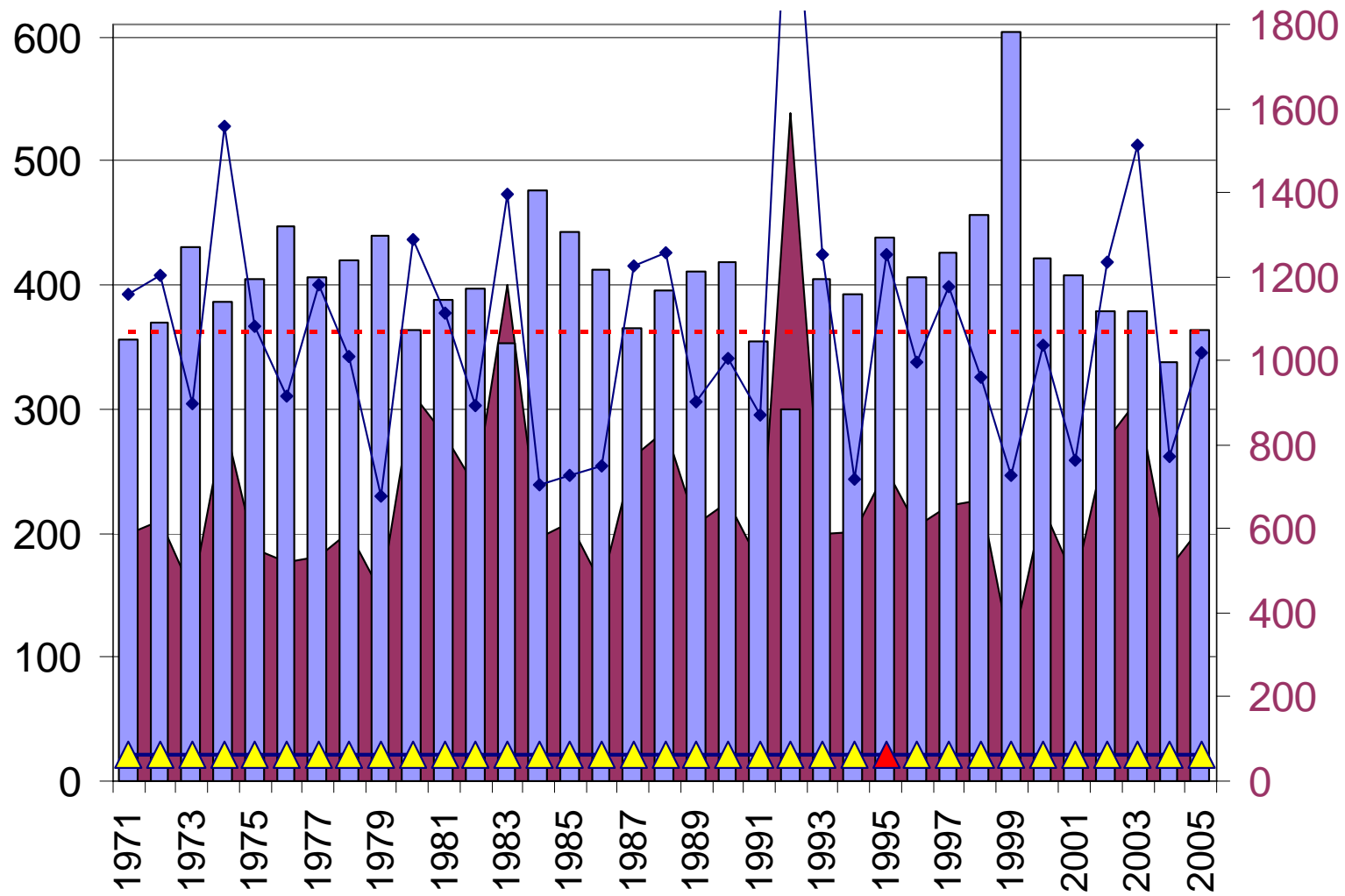
Israel employs all 3 faces of power: Hard, bargaining and ideational power

The dominating form is, of course, clearly oppressive.

Israeli & Palestinian use of the Western Basin

[Mcm/yr]

rain [mm/yr]



THEORY

But Israel also always stresses on the discourse side, the ideational power, in order to appear either as the oppressed and stressed or as the benevolent power

- Israel as a dry country
- Israel's water sector suffers from dryness
- Israel is a responsible and advanced water manager
- Israel makes the desert bloom
- Palestinians do not exist

THEORY

To upset the applecart

- Engage in a successful discourse
- But opportunity costs for Palestinians are extremely high (as seen during the last Intifadha)