

Co-operation or Conflict??

*Fighting Over and Sharing of
Groundwater in Palestine and Israel*

1st Mantra:

“The next war in the Middle East will be over water, not oil”

or

2nd Mantra:

“The transboundary nature of water creates interdependence between states, obliging cooperation”

Neither mantra is accurate.

Cooperation and Conflict exist, simultaneously.

The Paradox explained:

A) Misunderstandings over the term “conflict”

B) Narrow analytical focus on a very broad subject, in a highly securitized environment

A – Confusion over the Term “CONFLICT”

Conflict = any situation in which competing actors have different interests/positions that they are prepared to aggress for or to defend, ***violently*** or *otherwise*.

The connotation of “violence” is what leads to the confusion. Conflict is not always violent, but does always have a “winner”, a “loser” and creates suffering.

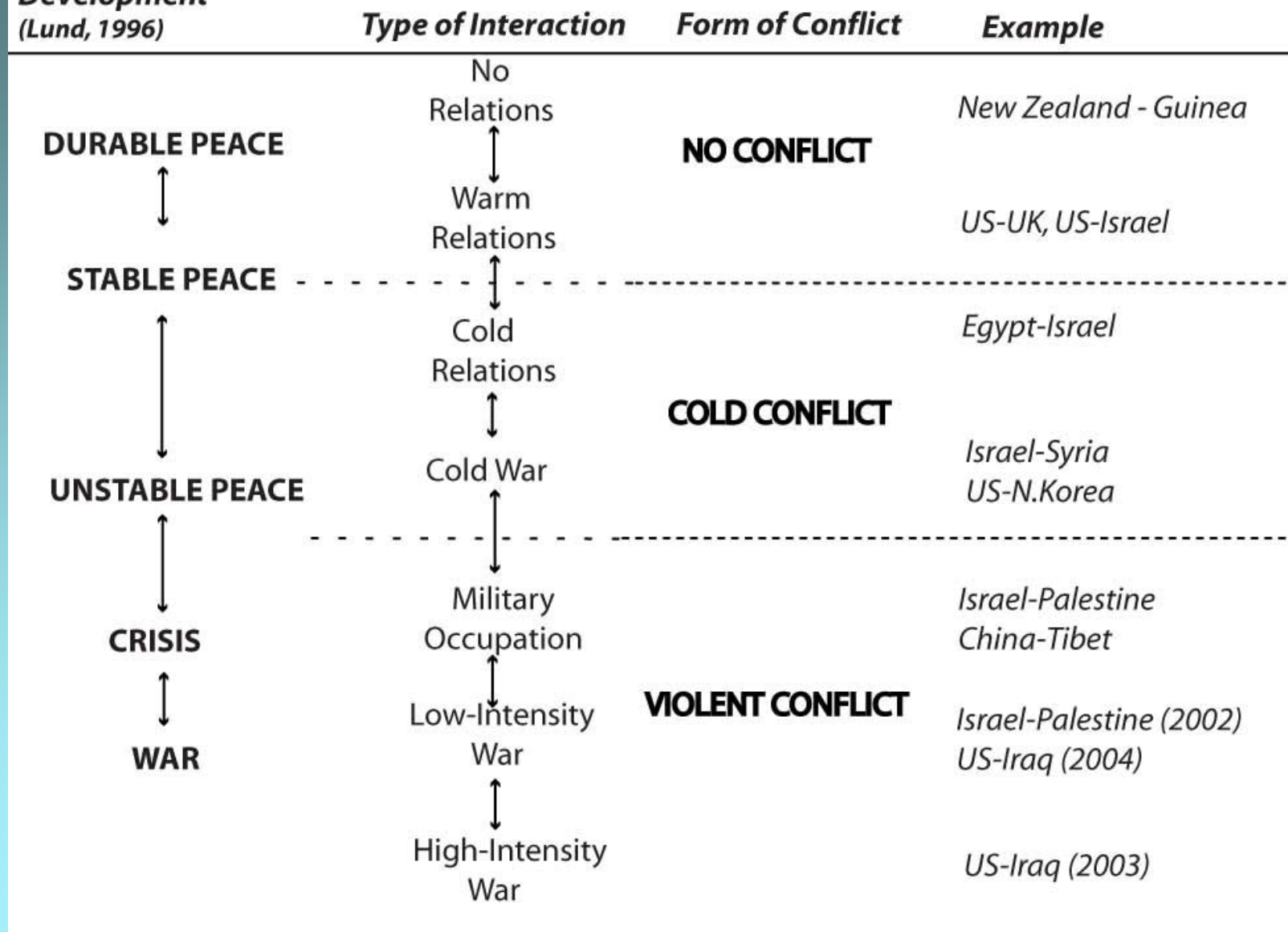
Methods of Conducting Conflict

1. **Violence** – military machinery, assassinations
2. **Coercion** - (using threat to force behaviour change)

Types of Coercion (per Buzan's Security Sectors)	method
Economic Coercion	trade embargoes
Political Coercion	diplomatic isolation
Military Coercion	threats of violence
Societal Coercion	espionage, propoganda
Environmental Coercion	threat of polluting non-shared resource, etc.

Conflict Framework

Stages of Conflict Development
(Lund, 1996)



“War is the continuation of politics by other means” - Clausewitz

B – Narrow Focus on a Very Broad Subject,
in a highly securitized environment

Analysis performed through

SECURITY STUDIES THEORY

HYDRAULIC MISSION

REGIME THEORY

The expanded Security Continuum

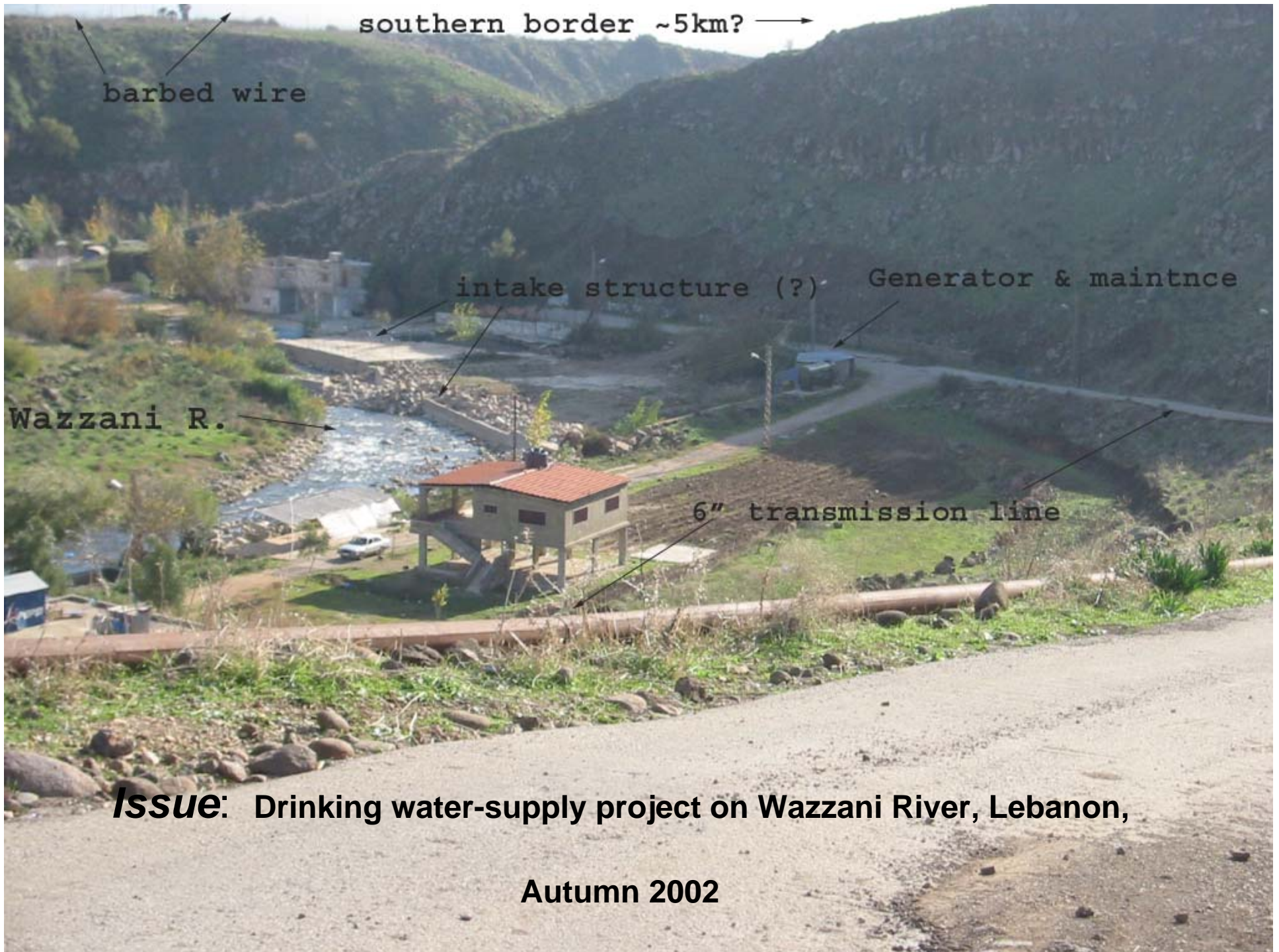
non-politicized – politicized – securitized / opportunitized -- violated

Buzan (1996), Warner (2003)

'politicized' = the issue is part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocation

'securitized' = “the issue is an existential threat requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure”

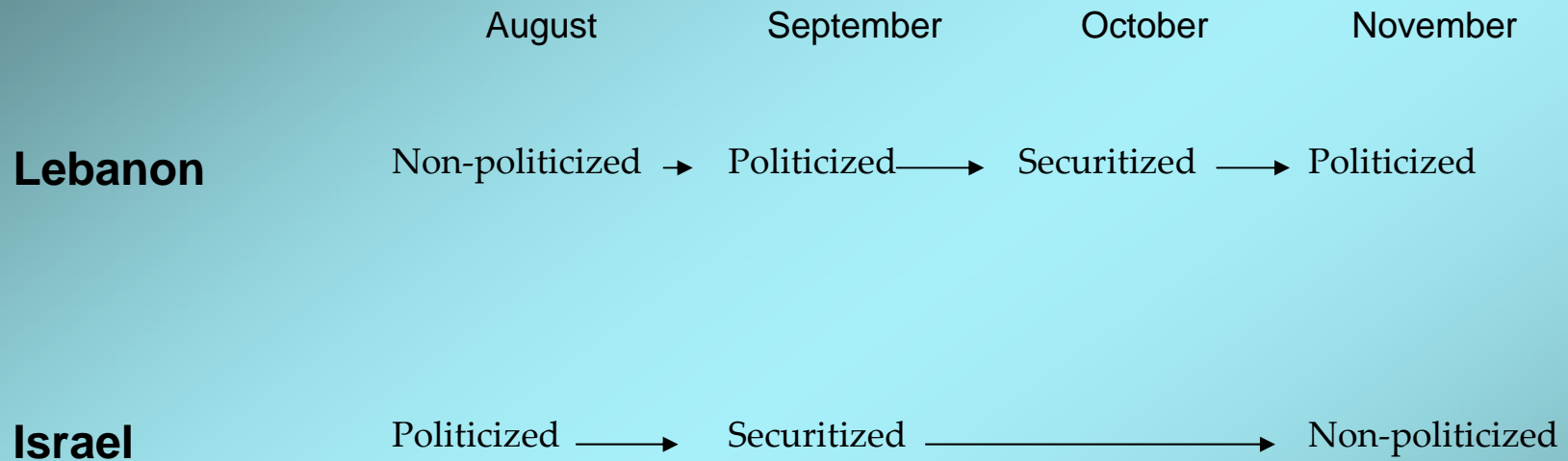
'violated' = the issue has escalated in intensity to the point that 'confrontational action' is employed and the normal conventions of politics are violated



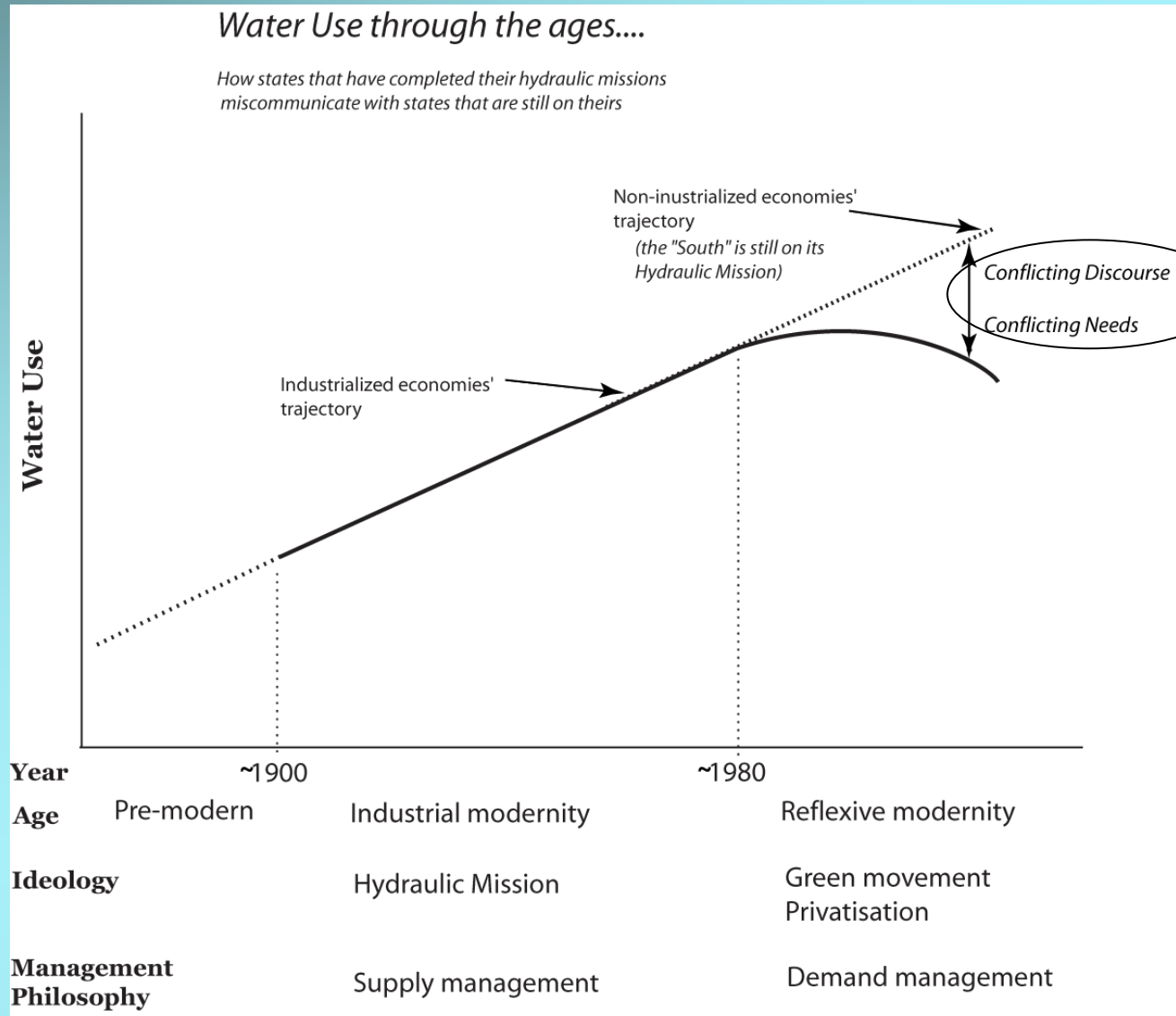
Issue: Drinking water-supply project on Wazzani River, Lebanon,

Autumn 2002

Issue: Water-supply project on Wazzani River, Lebanon, Autumn 2002



How the Hydraulic Mission can lead to conflict...



Allan, 2003 (adapted by the author)

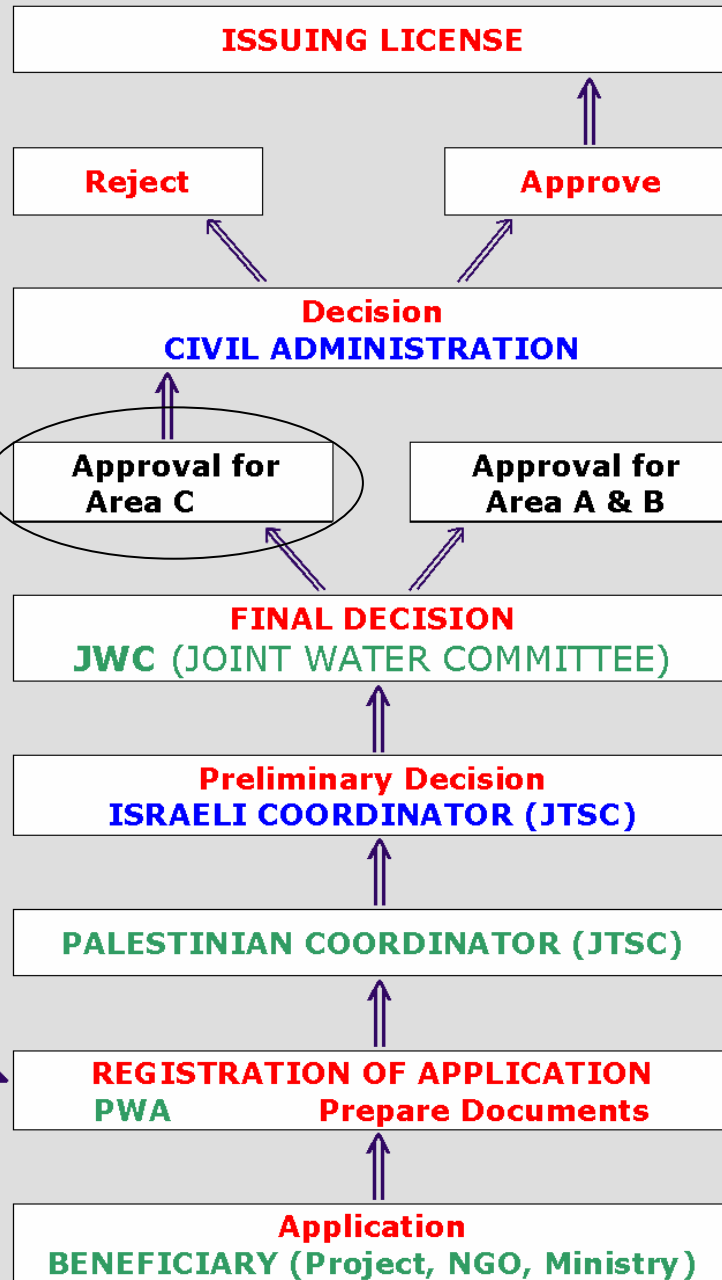
REGIME THEORY

Regime = ‘the set of procedures, rules and protocol that are created or exist between actors around certain issues’

“*Negotiated-Order Regime*” = the rules and protocol are formally negotiated between the competing actors (‘formalized cooperation’)

“*Imposed-Order Regime*” = the hegemon creates and maintains the order to further its own interests (from hegemonic theory)

THE PROCEDURE OF LICENSING WATER PROJECTS IN THE JWC



72% of West Bank

SECURITY STUDIES

Factors Affecting Relations

<i>Jordan River basin riparians</i>	Approx. water self-sufficiency	Economic Capacity	Hegemonic Power	Access to Global Support
Syria	70%	moderate	weak	little
Lebanon	100%	moderate	very weak	little
Israel	25%	strong & diverse	strong	very significant
Palestine	20%	very weak	very weak	very little
Jordan	25%	weak	weak	little

(Allan, 2001)

Israel – Palestine *Security Complex*

Buzan's Security Sectors	Israel	Palestinians
Military	Powerful, disciplined army, air force, navy, intelligence.	No army, air force or navy. Numerous poorly-armed, poorly-disciplined police units. Weak intelligence.
Political	warm relations with US, cold or antagonistic relations with Arab states, some support from EU.	weak support from EU, weak support from Arab states, cold relations with US, no control over borders
Economic	strong and diverse economy.	economy client of Israel's (Kahn, forthcoming), no control over imports.
Environmental	control over water resources, risk of contamination from Palestinian side of shared aquifers.	no access to Jordan River, risk of contamination from Israeli side of shared aquifers (in Gaza, and from settlements in West Bank).
Societal	strong attachment to the land (Zionism), social cohesion in face of adversity.	strong attachment to the land (agriculture, nationalism).

Palestinians involved in the water sector live this power asymmetry.

PWA, unwilling to lose their relevance or their place at the table, or donor funding, have little choice but to follow donor-driven, or Israeli-driven policies.

Negotiated-Order Regime → Imposed-Order Regime

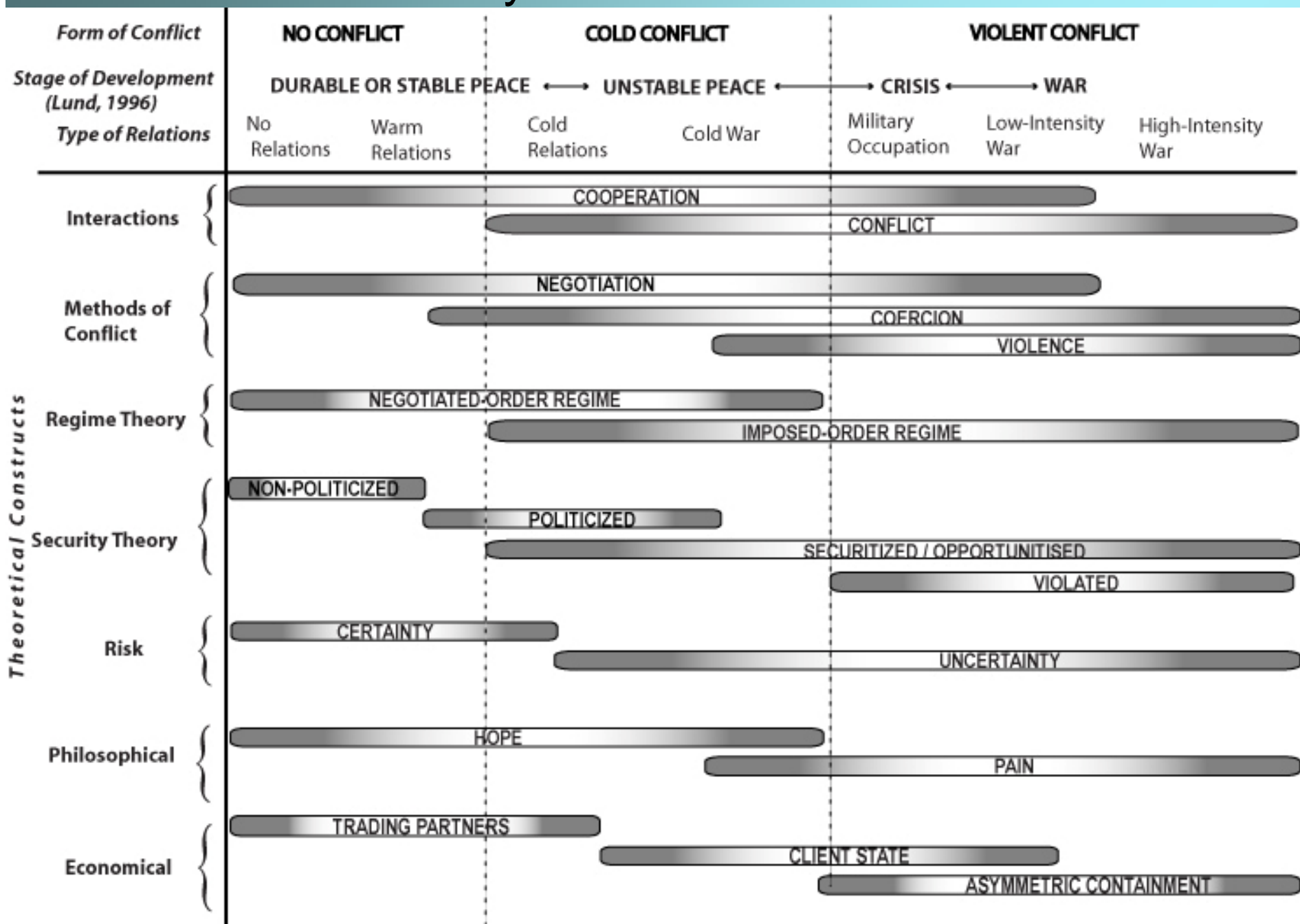
i.e. furthering of the hegemon's interests, constraining the cooperation

The “Imposed-Order Regime” is enabled
by the power asymmetry

‘the outcome of co-operation between an elephant and a
fly is not difficult to predict’

Chomsky, in Selby, 2003

The "Theory & Conflict Framework"



Narrow Focus

→ Cooperation

Broad Focus +
Securitized Environment

→ Conflict and Cooperation

This is the Conflict vs. Cooperation Paradox

*The good old rule
Sufficeth then, the simple plan,
That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep, who can.*

William Wordsworth, 1807

And they should understand, who want to progress.