

Water and Israeli colonialism

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Self-critique two decades after Oslo
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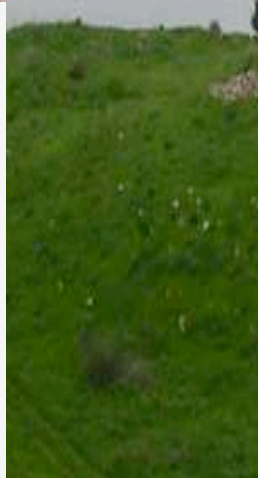
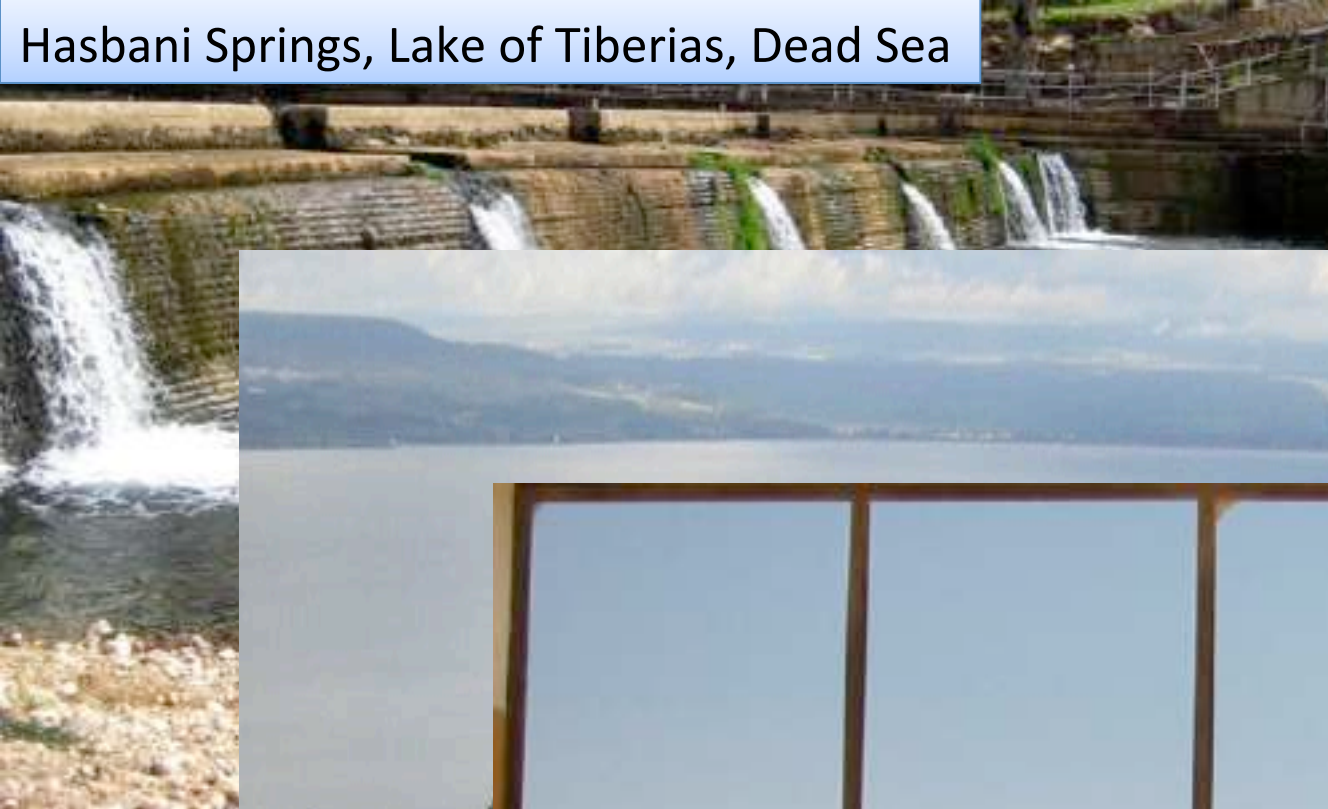
WATER RESOURCES

Surface water



Map adapted by Zeloun (2003) from the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Center for Economic and Social Rights, Executive Action Team (USGS Overview of MidEast Water Resources).

Hasbani Springs, Lake of Tiberias, Dead Sea



Surface water use

National Water Carrier,
built 1964



Map adapted by Zeiloun (2003) from the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Center for Economic and Social Rights, Executive Action Team (USGS Overview of MidEast Water Resources).

1906



Scene at the River Jordan, Holy Land, at Pilgrims Baptismal Place, during the preparation of the sacred water for shipment. The two mounted men are Turkish Cavalry soldiers, sent by the Governor of Jerusalem with Col. Nadaud for protection and assistance in his work at the Jordan. In this group are represented seven races: Turkish, Arab, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian, Bedouin and American.

< 1948 – Water used to encourage Jewish settlement

1928

To increase 'absorption capacity' of the land



"Jewish settlement on hula plain with the mountains of Galilee in the background, Palestine, Israel", Images of the Jewish community from RGS collection, 1928, UK National Archives.

Groundwater



Map adapted by Zeitoun (2003) from the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Center for Economic and Social Rights, Executive Action Team (USGS Overview of MidEast Water Resources).

Groundwater use in the West Bank

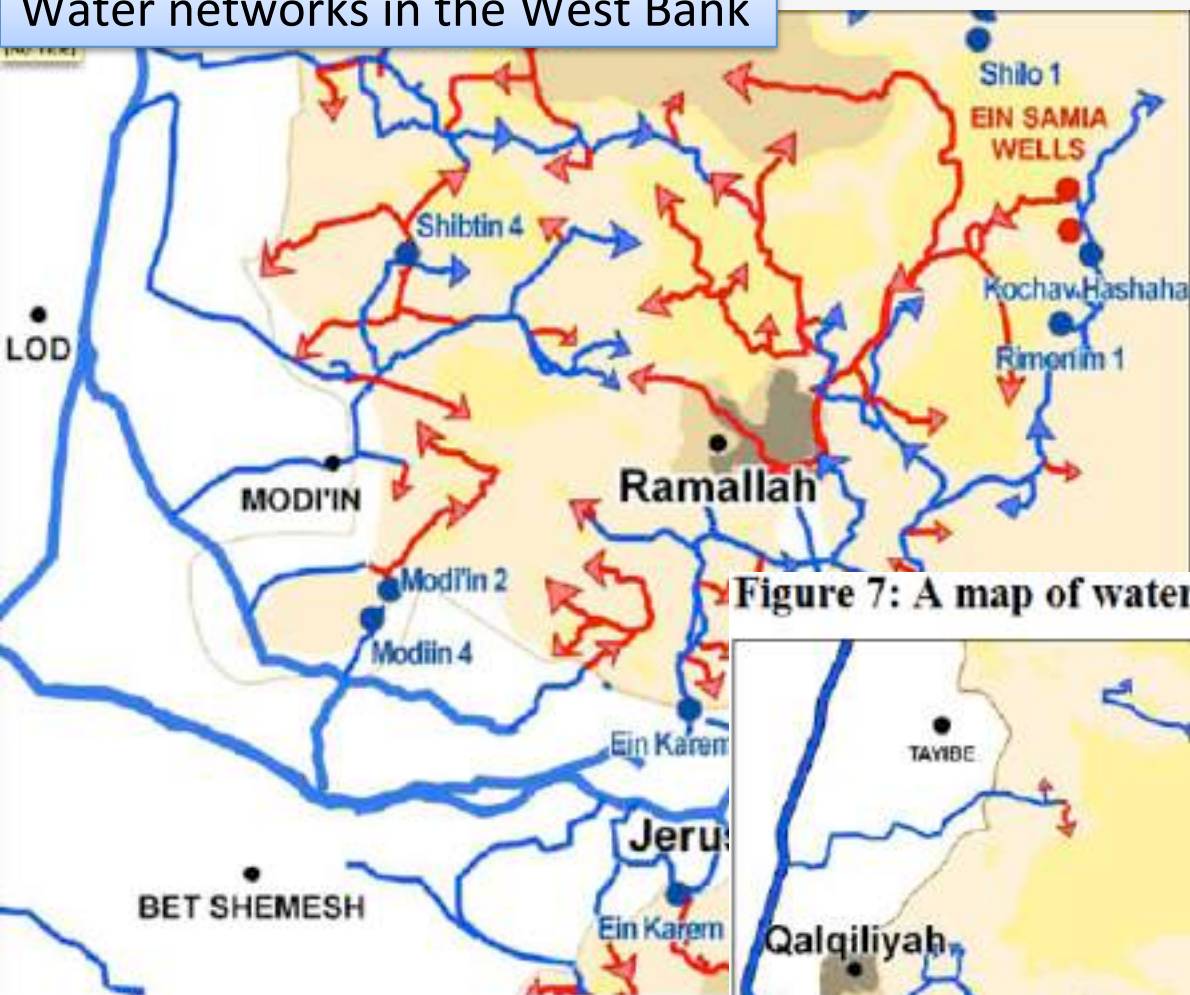
1990s



Israeli pump

Water distribution line,
to Israeli settlements
and Palestinian villages

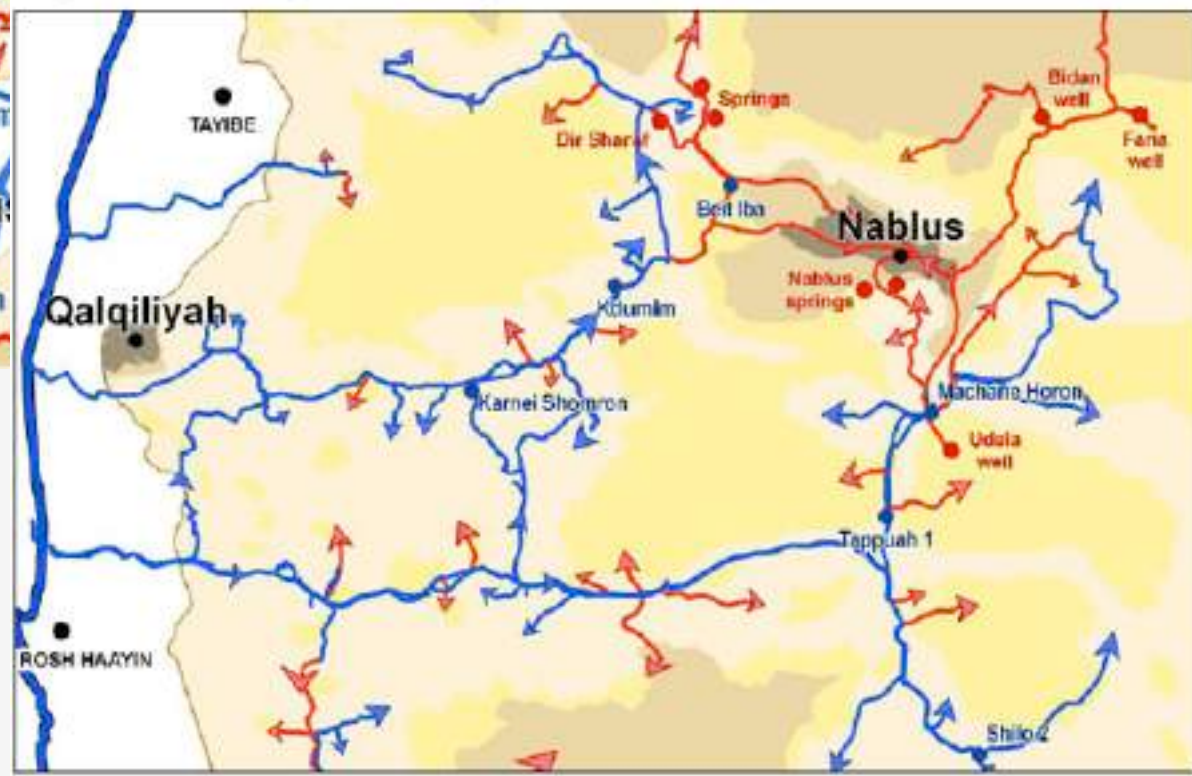
Water networks in the West Bank



Blue = Israeli state and settlement networks

Red = Palestinian networks

Figure 7: A map of water plants in the Samaria Mountains



WATER + OSLO II

Oslo II, Annex III, Article 40

Agreed to by PLO and Gov't of Israel

Distribution of control of transboundary flows: **90-10**

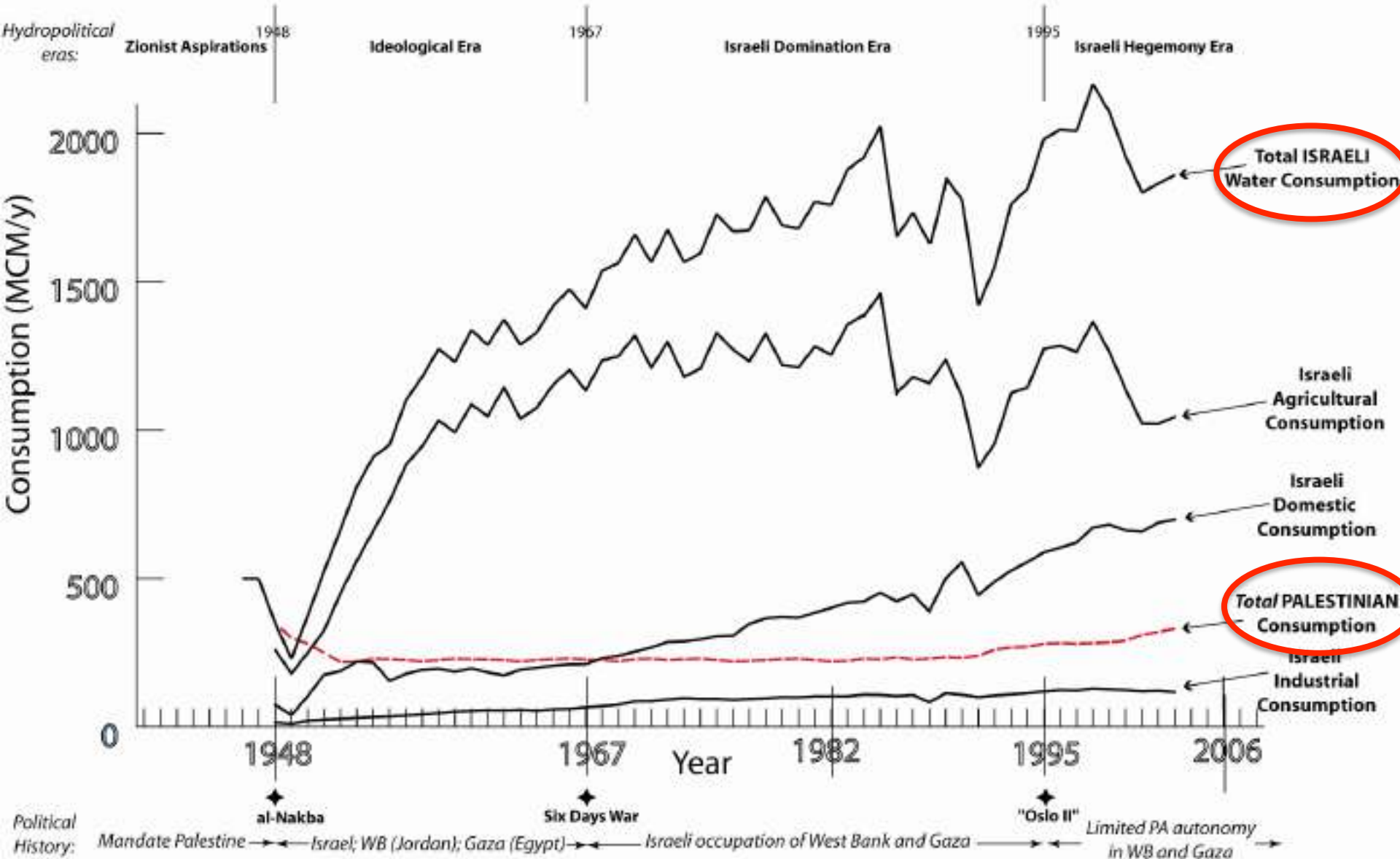
+ Palestinian Water Authority (PWA)

+ Joint Water Committee (JWC)

Asymmetry manifested – in numbers

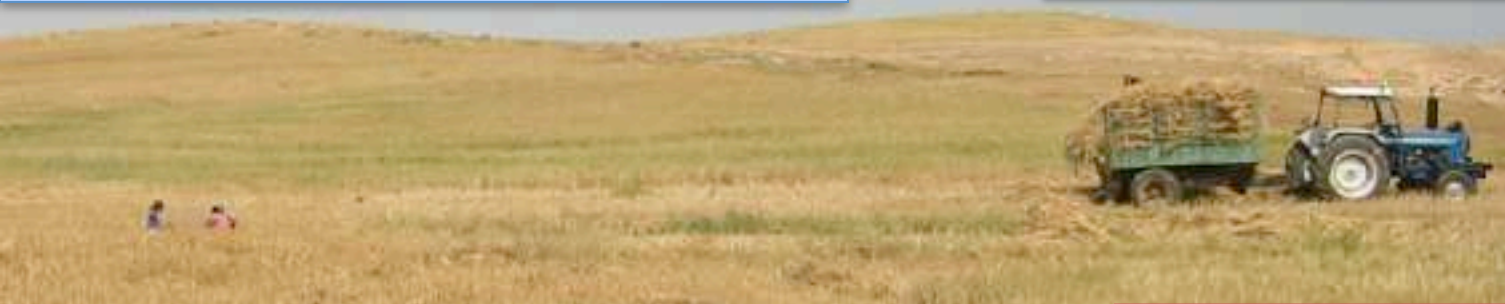
Israel ~ 7M people

WB/G ~ 3M



Asymmetry manifested – in reality

Palestinian farmers in the West Bank (2005)



Israeli settler farmers in the West Bank



Asymmetry manifested – in reality

near Masafer Yatta
(a.k.a Firing Zone 918)

**Karmel settlement supplied by secure 8" water line
from Israel** for industrial livestock activities

How did this asymmetry come
about, and how is it maintained??

2" water line from Yatta supplying four Palestinian villages

(Umm al Khiyar, 'Arab as Saray'a, Arab al Ka'abneh Najdada, Birket Khamsin al Karm)

THE HEGEMONIC APPARATUS

mix of Force + Consent

Force

< 1948 Land appropriation through irrigated farming
(see Abu Sitta 2011)

Force

1967 Military Conquest → 3 military orders

1967–95 Occupation → water for settlers legitimised
through water supplied to Palestinian villages

2001 onwards → Damages to water infrastructure

Consent

1995 ‘Oslo II’ Agreement → The Joint Water Committee
“dressing up domination as cooperation” (Selby 2004)

Through JWC, PWA *still* legitimising settlement construction;
PA consenting to its own colonisation (see Selby 2013)

WATER + ISRAELI COLONIALISM

***Provide* water → right people move in**

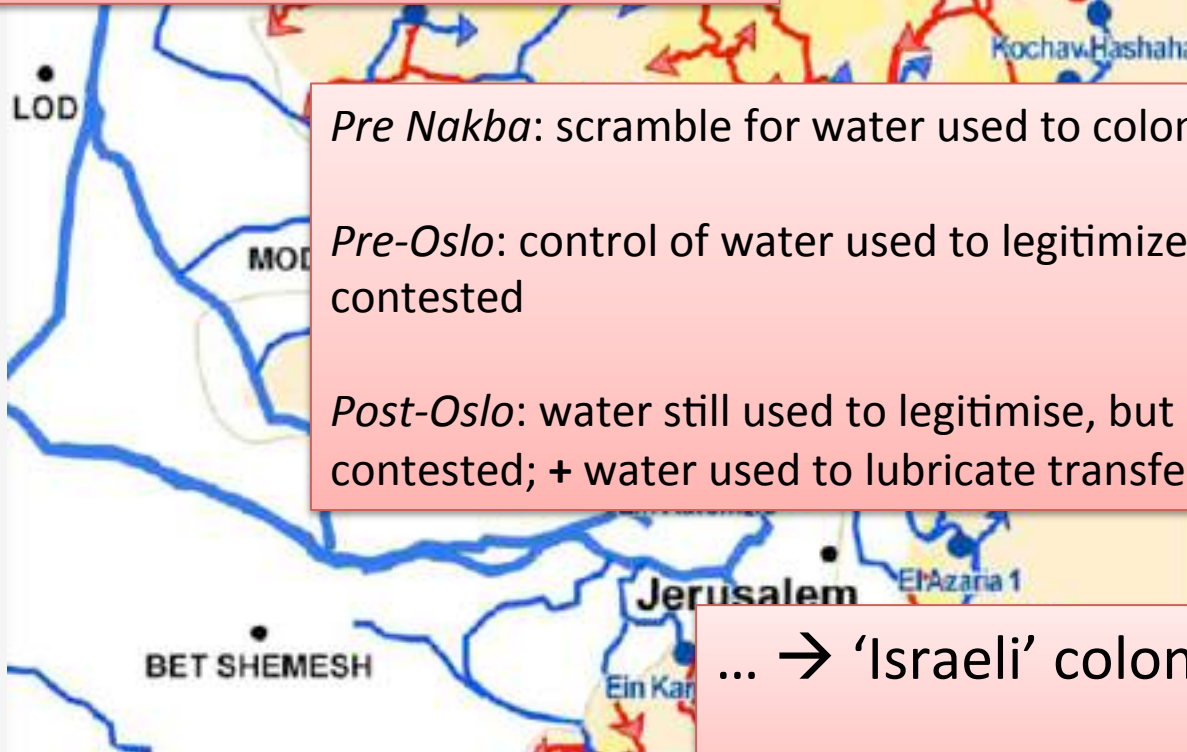
***Deny* water → wrong people move out**

Control of water allows it to be used
to lubricate population transfer



- population transfer happening also inside Israel
→ chauvinism, not just colonialism

- Latest Israeli water master plan calls for more desalination, + **separation** of systems (unlike networks shown here) – *And* still calls for “coordinated management” (see IWA 2012)



Pre Nakba: scramble for water used to colonize BM Palestine

Pre-Oslo: control of water used to legitimize colonization, but contested

Post-Oslo: water still used to legitimise, but no longer contested; + water used to lubricate transfer – very steadily

... → ‘Israeli’ colonialism?

Weizmann: “another acre, another goat” (Said 1998)

WAYS FORWARD

+ 'Double inevitability' (Harvey 1996: 324)

Ways forward

Negotiations

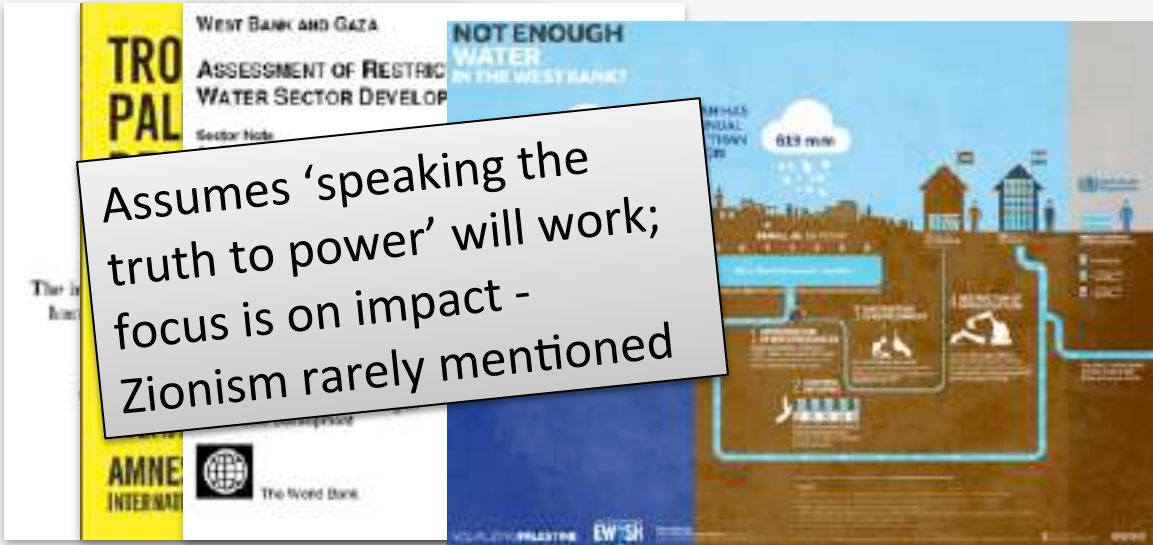
Israeli position: Oslo 3
PLO position: Intn'l Water Law

Assumes both sides are ~ equal,
and can match interests

+ the 'positive sum' resolution to the water conflict

Communications Advocacy

Exposing and
explaining what's
going on



Assumes 'speaking the
truth to power' will work;
focus is on impact -
Zionism rarely mentioned

International Solidarity

UK imports about 114 Mm3/y of
'virtual water' in potatoes from
Israel (WWF 2008)



not supported by PA,
often subordinate to PA

Ways forward

Groundwork

Getting water to people

Hampered by PWA,
Obstructed by JWC, Israel



Legal Advocacy

HR to Water, IWL, IHL, etc.

Case made for an ICJ ruling on water. *Jus cogens* and coercion → invalidate Oslo

(but) PA would have to lead

It seems inevitable that the PA, both: will fail, will try nothing else

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions

Israel exports about 780 Mm3/y
of 'virtual' water
(Chapagain&Hoekstra App XVIII – 2)

Single State

very sensible, also
from perspective of
water resources



CONCLUSIONS

A) Logic of Settler Colonialism

- Water is used to a) legitimise settler project, and b) enable population transfer
- This particular type of colonisation is influenced by Zionism, food trade, and still-existing tensions within Israel about whether to colonize or separate...
→ 'Israeli colonialism'
- PWA caught up in a hegemonic apparatus

B) Ways forward

- Many efforts to confront the water situation are obstructed by pretense of statehood and of equality
- PA double inevitability – will fail and will try nothing else

→ communal work around the PA:

groundwork, BDS, legal campaigns, single political entity

Thank-you

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misc extra slides

“It is vital, when encountering a serious problem, not merely to try to solve the problem in itself, but to confront and transform the processes that gave rise to the problem in the first place” (Harvey 1996: 401)

Use/control of transboundary waters between West Bank/Gaza and Israel:

<i>source</i>	<i>WB/Gaza</i>	<i>Israel</i>
Jordan River	0	100
Wadi al Fara'	5	95
Wadi Gaza	2	98
Eastern Aquif.	60	40
N.Eastern Aquif.	35	65
Western Aquif.	6	94
Coastal Aquif.	35	65
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>90%</i>

Welcome to the Civil Administration Quarterly



(March 2010 issue)

Dear Friends,

Lt. Col Avi Shalev
Head of International Organizations and Foreign Affairs Branch

It is with great pride and pleasure that I announce the publication of our first newsletter here at the Civil Administration. The *Civil Administration Quarterly* will play a pivotal role in adding much needed transparency to the critical work being done in the West Bank by our staff. The goal of such a publication is to be informative, beneficial to the community and illustrate our dedicated and sincere efforts at the Civil Administration to make a positive impact on individual lives in the West Bank.

Our first issue features the diligent work of our Water Affairs Department and their mission to administer water development projects in the West Bank. The Civil Administration, in coordination with the Palestinian Water Authority and the international community continues to work towards finding practical solutions to water resource management. Water is a fundamental aspect of human existence and it is our job at the Civil Administration to preserve this resource for the well being of all communities in the West Bank.

- Status quo (no cooperation)
- 'Oslo III' (asymmetric cooperation) ← *Official Israeli Position*
- Environmental Approach (FOEME)
- Minimum Water Requirements (Shuval)
- International Water Law ← *Official Palestinian Position*
 - 'Equitable and Reasonable Use' *and/or*
 - 'Equal *per capita*'

Violations of Oslo II (Article 40): Palestinian – many minor
 Israeli – major and systematic

[Legal Analysis of Water Clauses of Oslo II, Stephen McCaffrey]

HR to Water:

- recent UN GA declaration
- traction through UN Security Council
- traction through Committee on Social and Cultural Rights

International Humanitarian Law

- Violations of ‘Law of Belligerent Occupation’ / settlements
- ICC (Int Criminal Court)

International Water Law

- inequitable and unreasonable
- ICJ (Int Court Justice), through allies, or
- Permanent Court of Arbitration (oPt can initiate)

Invalidity of Oslo II

jus cogens (since Oslo supports settlements) / coercion