

Transboundary

Water Interaction

(conflict and cooperation)

a fluid concept

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No war, no peace?

Water wars

- Predicted since 1990s, now 'climate wars' (Wenzel 2008)
- Didn't happen
- Hydro-conflict always related to/proxy for something else

Water peace

Treaties signed but regimes remain limited

Very few multilateral

Regimes easy to dodge/cancel





Dealing with stress...

Scarcity leads to war?

- Fighting
- Stealing
- Conservation
- Regulation/reallocation
- Negating the problem
- Displacing the problem
- Intensive exploitation (mining)

- Cooperation

- (Weste/ Molle 2/ 007)





- (Williams 2003:) Cooperation /coordination is almost unavoidable. Isolation is economically and politically very costly
- Technical Cooperation despite political onflict (Isr//Pal)
- But on which terms?

- Drought => Cooperation
 - East Africa C, Egypt- Ethiopia



- Upstreamers use water to get power, downstreamers use power to get water
- Downstreamers may have access to sea or strategic channel: Egypt; Netherlands
- No need for upstreamers to cooperate.. But inevitable clash due to resource interdependence



Water conflict does not necessarily indicate acute scarcity

- Euphrates/Tigris has relatively rich resources, still have had intense disputes
- Nile has periods of such abundance Sudan and Egypt have to deal with flooding
- Some really water-poor areas have no (open) conflict





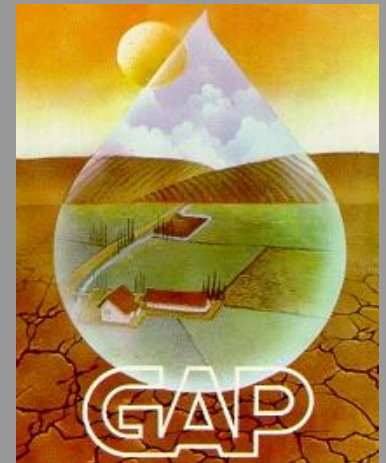
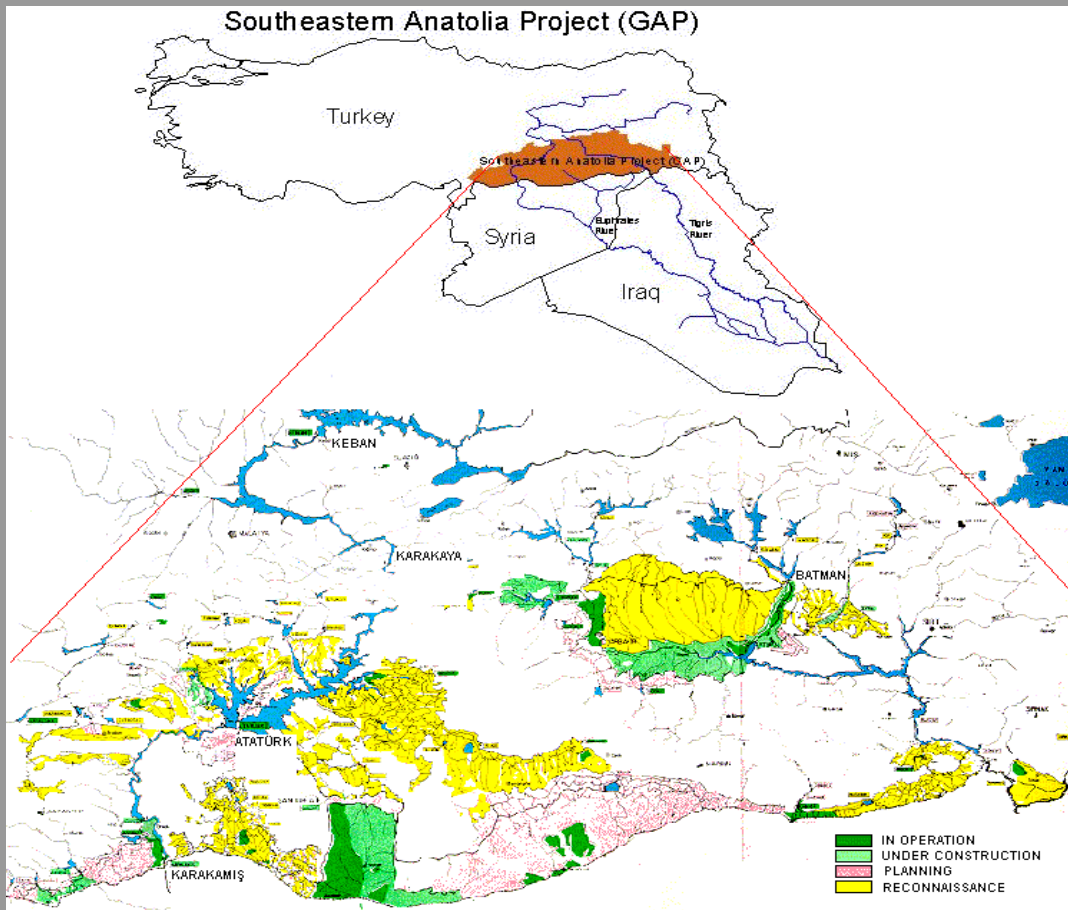
Driver/passenger

- Driver: Turkey: dam regulation benefits Syria and Iraq
- Syria perceives a 'tap' it has no control of
=> Process matters



GAP

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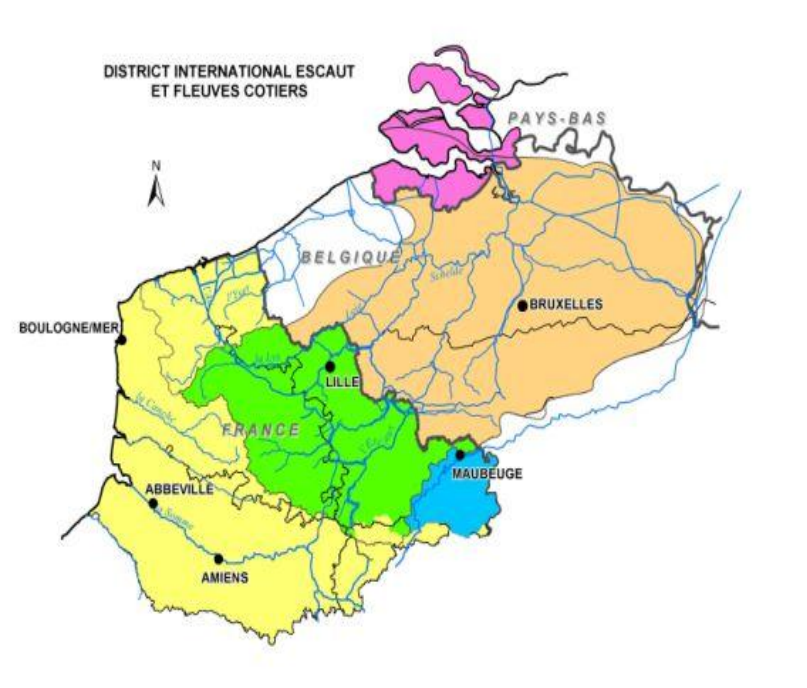


Starting points

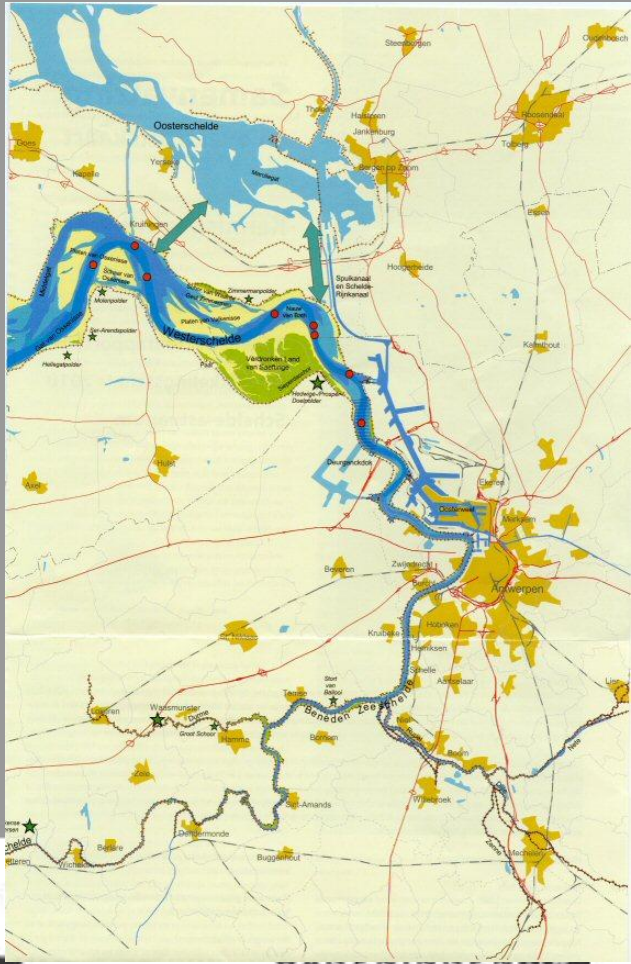
- We should analyse basin conflict AND cooperation
- The absence of war does not mean peace (Nile)
- The absence of a treaty does not mean war (Euphrates)
- The existence of a treaty does not mean actual cooperation
- Conflict and cooperation tend to be multilevel
- But: treaty does not mean it is acted upon
- Not all 'cooperation' is voluntary: can be synonymous with oppression
- Cooperation and conflict can be *simultaneous*



Westerschelde (Escaut)

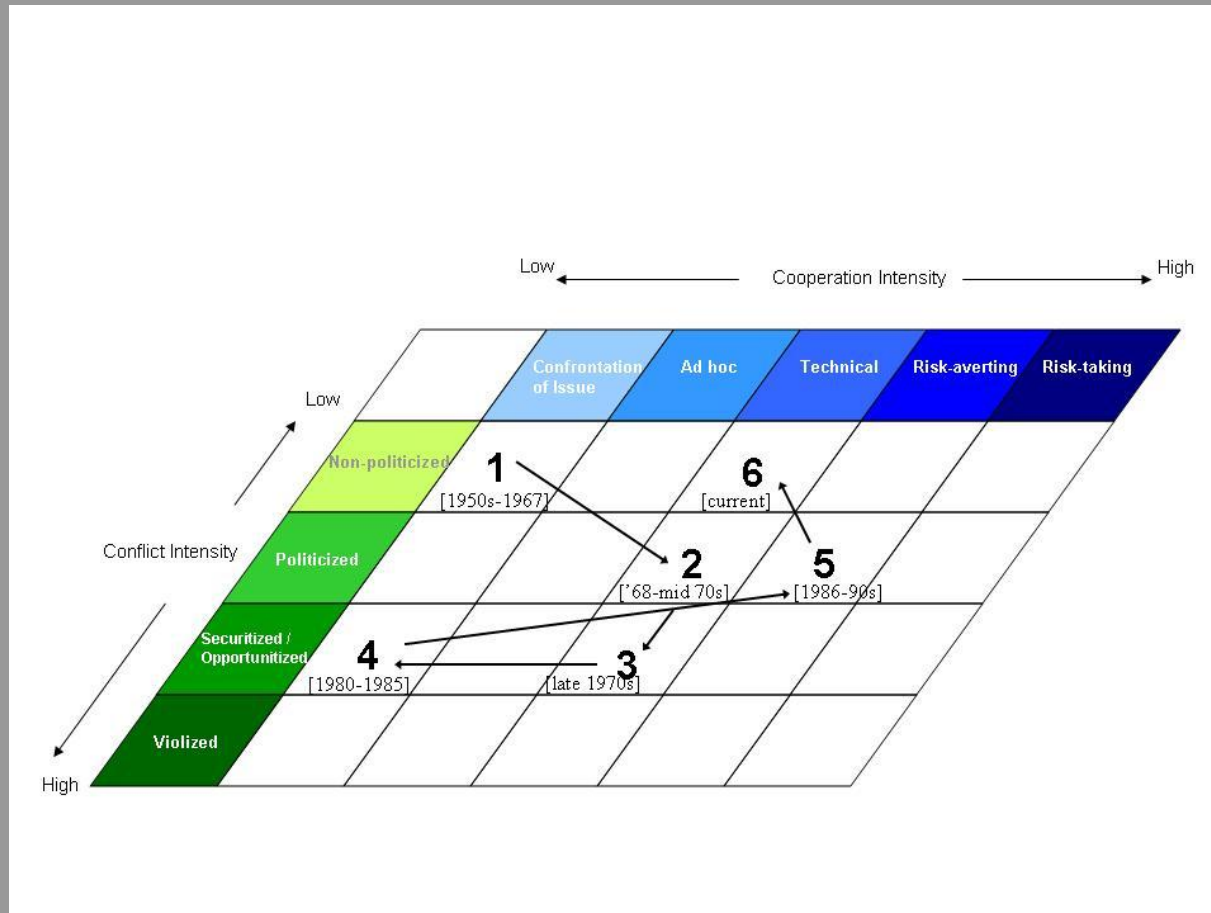


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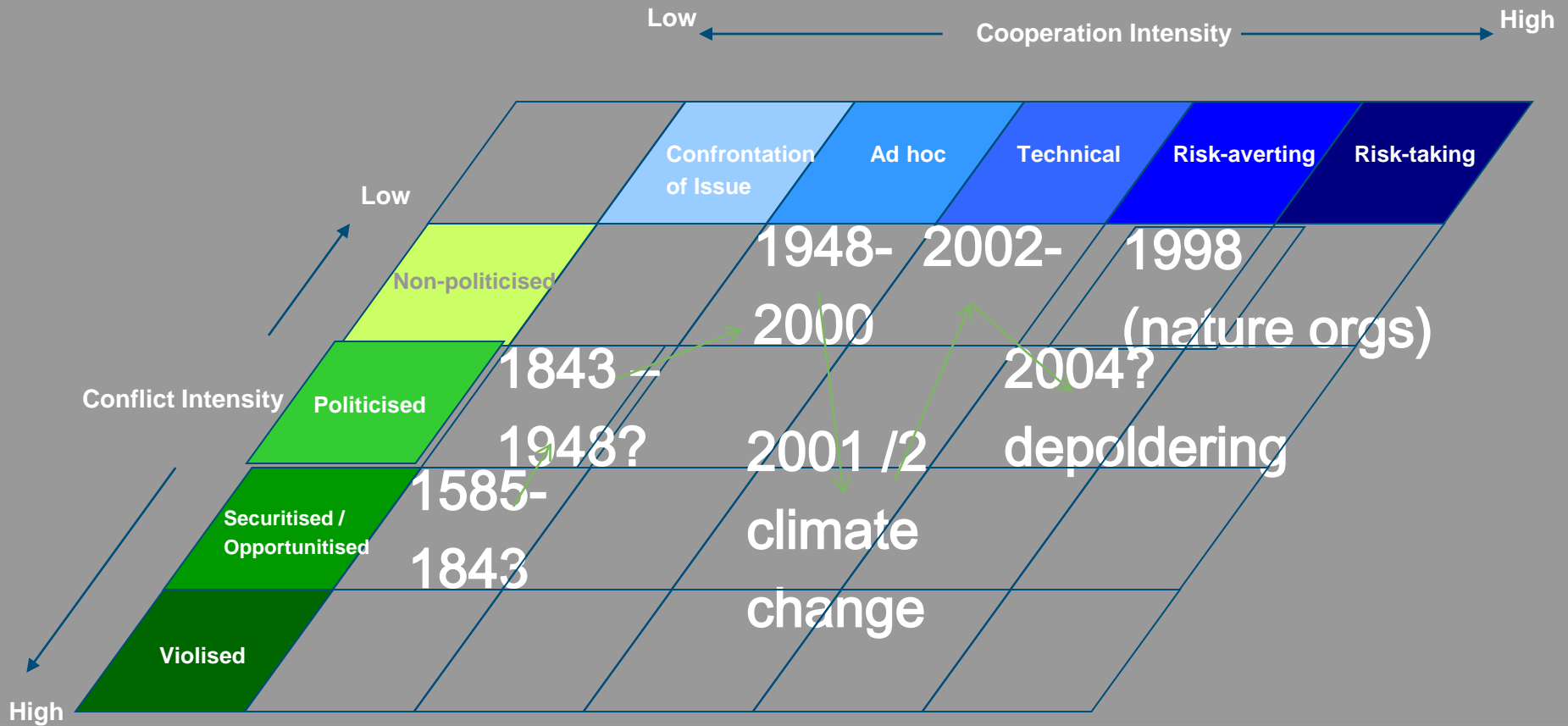


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Cooperation often enforced by hegemony

- Hydrohegemony: Authority based on hard (dominance) and soft power (persuasion)
 - organising fora
 - bearing gifts being generous
 - Success breeds aspiration

Being a hegemonic power brings special opportunities.. and burdens

Leader or bully (coercive hegemony)?

Are there nice hegemons?



But.. There are multiple chessboards

- Internal control
- Regional dominance
- Global leadership/positioning

Plus: Structural linkages existing or established between different issue areas



Hydro-Hegemony (Zeitoun & Warner 2006)

- From the Greek: guidance, leadership
- Difference from dominance: Mix of hard (coercive) and soft (persuasive, ideational) power
- Multi-level struggles impinging on each other ('layer cake')
- Crude operationalisation: position, material power resources, ideational power



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1960s – 1970s Egypte wisselt 2x van blok uit gewin: Assoeandam, Nijlinitatieven

- 'De Wereldbank heeft Egypte meer nodig dan de Egypte de Wereldbank nodig heeft
- Blue Nile: Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia
 - 1906: vcolonial treaty with Menelik II
 - 1920 British-Egyptian treaty; no upstream 'arrest':
 - 1959: Treaty with Sudan, not Ethiopia
- White Nile: Egypte, Sudan, Oeganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi
- Mainly interested in hydropower.. But threateneing to change terms

Uganda and Kenia waking up



Multiple chessboards: Turkey

Turkey vs. Syria and Iraq

Turkey vs. Kurds

Turkey vs. International NGOs

Religious government and SMEs vs. Secular army
and professional organisations

Carrot and stick: threats and gifts

Linkage politics



Two-chessboard strategy: Egypt

External strategy

Stick: Sticking to colonial treaties,
preventing upstream development;
confrontational language

Carrot: collaborative projects

- Powerful friends: US

■ *Internal strategy*

- Stick: tight control of opposition

- Carrot: Employment creation
- Integration of North & South Egypt





Some useful lessons

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- War wars have not happened in recent times (yet)
-
- Upstream riparians use water to access more power
 - Downstream riparians use power to access more water
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- Water conflict is not usually only about water. Rather, it is a flashpoint for all kinds of disputes
 - Likewise cooperation can be about other issues than water





The River Jordan

- R Jordan:
5 riparians

Golan Heights & Jordan headwaters disputed between Israel, Syria and Lebanon

West bank: who owns the aquifers?

Gaza: saline drinking water





Euphrates-Tigris basin

- Multiple chessboards:
- Internal colonisation of resources (TVA/Dnepr model)
- - Turkish state vs Kurds
- Turkey vs. Syria and Iraq
- Global overlay: US dominance in region





Whose benefits, whose welfare?

- Senegal Treaty: good relations between states but how does it work out at the subnational level?
- Whose water?
 - FDI: investment in land means rights to water
 - Enclosure of water rights: benefit accrue elsewhere

Is it about image?

E,g, MSP for peace-making: the Cochabamba water war

1999 Privatisation of Cbba water supply involved

- Misicuni project \$ 200 mn
- Paying off past debts
- Doubling of water tariff
- Revoking traditional water rights (usos y costumbres)

- Well-advertised conflict attracts donors and peacemakers
- Image of cooperation keeps the aid flowing



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		TYPE OF POLITICAL THEATRE	
		Political theatre of conflict & coercion	Political theatre of cooperation & consent
AUDIENCE	Domestic	- <i>belligerent noises</i> to please a nationalistic audience, to appear tough	- <i>pacifist noises</i> to please a peace-loving audience, to appear benevolent
	International	- <i>collusion</i> : creating the impression of imminent conflict to attract foreign attention and support - <i>sanctioned discourse</i> : 'the right belligerent noises' (.eg. anti-Israel, anti-terrorism)	- <i>collusion</i> : creating the impression of imminent peace to attract foreign support - <i>sanctioned discourse</i> : the right peaceful noises (e.g. benefit sharing, regional integration)



World Bank CIWA project:

- Investment to water cooperation?
- water cooperation to attract investment?