

The migrant trap

Libyan militias are acting as unofficial border quards, detaining and deporting migrants



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OPINION

Celebrating water cooperation: Red Sea to Dead Sea

Israel-Palestine Joint Water Committee's work has been referred to as 'water apartheid', and 'pretence of cooperation'.

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Hilal Elver

Hilal Elver is Research Professor in Global Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Co-Director of the Climate Change Project.

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In December 2013 the World Bank proudly announced a rare agreement on water among Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority (PA). The Middle East is not a region where cooperation among states is common, especially in relation to water. Therefore, the news about this so-called "water cooperation agreement" made headlines in the global media.

While the World Bank, and official authorities of the three countries were very pleased with the outcome, environmentalists and Middle East water specialists were sceptical because of the feared adverse impacts of the project on the environment and fragile ecosystem, and its implications for delicate political conflicts on the ground. Some Israeli experts were suspicious, supposing that the main motivation of the agreement was a geopolitical interest associated with giving support to Jordan. "Saving the Dead Sea" which was proclaimed to the public as the main justification of the agreement was seen as distinctly secondary by critics.

Red Sea to Dead Sea

The agreement calls for transportation of water from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. The goal is to replenish the waters of the Dead Sea that was in serious danger of drying up. The Jordan River had previously been providing feeder waters to sustain the Dead Sea, but these were diminished over the years by diversions in large volumes by Israel, Jordan and Syria.

The project also responds to the acute shortage of clean fresh water, especially in Jordan. One of the main aims of the project is a commitment to build a new desalination plant in Aqaba, Jordan, that will convert salt water from the Red Sea into fresh water. The desalination project will be built and operated by a private company on a strictly commercial basis. The pipeline is scheduled to run exclusively through Jordanian territory from the desalination plant in Aqaba, to avoid strict environmental regulations in Israel. Friends of the Earth Middle East also expressed concerns, pointing out that the volume of water that will be pumped into Dead Sea is not enough to allow the lake to become viable, and that the project is really just an excuse to build a desalination plant and sell its water at a profit.

"

If the parties are grossly unequal and asymmetrical in terms of economic, political and military power, the idea of international cooperation on an equitable basis is almost impossible to realise.

The proposed desalinisation plant will produce for Israel and Jordan each, 8 to 13 billion gallons of water a year. Meanwhile, according to *The New York Times* the Palestinians "expect to be able to buy up to 8 billion gallons of additional fresh water from Israel at preferential prices". Although 25 miles of the Dead Sea's shoreline lie in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Palestinians currently have no access to the Dead Sea but could claim that they will have riparian rights in the future when the state of Palestine is finally established. Meanwhile, Palestinians are forced to buy water from the Israeli desalination plant at high prices.

Recently Israel boastfully announced that there is no water shortage any longer in the country thanks to desalination plants and widely used high-tech reclaimed water in agriculture. This is very good news for Israel. However, it is difficult to understand why the Palestinians are denied or significantly restricted access to an equitable share of mountain aquifers and Jordan River basin, while at the same time being encouraged to buy fresh water from Israel. This puzzle cannot be explained without a closer look at water sharing arrangements and so-called "cooperation" between Israel and Palestine.

Myths about water

"

There are some myths about water issues in relation to Israel and the Palestinians. First of all, contrary to Israeli propaganda, Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) are actually rich in water resources, but the unequal distribution of water rights is used for the benefit of Israel while Palestinians are made to struggle for basic water access. The Mountain Aquifer is one of the most important water resources in the region, being fed by the relatively plentiful rain of the West Bank - Ramallah, which receives an average of 700 mm rainfall per year, around the same as Edinburgh - and historically providing up to a quarter of Israel's freshwater supplies. Despite alarmist predictions of insufficient drinking water supplies by 2040, based on



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the expected population growth in the OPT, Jordan and Israel, it is highly unlikely that drinking water will be scarce. Israel suggested as much when it announced that the country has solved its water problem and was ready to sell additional water to the Palestinians.

The second myth is the pretension that the international water law principles are applicable between Israel and Palestine and cooperation is possible. One of the five clusters of the Oslo Peace Accords was devoted to water. The core principle of customary international water law that requires "cooperation" to realise the "equitable utilisation of shared water". This principle was vaguely affirmed by Oslo but never implemented. The critical question of responsibility for the administration of West Bank water resources was postponed by the parties until the final stage of the negotiation process, which has never taken place despite the lapse of more than 20 years.

According to international water law, joint committees are supposed to facilitate cooperation between countries. However, if the parties are grossly unequal and asymmetrical in terms of economic, political and military power, the idea of international cooperation on an equitable basis is almost impossible to realise. Recent critical scholarship on water politics has pointed out this problem that "cooperation" is often conflict-laden and highly inequitable among asymmetrical riparian countries and that the unquestioned promotion of "cooperation of any sort" over water resources is thus deeply problematic.

This exact situation is happening in the context of the Israel-Palestinian water cooperation. Under the Oslo framework Israel and Palestine established a Joint Water Committee (JWC) in 1995 to govern transboundary mountain aquifers and to support the sustainable development of the Palestinian water sector. The JWC continued to meet regularly to administer the so-called "joint water resources", a rhetoric that implies international cooperation was maintained even during the violence of the Second Intifada (2000-2005), something which no other joint Israeli-Palestinian committee achieved.

"

The World Bank has embarrassed itself by being seemingly ignorant of this fundamental obstacle to constructive cooperation in relation to water policy in the Middle East.

"

Problems with cooperation

since Oslo.

Difficulties with establishing cooperative use of shared water resources also encountered several other river basins in the region such as the Nile and the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, where the riparian states' political, economic and military power is asymmetrical. However, each case is dramatically different than another due to different political, hydrological and economic

The working of the JWC has been criticised by several water policy experts,

ideological apparatus of domination. As a result of the Oslo framework, the

confiscation of water during the past 20 years. Rather than benefiting from

JWC, in fact, Palestinian access to both water and sanitation has deteriorated

PA lacks a legal or political foundation on which to challenge Israel's

as "domination dressed up as cooperation", a "pretence of cooperation", and

even as "water apartheid". Jan Selby researched and interpreted the first 17 years of JWC operations, concluding that JWC functioned as part of the

reasons. According to key findings of the Selby study, water cooperation is never politically neutral and not always benign; it sometimes contradicts the goals of peace and sustainable development. In case of Israel and Palestine specific consideration are below:

- Israeli-Palestinian water cooperation has been associated with a significant worsening of the Palestinian water supply crisis. Israel has vetoed every single Palestinian application for new wells in the Western Basin of the Mountain Aquifer, only small local water networks have been approved. Meanwhile Israel has repeatedly made improvements in the water systems of its illegal West Bank settlements.
- Revealingly the Palestinian Water Authority has approved every single Israeli application for new water supply facilities for West Bank settlements. This has been done with the knowledge of PA President Mahmoud Abbas and constitutes the first such evidence of the PA lending its official consent to parts of Israel's settlement expansion programme.
- · International donors have not challenged Israel's use of the JWC as an instrument of control. Some donors have known that approval of the projects is linked to PA approval of settlement infrastructure, but





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have preferred to remain silent on the issue.

The World Bank should have done a deeper and more comprehensive research on the work of JWC and so-called "cooperation" between Israel and Palestinians before celebrating a water collaboration agreement that will force the poor party to buy expensive water from the richer party, an arrangement that seems manifestly unjust. Instead, the WB preferred to overlook this detrimental feature and celebrate a new project in a region where water injustice and apartheid are so visible and widely known. To this extent, the World Bank has embarrassed itself by being seemingly ignorant of this fundamental obstacle to constructive cooperation in relation to water policy in the Middle East.

Hilal Elver is the Co-director of the Climate Change, Human Security and Democracy Project at Orfalea Center at the University of California Santa Barbara, and the Author of the Peaceful Uses of International Rivers: A Case of Euphrates and Tigris Rivers (2002).

The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect Al Jazeera's editorial policy.















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Jan Selby Hilal Elver Mahmoud Abbas

Country Israel

Jordan Palestinian Territories Palestinian Authority Syria

City

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Organisation

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Why aren't South Africa's born frees voting?

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Join the discussion...



dgotshalk - 3 months ago

Food and Water. As the "iron lady" said " now we can talk. Hundreds of agricultural scientists from all over the world are visiting regularly the tiny state of Israel. India, China, and Africa are sending thousands of visitors to find out how such a tiny state can produce the highest food and cattle production per acre of any country in the world on the most arid sand, rocks, and mountains of their typical Middle East terrain. I wish to thank this courageous author for bringing up such a subject on Al Jazeera. When you begin to talk about something constructive instead of something destructive its amazing what it can lead to. To bad this author just sees hatred, jealousy, envy, and demonization. I see "now we can talk". Its not about water sharing. Its about what you do with what you have and how to maximize the little thats out there and how to actually create more.

When this author creates a discussion about water he has to talk about Israeli agricultural technology. And that is where Israelis become part of the solution rather than the problem.

9 A V • Reply • Share



Schlock Doctrine Adgotshalk - 3 months ago

Note the the multiple Coke bottles in the picture and the fresh water flowing from the tap in this posed picture. Propaganda goes better with Coke.

3 A | V • Reply • Share



digdeeper → Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

[Note the the multiple Coke bottles]

what about them?

maybe you have never lived where one has to go to the village tap to collect water, which is sometimes only turned on at certain times of the day. one will use whatever container is convenient

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



Conor McMenemie - dgotshalk - 3 months ago

I don't usually have much good to say about Israel, but its transformation of agriculture and efficient use of a finite water supply is an example to the world.

1 ^ | V · Reply · Share



John Ellis → dgotshalk - 3 months ago

Pure greed is Israel, from top to bottom pure greed, always voting to steal land at gunpoint type greed, always voting for wars of aggression to best protect their expansion and greed. So, put Israel in an open air prison and let none of it's corruption escape, least it turn rotten to the core all of mother earth.

3 A V · Reply · Share



Schlock Doctrine -> John Ellis - 3 months ago



You really have to give up this tendency towards demagoguery, John and upgrade your fantasy life to something a little more benign and less belligerent. Have you any family to talk to that could ground you better to reality?

6 A V • Reply • Share



jack armstrong → John Ellis - 3 months ago

Pure nonsense is John Ellis, from top to bottom, pure hype, always chanting about stealing land at gunpoint, always accusing others of wars of aggression when they are actually wars of liberation and defense. So, leave Johnny in the prison of his opened skull, andyou know the rest.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

'The second myth is the pretension that the international water law principles are applicable between Israel and Palestine and cooperation is possible."

It is always a myth for Palestinian propagandists that cooperation is possible. This is why this deal is so objectionable to them. Rather than say anything good about Israel that might destroy their hallowed delusions they would rather snipe around the edges.

This is a scenario where everyone can benefit. It is a slap in the face against the opponents of peace who live and die by the credo that for them to win everyone else must lose.

7 A V • Reply • Share



John Ellis - Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

Killer drone Israel, a pathological liar since 1948, yet you expect honorable men to enter an agreement with such corruption?

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share >



Schlock Doctrine -> John Ellis - 3 months ago

John drones. And drones and drones, wrapped in a fantasy world. His goal in droning is to kill the possibilities of peaceful cooperation.

I see no honorable men or women (not that Arab women would be allowed) to make an agreement with, least of all dishonorable John. So Israel must make an agreement with dishonorable men, but structured in such a way so that all parties will remain honest.

King Hussein was an honorable man. I hope this deal for water is successful so that his son may be seen as honorable too. If one looks at the particulars, Jordan benefits, the Palestinians benefit, and Israel breaks even. Yet even that is too much for the naysayers. Shame on you John and shame on them.

8 A | V • Reply • Share >



John Ellis → Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

The voting majority in Israel being the 51% most wealthy and shyster greedy, not until they seek to satisfy justice instead greed, not until then should they be allowed to associate with civilized society.

2 A V · Reply · Share >



Jachnoon - John Ellis - 3 months ago

Im Israeli. Not wealthy. And I excersize my right to vote just like every other citizen in this country that wants to. Where are you getting this garbage dude? Talk about civilized society? Do you have any idea just how much Israeli innovation contributes to civilized society? Obviously

CM CONTRACTOR THE CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR

not. You just nate israel so much that you don't even give a tiny but or credit where credit is due. Ehhhhh, whatever, we don't really need it. We just keep living and living pretty darn well I might add:)

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4 ^ | v · Reply · Share >
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drorbenami - 3 months ago

the interesting thing about the anti zionist movement is that it likes to point out how rich and how influencial the zionists are. let's say for arguments say that jews do indeed have tremendous influence in banking, the media, hollywood, political lobbying, etc., etc.

my question is this: why with all this power are the zionist's goals limitted to what anti zionist david ecke describes as "a tiny sliver of land"?

in other words: with all this power and influence why don't the zionists take over south america? after all, there is a lot of water in the amazon....

```
6 A V • Reply • Share
```



Brock Hardy - drorbenami - 3 months ago

I'm sorry to say this, because i'm sure u'll have the following whingers start going on about how anti zionism is not anti semitism, but in fact IT IS! or at least 80% of the time. Anti zionism doesn't actually have that much to do with Israel, it's just a front for people racism. Why is no other country so criticized as much as Israel, when other countries are committing far more serious crimes?? Secondly, why are the words Israel and Jews used almost interchangeably in every forum thread when talking about the evilness of a certain group of people? and you have posters even admitting it like tee cho. Don't believe me? the evidence is over all of al jazeera!!

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7 A | V · Reply · Share
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jack armstrong → drorbenami - 3 months ago

My question is, Don't you know that the zionists have already taken control of South America, Fiji, Togo, Egypt, Jupiter, and the Red Sea Sharks?. Haven't you been reading this forum?

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∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›
```



Neslihan Kurosawa - 3 months ago

Water is precious for our daily lives! And for most Palestinians water isn't the only thing they are going without right now. They seem to be surviving on very little and have been living in ghetto like conditions for decades while most heads of states are talking among themselves. Surely we all want to know if there is nothing more the International community can do to lend a helping hand to these people who are living in an environment of sharp contrast to the people of Israel. Does anyone really care deeply enough to come up with real solutions? And by the way, we can all count on the fact that fresh drinking water will be the most valuable & essential thing on our planet in not too distant future. More valuable than petrol? Well maybe so true in reality!

```
17 A V • Reply • Share
```



Fasdunkle → Neslihan Kurosawa - 3 months ago

UNRWA could disband itself, that would help palestinians immensely

```
18 A | V • Reply • Share >
```



Wesley Sandel → Fasdunkle - 3 months ago

Or Israel could end apartheid, revoke it's racist laws and policies, and stop being in violation of the UN charter and international law.

```
13 A V · Reply · Share >
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jack armstrong → Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Or you could apandon your occupation of the american continent and share the water you have stolen and now control with your palarab friends.

5 A | V • Reply • Share >



Wesley Sandel → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

What about my palheb friends? Shouldn't I be sharing with them, too?

4 ^ | V · Reply · Share >



Eric11210 → Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Or you could stop telling grand and desperate lies.

10 A V · Reply · Share ›



Wesley Sandel → Eric11210 - 3 months ago

Yet another substantive contribution from someone who thinks Meir Kahane was a saint and that the Torat Hamelech is god's own word.

10 A V · Reply · Share >



jack armstrong - Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Yet another `contribution from someone who lives on top of the bones of murdered native americans.

3 A V • Reply • Share



Wesley Sandel → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

And right next door to Native Americans, and who mops the floors of Native Americans, and who drives them to doctor's appointments. And who goes across the street to cast his vote with Native Americans.

While you shoot little Palestinian children in the back and throw white phosphorous on them and destroy their homes and harass them at checkpoints while they're trying to get to the hospital so that they die of treatable injuries.

5 A V • Reply • Share



jack armstrong → Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

All those things that you said "I've done" I haven't, and when Arabs stop aggressing Israel, there will be no need for Israel to defend itself.

2 A V · Reply · Share >



Wesley Sandel → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

You're defending it. You're Israeli.

And, again, apparently zionists think there's a "special definition" for racism, terrorism, colonialism and apartheid for Jews, such that when a Jew blows up a bomb in a crowded market, it's "defending Israel," and when Jews write laws and policies that discriminate against non-Jews, it's "defending Israel," and when Jews from Europe and places "not Palestine" force the majority of the native population of Palestine from their homes and lands at gunpoint and into refugee camps, it's "defending Israel," and when Jews create reservations, pass laws, checkpoints and build giant barriers to separate Jews from non-Jews, it's "defending Israel."

In fact, it's racism, terrorism, colonialism, mass murder, ethnic cleansing and apartheid.

I'm sure the Nazis had a good time trying to interpret Nazi racism, terrorism, mass murder, and ethnic cleansing as "defending Germany" at Nuremberg. We hanged them anyway.

5 A | v · Reply · Share >



Schlock Doctrine - Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Who's your favourite ethnic cleanser? Abbas, Assad or Meshal?

Face it Wesley, you're a supporter of yet another apartheid Arab state in the middle east, ethnically cleansed of dhimmis. Your vicarious moral self-righteousness is built on a pack of lies that you rmindlessly repeat.

Palestinian Nationalism has been a racist exclusionary ideology since the days of the Mufti, who was mentioned recently in fondness by the current Palestinian President for Life Mahmoud Abbas as he welcomed the release of another batch of murderers from Israeli prisons, hailing them as heroes. The same Mahmoud Abbas who first promised to revoke Palestine's Ottoman law forgiving honor killing against women and then changed his mind.

There are Christians and Muslims on both sides of the separation barrier. It's purpose is not to separate Jews from other religions, it is to separate Israelis from Palestinian Nationalist terrorism. It has also worked.

Israel is not what is morally wrong in the middle east. Israel is what is morally right.

5 A | V • Reply • Share



Wesley Sandel → Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

Zionism has been a racist, exclusionary ideology since, well, since it was created.

150,000 of those one million Palestinians Israel ethnically cleansing were Christians. Zionist racism doesn't play favorites - a non-Jew is a non-Jew and a non-Jew isn't a human being.

4 A | V • Reply • Share >



jack armstrong → Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Please wes, save it for somebody who is duped enough to be hypnotized by your ceaseless babbling mantra and inane buzzwords which never correspond to reality.

3 A V • Reply • Share



Wesley Sandel → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

You don't think I'm actually talking to you, do you? You embrace your racism like a drowning man grasps a life preserver. You'll be laying on your death bed trying to convince yourself that it's moral to have lived your life as a hateful bigot and crying about never having had "any of that brown sugar."

My posts are for anyone who might stumble upon these forums who isn't really knowledgeable about the conflict. I wouldn't want them to get the impression that the zionist narrative is anything other than a thin tissue of lies and pernicious half-truths.

4 ^ V · Reply · Share >



jack armstrong - Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

You embrace your self-righteous hypocritical politically correct stance like a boa constrictor squeezes the life out of its victim.



Wesley Sandel → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

No, I'm pretty sure racism, terrorism, colonialism and apartheid are wrong.

No, I'm **certain colonialism, racism, terrorism and apartheid are wrong** and that Israel is practicing all four of those crimes systematically.

1 A | V • Reply • Share



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

and look at your desperate defence and deflection from the truth, that israelis are the boa constrictor trying to squeeze the life out of their victims, the palestinians.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



jack armstrong → digdeeper - 3 months ago

Typical plagiarized answer from plagiarizerrs who claim that the Jewish prophets are their prophets, the Jewish homeland is their homeland, the Jewish Temple Mount is theirs.

Go find your own simile.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share >



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

LOL....i don't need any dumb prophets as i am not a 'believer'. i'm one of those that you jews think are 'lesser beings'. so try again, zionazi.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

Please jackal, save your hasbara and lies, for somebody who is duped enough to be hypnotized by your ceaseless babbling mantra and inane buzzwords which never correspond to reality.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



jack armstrong → digdeeper - 3 months ago

Please diggy, save your terror sympathies for somebody who is dued enought to be hypnotized by your ceseless babbbling mantra and inane buzzwords which never correspond to reality.

And try to be a little more original. Get your own prophets, your own places of worship, and stop trying to invade and occupy Israel.

You don't need to parrot me; you might try finding your own material.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

[somebody who is dued enought] are you dued enough, jackelene?

[stop trying to invade and occupy Israel.]
wouldn't want a bar of the joint, having seen the behaviour of your feral
piglets, whilet on my travels

pigioto, mimor on my diaron.



jack armstrong Adigdeeper - 3 months ago

diggygirl, you do like to have your little last word, just like the ex-wife.

You're like a little parrot.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

[just like the ex-wife.]

LOL...all you sadsack losers, who pick the wrong horse keep moaning and groaning about the ex.

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share >



jack armstrong → digdeeper - 3 months ago

You're a little parrot, diggydoodoo. Want a cracker?

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share >



digdeeper → jack armstrong - 3 months ago

LOL...sore point, the ex, eh jacka\$\$?

∧ | ∨ • Reply • Share ›



nikkkom -> Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Or you can try to stop lying.

5 A V • Reply • Share



Wesley Sandel → nikkkom - 3 months ago

Right. We can believe you, a person who believes that the fingernail of a Jew is more valuable than the lives of ten thousand Palestinian children, or we can believe the reports of every single credible human rights organization in the world that monitors the conflict that Israel is an apartheid state with racist laws and policies and that Israel's settlements are a violation of international law and the Geneva Convention.

You're always presenting us with tough choices.

12 A V • Reply • Share



Schlock Doctrine - Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

Give up your sick fingernail collection Wesley. It's worth nothing. It is the Arabs who have set the price.

The oft repeated refrain of a long dead Arab general: "We love death more than you love life! That is why we will win."

It is the Arabs who set the price of life so cheaply. Arafat exhorted Palestinian women to have 12 children - 2 for replacement and 10 to sacrifice for "the struggle".

The Jews love life. It is not a weakness, it is a strength.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share >



Wesley Sandel → Schlock Doctrine - 3 months ago

You steal the lands and homes of millions of people and subject them to decades of violent racist oppression and then blame your victims.

Another one who would have made a brilliant Nazi politician.

I love the "life is cheap to the Arab" bit. It's like the American general who complained that "life is cheap to Asians" while he called in a napalm strike on another Vietnamese village. I can see the SS captain overseeing a camp talking about how "life is cheap to Jews."

5 A | V · Reply · Share >



Eric11210 → Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

The usual grand and desperate delusions of a sick mind.

6 A V • Reply • Share



Wesley Sandel → Eric11210 - 3 months ago

Another substantive contribution to the discussion by someone who believes that the fingernail of a Jew is more valuable than the lives of ten thousand Palestinian children.

9 ^ | v · Reply · Share >



nikkkom - Wesley Sandel - 3 months ago

> you, a person who believes that the fingernail of a Jew is more valuable than the lives of ten thousand Palestinian children

As I said, you are better off stop lying. I never said anything like the above.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share >



Wesley Sandel → nikkkom - 3 months ago

Tell us, "I believe that all human beings, Jews and non-Jews have the same positive and negative human characteristics in the same proportions, that all human beings, Jews and non-Jews have the same human rights and that all human life, Jewish and non-Jewish is equally valuable" and MAYBE we'll believe that you don't think that the fingernail of a Jew is more important than the lives of ten thousand Palestinian children.

because your consistent defense of Israeli racism, terrorism, colonialism and apartheid and denial of Israeli war crimes sure makes you look like a Kehane disciple.

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WHAT'S THIS?

Imperialism and revolutionaries



nikkkom — America isn't an empire. As to "counter-revolutionary", it depends on what revolution he is talking about. US has ...

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