ISRAEL TIGHTENS GAZA BLOCKADE, CIVILIANS BEAR THE BRUNT

TIGHTENING RESTRICTIONS

On 9 July 2018, the Government of Israel (GoI) announced it was tightening restrictions on access to Gaza via Kerem Shalom, the main commercial crossing, explicitly noting that the measures were in response to Hamas sending incendiary kites and balloons into Israel.

All goods were banned from exiting and vital materials banned from entering, including construction materials, water pumps, spare parts, generators, clothing, blankets, mattresses, and more.

On 17 July 2018 Israel also banned the entry of fuel and cooking gas, including emergency fuel supplied by the UN. This was a highly dangerous decision in power-starved Gaza where fuel is widely used to compensate for the severe and chronic lack of electricity, powering generators in homes, businesses, and critical civilian infrastructure, including hospitals and water and sewage facilities. The crossing was only partially reopened on 24 July 2018, with some fuel and gas entering Gaza.

The closure means that no items are permitted to enter via the Gaza Reconstruction Mechanism (GRM), which was established in the wake of the 2014 war to facilitate the entry of construction materials and a range of items classified and treated as ‘dual use’ by Israel. Even before the recent crackdown, imports and exports were severely inadequate for a population of nearly two million people; a fraction of what they were before the blockade was fully imposed in June 2007. In addition to these restrictions, Israel has also further reduced the permitted fishing zone from six nautical miles off the coast of Gaza to three, preventing fishermen from accessing 85% of the fishing waters as agreed under the Oslo Accords. The last time the fishing zone was reduced to three nautical miles was 6 July 2014, two days before Operation Protective Edge officially started.

Immediate impacts are being felt on the ground.

In the WASH sector alone, projects currently being blocked by the GoI’s latest restrictions include:

- A major desalination plant in Gaza city which would provide water to 200,000 people;
- Two water tanks and a water booster system that would provide water to over 190,000 people;
- Facilities that would treat wastewater for hundreds of thousands of households and reduce the contamination load discharged to the sea.

WASH projects amounting to tens of millions of USD, funded by international donors, are currently being blocked by Israeli-imposed restrictions. High priority WASH items being prevented from entering include: mobile pumps to dewater flooded areas, water testing and disinfection material, essential electromechanical equipment, sulfite resistant cement and epoxy paints for insulation.

The additional restrictions imposed this month are therefore jeopardizing access to clean water and sanitation for hundreds of thousands of people who have already waited too long for adequate services. Water-related diseases are the primary cause of child morbidity and account for a quarter of illnesses in Gaza. Every day of delay puts families at risk of illness and death, paying high prices for unsafe water and without access to safe toilets.

"Every day is worse than the previous one. My brother stopped working and my friends and family can no longer afford to support me. I had no choice but to take on additional loans to avoid my children sleeping on an empty stomach.”
- Sanuora, age 35, mother of six living in Beit Lahiya, North Gaza (source: UNOCHA)
BAD TO WORSE: CUMULATIVE EFFECTS OF 11 YEARS OF BLOCKADE

The current restrictions further tighten the unlawful blockade which severely limits, or prevents altogether, the entry and exit of materials both for humanitarian and development projects as well as those vital for economic reinvigoration.

53% of the population in Gaza is living under the poverty line with almost 34% - approximately 656,000 people - living in “deep poverty”, which means on less than $3.60 per day.8

One million Palestinians in Gaza don’t have enough food to feed their families, despite receiving food assistance or other forms of support. The situation has deteriorated in the past year, compounded by the worsening of the energy and salary crises in 2017, leaving families highly vulnerable to any further shocks.9

More than 49% are unemployed – 60% of youth and 71% of women.10

Families receive around only 4 hours of electricity daily. An 11-year-old in Gaza has never experienced a full day of electricity.11 Energy problems started in 2006 when Israel bombed Gaza’s sole power plant, and have been hugely exacerbated by the blockade which has prevented vital infrastructure construction and rehabilitation. The situation has been worsened by the political split between the internationally backed Palestinian Authority (PA), which holds limited authority in the West Bank, and Hamas, the de facto authority in Gaza. In January 2017, the PA, in conjunction with the GoI, took punitive measures against the de facto Hamas administration in Gaza, including a drastic reduction in an already minimal supply of electricity and fuel.12

People in Gaza suffer from a dire shortage of safe water and adequate and equitable sanitation systems due to the compounding impacts of 50 years of occupation combined with recurrent conflict. At least 97% of the water is undrinkable. It has been widely reported that Gaza’s coastal aquifer is expected to become unusable by the end of 2018, and if no action is taken the damage will become irreversible by 2020.13 Many families are forced to pay high prices for drinking water bought from private vendors with little quality control, putting health at risk. Nearly one quarter of the population is not connected to a sewage network.14

2017 was the worst year for freedom of movement since 2014, with 51% fewer exits by Palestinians through Erez, the main crossing for people, compared to 2016.15 The exacerbated isolation of Gaza is also impacting many businesses in industries that once employed a significant number of workers in Gaza (furniture, garment, food processing, agriculture and manufacturing sectors). As of December 2017, there were only 551 valid trader permits, which is a decline of 85% compared with an average of 3,600 permits in late 2015.16

Compounding these problems is a massive funding gap facing humanitarian and development agencies which is undermining their efforts to help the civilian population in Gaza. US cuts to UNRWA at the beginning of the year in particular are fundamentally hampering its ability to provide emergency food aid, access to primary healthcare, access to primary education and other critical support to vulnerable populations and prepare for future deterioration. International NGOs face similar challenges and are unable to meet growing needs or fill gaps.
ISRAEL’S ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY

In penalizing an entire population for acts they have not committed, the blockade constitutes collective punishment under International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and, according to the UN, may entail the commission of war crimes. The blockade is in breach of Israel’s obligations to provide for the well-being of the Palestinian population.

While Israel has legitimate security concerns – including indiscriminate rocket fire from within the Gaza Strip by armed groups, which constitutes a violation of IHL – its response should not contravene international law. Measures implemented as a response to incendiary kites and balloons - the actions of selected groups and individuals inside the Gaza Strip - have a severe, detrimental impact on civilians who have done nothing to deserve it.

The GoI controls the extent to which Palestinians can provide for themselves and their families, as well as the ability of donors to deliver urgent and much-needed assistance to allow key sectors such as electricity, health and WASH to recover from years of conflict and de-development. Israeli officials have reportedly described the restrictions on Gaza as being designed to keep the Gazan economy on the brink of collapse without quite pushing it over the edge.

While some Israeli officials argue that the blockade is needed for security, other prominent Israeli security and political figures have questioned this, for example arguing that allowing the entry of construction materials would prevent or at least delay further insecurity and escalation. A 2017 report on the 2014 conflict by the Israel State Comptroller stated that Israeli government officials as well as its military and intelligence services failed to adequately consider how the civilian and humanitarian situation in Gaza contributed to the leadup to the conflict. In other words, the blockade on Gaza not only is a breach of Israel’s international obligations, one which causes massive suffering to a civilian population, but does not meet its stated security objectives and has manifestly failed to prevent conflict.

PALESTINIAN DIVISIONS EXACERBATING THE SITUATION

Palestinian division persists as reconciliation between the PA in the West Bank and the de facto authorities in Gaza remains blocked. In April 2017, the PA imposed punitive measures as a response to Hamas’ decision to establish a parallel institution to run local ministries in the Strip. The measures included reducing the salaries of PA employees in Gaza by 30-50%, forcing the retirement of around 58,000 PA public employees in Gaza and delaying cash assistance for over 74,000 vulnerable households. PA employees in the West Bank continue to receive their salaries in full. The PA Ministry of Health has also failed to regularly send medicines and has delayed or suspended payment for the referral of patients for medical treatment outside Gaza.

While the economic situation was already weakened by the ongoing blockade, these measures further crippled the economy and increased the vulnerability of thousands of PA employees and their families who lost their main source of income. More Palestinians in Gaza became dependent on loans, forcing them into debt and threatening their ability to feed their children or send them to school. The cuts to Gaza’s public sector - the largest employer in the Gaza Strip – have also had devastating consequences for the wider economy in the Strip, which is very dependent on the purchasing power of PA employees.

Farmers are the big losers from this decision. They’ve invested a great deal in growing the crops and have been waiting to sell them to pay back debts and loans and make a little money. Now they have nothing.

- Suliman Z’urub, a farmer, spoke to Israeli human rights organisation Gisha about the latest Israeli-imposed restrictions (announced 9.07.18). He was ready to ship 2,000 crates of sweet potatoes before the latest restrictions. He says the produce cannot be sold in Gaza due to low demand. It will go to waste.
FAILING GAZA: ISRAEL’S ‘DUAL USE’ LIST & THE GAZA RECONSTRUCTION MECHANISM (GRM)

In the wake of the devastating destruction in Gaza in 2014, the GRM was established by the United Nations in agreement with the GoI and the PA, as a temporary measure to facilitate the entry of materials needed for reconstruction, including a range of items that Israel classifies as ‘dual use’ – asserting they may also have a military application.23 These ‘dual use’ items include a range of vital materials, such as pipes and water pumps, electricity generators needed to run water pumps and desalination units, water disinfection materials, cement, steel cables, wooden panels, and scanning machines, including x-ray machines.24

Oxfam research found that the UN-brokered system is unaccountable, fundamentally flawed, and gives the appearance of legitimizing Israel’s illegal blockade on Gaza, while ultimately failing to meet the immense needs, address de-development and develop vital infrastructure.25

The GRM continues to be subject to the same ultimate controls as the blockade itself and, as such, its capacity to meet the needs of Palestinians living in Gaza is heavily constrained. The mechanism is increasingly being used for longer term projects and is failing to operate at the pace or scale necessary to meet the levels of needs - neither for infrastructure development nor economic revitalisation. Critically, the GRM contains no inbuilt accountability mechanisms regarding timelines for approval or to ensure that the parties comply with international law obligations - as illustrated most recently by the complete stoppage of all imports via the GRM due to a unilateral decision by Israel.

The limitations of the GRM are compounded by challenges such as the internal Palestinian divide between the PA in the West Bank and the de facto authorities in the Gaza Strip, including limited and in some cases non-existent coordination or communication.

A WAY FORWARD: ADDRESS THE CRISIS AND END THE BLOCKADE

All parties must refrain from using civilians in Gaza as leverage for political gain.

We condemn violence against civilians on all sides, including the shooting of Palestinian civilians by Israeli snipers, and indiscriminate rocket fire and incendiary kites and balloons sent from Gaza. Both Palestinians and Israelis deserve to live in dignity without fear of violence or oppression.

Immediate action must be taken to address the causes of the deepening crisis in Gaza, including the reversal of recent restrictions on imports and exports. In addition, the ‘dual use’ list must be urgently and continuously challenged and vital items to support the water, electricity and health sectors should be immediately removed from the list and allowed to reach Gaza where they are urgently needed.26

These are the initial, urgent steps towards fully ending the blockade.
As repeatedly reported by the World Bank,\textsuperscript{27} the International Labor Organization\textsuperscript{28} and other actors, there is the potential for \textbf{significant, immediate relief in Gaza if the private sector could assume its natural role as an engine for growth and job creation}. Relaxing regulations regarding items classified as dual use could boost the economy by 11\% by 2025. Lifting the blockade would boost the economy by 32\%. Overall, alleviating external restrictions could raise real GDP by some 40\% in Gaza by 2025.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{To build Palestinian economic resilience, while allowing delivery of humanitarian and development assistance, access restrictions must be lifted}, including to the Access Restricted Areas (ARA), which includes 35\% of the Strip’s agricultural lands and up to 85\% of its fishing waters. Until this happens, any donor funding directed toward humanitarian and development assistance or economic development will be severely hampered by the blockade and even risks entrenching it. In the context of an unlawful blockade, aid remains vulnerable to political and often punitive measures imposed unilaterally, with devastating and immediate impacts on civilians.

Finally, while the Israeli occupation, including the ongoing illegal blockade, remains the main driver of the crisis, the arbitrary opening of the Rafah crossing with Egypt and the political division between the PA and the de-facto authorities in Gaza must also be urgently addressed to alleviate the suffering of civilians in Gaza.

\textbf{The Government of Israel should:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Immediately lift the blockade and open all crossings} into and out of Gaza, allowing for the unimpeded entry and exit of goods and people, as a prerequisite to meeting its obligations under international law, to respond to the humanitarian needs and protect the human rights of Palestinians living in Gaza, including allowing for sustainable economic recovery and development.
  \item \textbf{Implement access arrangements on the clear understanding that they may only be altered in exceptional circumstances related to direct security threats}, not to indiscriminately punish civilians, including in Access Restricted Areas.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{The UN and donors supporting the GRM should:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Urgently and consistently challenge the ‘dual use’ list} and demand that vital items to support the WASH and health sectors be immediately removed from the list.
  \item \textbf{Take immediate steps to hold the GoI accountable} for the timely entry of items essential for the provision of basic services in order to protect public health in Gaza. This should include the establishment of robust accountability mechanisms to ensure the entry of materials at the scale and speed necessary, including clear timelines and benchmarks for access, in line with international law and the needs and rights of Palestinians. This should be underpinned by a commitment to respond if any parties fail to comply, including to:
    \begin{itemize}
      \item Make public condemnations, including publishing the time, cost and human impact of delay, and the party responsible;
      \item Demand compensation for the cost of delays, in instances of delayed implementation of donor-funded projects due to the action or inaction of any party;
      \item Regularly review access and freedom of movement and publish results against benchmarks aligned with international law and the rights of Palestinians living in Gaza.
    \end{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Ensure any access agreements do not mirror the dynamics and restrictions of the unlawful blockade}, as the GRM continues to do, particularly by failing to challenge the power of Israeli authorities to prevent the entry of materials.
  \item \textbf{Ensure in all agreements that measures taken by Israeli authorities on security grounds do not violate the rights of civilians} living under occupation, as guaranteed under international law, and that aid modalities do not entrench injustice.
\end{itemize}
The international community should:

• **Press the G01 to establish a time-bound plan to end the blockade**; to lift restrictions on movement and access to resources, including agricultural lands and fishing waters, as well as markets.
  
  o This should include the establishment of accountability mechanisms to respond if immediate progress is not made in ending Israeli-imposed restrictions, for example by conditioning bilateral agreements and/or the deepening of diplomatic relations - economic, diplomatic, trade related or others - on adherence with international law and all agreements regarding access and freedom of movement.

• **Follow up on Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) recommendations**, including to relax the ‘dual-use’ list for Gaza, combined with easing restrictions on movement and access in East Jerusalem and Area C of the West Bank. The AHLC has also stressed the need to review the functionality, transparency and predictability of the GRM.  

• **Ensure aid investments in the OPT challenge, rather than entrench, the separation** of Gaza from the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. National projects challenging restrictions and pushing for Palestinian access and control over their own land and resources should be prioritized.

• **Develop a mid-and long-term strategy on Gaza**, focusing on ending the blockade and increasing connectivity with the West Bank. Concrete actions should be taken in a principled way, irrespective of progress in the reconciliation talks between the Palestinian factions Fatah and Hamas.

• **Establish specific timelines for delivery of projects, including accountability measures** should timelines be delayed by access restrictions. Donors should quantify the cost of delays due to the blockade and press for accountability from those responsible.

• **Address the urgent need for economic development** to protect and create jobs and thus allow Palestinians the economic opportunities they deserve.

• **Maintain support to the OPT and reverse any aid cuts**, which are compounding civilian suffering. The United States in particular should reverse its cuts and other donors should make up the shortfall until funding is reinstated.

The Palestinian Authority and de facto authorities in Gaza should:

• **Prioritise reconciliation**: agree on a time-bound plan to address pending issues, build linkages and establish a unity government to administer the Gaza Strip.

• **Support public services** in Gaza, especially the WASH, health and electricity sectors.

• **Refrain from leveraging cuts to basic services for political gains**.
This brief was written by Alison Martin with Laila Barhoum, Elena Dikomitis and Daniel Gorevan.

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