

**THE ISSUE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE WATERS OF THE
EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS BASIN IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT**

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ABSTRACT

ISSUE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE WATERS OF THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS BASIN IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

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The main argument of this thesis is that Turkey, Syria and Iraq can solve their disagreements about water allocation, if these countries can develop broader cooperation framework comprising other water related development sectors such as energy, agriculture, health, environment industry, trade and transportation. Within this context, the key questions that should be raised are, “what is the theoretical framework related to solving water issue, what are the relations and developments among the riparians concerning water problem, can the cooperative cases such as the Nile Basin Initiative and the South African Development Community be example for the cooperative efforts in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin, how have the political and economic relations developed since the 1990s among the riparian countries of the Euphrates-Tigris river basin?” Accordingly the thesis contains four main parts. The first chapter will be setting of a theoretical framework related to solving the water problem in the region. In the second part of the study, water problem among Turkey, Iraq and Syria will be evaluated in general through historical analysis of the water negotiations and positions of the

riparians. In the third part, basic approach in studying this subject is to draw lessons from cooperative cases such as the Nile Basin Initiative and the South African Development Community. The last chapter will be the analyses of Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iraqi relations focusing on the water related development sectors such as energy, agriculture, industry, trade, transportation, health, and environment. Accordingly, this thesis has reached to the following conclusions: First, Water is a vital resources for Turkey, Syria and Iraq. It is not only important for the agricultural production but for hydroelectric power generation, as well. Second, from the point of view of Syria and Iraq, the main reason for this negative atmosphere among the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system is indicated to be the GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project) which was started by Turkey as a major development project and Syria and Iraq, as downstream countries, accused Turkey to hamper the future agricultural projects of both Syria and Iraq. Third, the 1998 Adana Protocol and Bashar Assad's becoming president in the year 2000 can be regarded as the turning points of the beginning of the development in the relations between Turkey and Syria in the positive direction. The relations between Turkey and Iraq, which were nearly stopped in the Gulf War in 1991, have started to warm up after the second operation in 2003. Fourth, the developing relations carry great importance for the solution of the ongoing water problem among Turkey, Syria and Iraq.

Keywords: Benefit-sharing, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Water Issue, Self-sufficiency, Turkey-Syrian Relations, Turkish-Iraqi relations, Cooperation.

ÖZ

ULUSLARARASI BAĞLAMDA FIRAT VE DİCLE SULARININ YÖNETİMİ MESELESİ

Sağsen, İlhan

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu tezin ana argümanı şu şekildedir; Türkiye, Suriye ve Irak'ın enerji, tarım, sağlık, çevre, sanayi, ticaret ve ulaştırma gibi suyla ilgili sektörlerde geniş bir işbirliği atmosferi oluşturabilirlerse, aralarındaki su tahsisi konusundaki anlaşmazlığı çözebilirler. Bu bağlamda, cevap aranan temel sorular şunlardır; “su probleminin çözümü ile ilgili teorik çerçeve nedir, su sorunu ile ilgili kıyıdaş ülkeler arasındaki gelişmeler ve ilişkiler nelerdir, Nile Basin Initiative ve South African Development Community gibi işbirliği örnekleri Fırat ve Dicle nehir sistemindeki işbirliği çabalarına örnek olabilir mi, Fırat ve Dicle nehir sisteminin kıyıdaş ülkeleri arasındaki ilişkiler 1990'lı yıllardan sonra nasıl gelişmiştir?” Bu çerçevede, tez dört ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm bölgedeki su probleminin çözümüne yönelik teorik çerçeveyi saptamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ikinci bölümde, Türkiye, Suriye ve Irak arasındaki su sorunu, kıyıdaş ülkelerin konu ile ilgili pozisyonları ve su ile ilgili görüşmelerin analizi bağlamında

değerlendirilecektir. Üçüncü bölümde, bu konunun çalışılmasındaki temel düşünce, Nile Basin Initiative ve South African Development Community gibi işbirliği örneklerinden dersler çıkarmaktır. Son bölüm, enerji, tarım, sanayi, ticaret, ulaştırma, sağlık ve çevre gibi su ile ilgili sektörlere odaklanarak Türkiye-Suriye ve Türkiye-Irak ilişkileri analiz edilecektir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezde bazı sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır. Birinci sonuç, su Türkiye, Suriye ve Irak için hayati bir kaynaktır. Bu kaynak sadece tarım için değil aynı zamanda da hidroelektrik üretimi için de önemlidir. İkinci sonuç, alt çığır ülkeleri, Suriye ve Irak, GAP'ı kıyıdaş ülkeler arasındaki gergin ilişkilerin temel nedeni olarak görmüşlerdir ve Türkiye'yi hem Suriye'nin hem de Irak'ın gelecekteki tarımsal projelerine zarar vermekle suçlamışlardır. Üçüncü sonuç, 1998 Adana Protokolü ve 2000 yılında Bashar Assad'ın Suriye devlet başkanı olması Türkiye-Suriye ilişkilerini pozitif yönde etkilemiş ve ilişkilerde bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. 1991 yılındaki Körfez Krizi ile durma noktasına gelen Türkiye-Irak ilişkileri 2003 yılındaki ikinci operasyonla gelişmeye başlamıştır. Dördüncü sonuç, bu gelişen ilişkiler üç kıyıdaş ülke arasında sorun olmaya devam eden su meselesinin çözümü konusunda büyük bir önem arz etmektedir.

Keywords: Fayda paylaşımı, Türkiye, Irak, Suriye, Su meselesi, Kendi kendine yeterlilik, Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri, Türkiye-Irak İlişkileri, İşbirliği.

To my dearest family...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATS	Air Traffic Services
BOTAS	Petroleum Pipeline Corporation
CAA	Civil Aviation Authority
DEIK	Foreign Economic Relations Board
DETKİB	Denizli Textile and Apparel Exporters' Union
DSI	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works
DTM	Turkish Republic Foreign Trade Undersecretariat
ETIC	The Euphrates-Tigris Initiative for Cooperation
GAP	The Southeastern Anatolian Project
GAP RDA	The GAP Regional Development Administration
GOLD	The General Organization for Land Development
ICCON	The International Consortium for Cooperation on the Nile
ICPR	The International Committee for the Protection of the Rhine
MEDRING	The Euro-Mediterranean Electricity Ring
NBI	The Nile Basin Initiative
Nile-COM	Council of Ministers
Nile-SEC	Permanent Secretariat
Nile-TAC	Technical Advisory Committee
OKACOM	The Okavango River Basin Commission Agreement
PJTC	Permanent Joint Technical Commission
SADC	The Southern African Development Community
SADCC	The Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SYTROL	Syrian National Oil Company

TECCONILE	Technical Cooperation Committee for the Promotion of the Development and Environmental Protection of the Nile Basin
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Enstitute
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
WFD	Water Framework Directive
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
ZACPLAN	The Agreement on the Action Plan for the Environmentally Sound Management of the Common Zambezi River System

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Being a scarce resource, water has been a factor that has affected the relations between the states. Today, the increasing world population and the heavy consumption have specially increased the strategic importance of water. Likewise, as the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system, water issue has been one of the main concerns in the relations among Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Water issue has particularly begun to be a problem among the three countries after the 1960s, following the initiation of dam constructions and big development projects. This issue has been the determining factor in the foreign policies of the countries with each other. The unfavorable atmosphere has estranged Turkey, Syria and Iraq from each other and had a negative impact on the relations.

‘Benefit sharing’ concept is one of the best means that can be put forward regarding the solution of the water problem among the three riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system. The main argument of this concept suggests cooperation in the areas of environmental protection, reducing the pollution, power production, reduction of all costs and improvement of food that would benefit the all countries, and therefore, help the solution of the issue. This kind of cooperation in the common interest areas may transform into a larger compromise and cooperation that would facilitate the solution of the problems among the countries. The counterpart of the ‘benefit sharing’ concept in the international relations theories is the concept of ‘functionalism’, because, ‘functionalism’ prepares the ground for the transformation of a conflict based relationship into a cooperation based relationship. In this context, functionalism is an international relations theory that is raised with the claim to bring a solution to the international problems. Within this frame, the first solution proposal of functionalism is cooperation. According to functionalism, cooperation can be defined as solving the problems between two or more countries within the terms of common

interests. The second and final way of solution in functionalism is integration. Integration is defined by Johan Galtung as the founding of a new actor by two or more actors. Integration founding states would create common policies in the areas of politics, economy, security and foreign policy. The spread of cooperation, which is the most significant concept that is set forth by functionalism as a solution to the problems, is described as 'spillover'. The idea that is being desired to be expressed by 'spillover' is parallel to that of the 'benefit sharing' concept, in which the argument suggests that the cooperation in areas of common interest would transform into a larger cooperation in the further steps. As it is mentioned above, a parallelism is seen between functionalism and the concept of 'benefit sharing'. The leading idea in both is cooperation. At the same time, the 'spillover' concept is overriding in both of the approaches.

The main arguments of the 'benefit sharing' concept in solution of the water problem - cooperation and spillover – may also be applied in the water problem among Turkey, Syria and Iraq. As mentioned above, water has become a source of conflict among the three countries after the initiation of the fundamental development projects. These countries tried to solve the dispute over water, but they could not agree on the definition of these rivers as international river or transboundary water and could not agree on the quantity of water to be allocated for each country. The problems began in 1960s with Keban Dam project which Turkey planned to construct in order to meet the energy needs and with Syria's Tabqa Dam project. Following the end of the constructions of these dams in the same year, the problems arose at their filling period. Syria and Iraq claimed that Turkey's projects were damaging the waters of Euphrates and Tigris. The tense relations continued during the 1970s with the Atatürk and Birecik dams within the frame of Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) which had started with the construction of the Karakaya Dam as the first dam of the GAP. The relations among the riparian states entered into a crisis period in 1990s because of the Syria's policy of terrorism against water. This policy which had almost brought the states to the edge of war started to change in 1998 with the signing of the Adana Protocol. Bashar Assads becoming the president in 2000 can be regarded

as the beginning of the relations to calm down. After this period, although the two countries have not entered into a direct cooperation regarding the water issue, they have had significant cooperations in the areas of agriculture, transportation, energy, health and environment, all of which are related with water. This positive atmosphere between the two countries also enabled some developments regarding the solution of the water problem. The joint dam project which is planned to be built over the Asi River by the two countries can be put forward as an example for these developments.

When we take a look at the relations between Turkey-Iraq, it is seen that there have been fluctuations since the 1950s. As a result of the Gulf War in 1991, the relations were almost stopped. At the same time, the United Nations embargo to Iraq after 1991 caused serious financial losses for Turkey. The relations between the two countries have started to improve after the War in 2003 though they were not at the same level as they used to be before 1991. Since this period, there have been cooperations particularly in sectors of trade, energy, transportation and construction. These developments have brought the countries closer to each other and enabled the general policies to soften. As in the case of Turkey-Syria, the softening period in the relations between Turkey and Iraq paved the way for the initiation of negotiations on the water issue. Within the framework of these negotiations, the issue of amount of water to be allocated was put on the agenda.

In this context, the relations that developed during the 2000s between Turkey, Syria and Iraq have brought the countries closer to each other and paved the way for taking positive steps regarding the creation of a convenient medium for the large compromise and cooperation atmosphere that is put forward in the concept of 'benefit sharing'. Since then, the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system have entered a more positive and friendly period in their foreign policies against each other.

Within the framework of above mentioned points, the main argument of this thesis is that Turkey, Syria and Iraq can solve their disagreements about water

allocation, if these countries can develop broader cooperation framework comprising other water related development sectors such as energy, agriculture, health, environment industry, trade and transportation.

The thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter will be setting of a theoretical framework related to solving the water problem in the region. Functionalism and “benefit sharing” approach will be studied to set the theoretical framework of the thesis. The main reason for studying functionalism as the theoretical base of this study is the fact that functionalism provides the backdrop for transition from conflictual type of relationship into the one based on cooperation. The European integration process has been a good indication of the above-mentioned transition within which functionalism played the prominent role.

In the second chapter, water problem among Turkey, Iraq and Syria will be evaluated in general through historical analysis of the water negotiations and positions of the riparians. Following general information concerning water issues, this chapter illustrates the overall physical characteristics of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin. The main focus, however, will be on the political dimensions of the Euphrates and Tigris in which the perceptions of the riparian states are investigated. This chapter also outlines developments among the riparians; relations based on agreements and protocols related to the Euphrates and Tigris river system; and Turkey’s projects to solve the water issue in the Middle East. There is also a brief discussion on the Orontes river issue as it relates to the relations between Turkey and Syria.

In the third chapter, basic approach in studying this subject is to draw lessons from cooperative cases such as the Nile Basin Initiative and the South African Development Community. In this thesis, these river basins will be studied and their cooperative models will be compared with the cooperative efforts in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin. Lately an initiative had been taken between the Syrian Ministry of Irrigation General Organization of Land Development and the Southeastern Anatolia Regional Development Administration of Republic of

Turkey to start a cooperative initiative for water-related development issues. Main reason on focusing the Nile Basin Initiative and South African Development Community (SADC) is that these rivers, the Nile river and the rivers related to the South African Development Community such as Kunene, Cuvelai, Okavango, Orange, Maputo, Umbeluzi, Incomati, Limpopo, Save, Buzi, Pungué, Zambezi, Rovuma, Congo and Nile, were deemed as conflictual areas until recent past. However, these basins turned out to be providing bases for promoting cooperation and peace rather than creating conflict among the participants.

The last chapter will be the analyses of Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iraqi relations focusing on the water related development sectors such as energy, agriculture, industry, trade, transportation, health, and environment. In this section of the thesis, the political and economic relations have developed since the 1990s among the riparian countries of the Euphrates-Tigris river basin; Turkey, Syria and Iraq will be analyzed within the framework of ‘benefit-sharing’ approach.

Taking into account the above mentioned points, the key questions that should be raised are, “what is the theoretical framework related to solving water issue, what are the relations and developments among the riparians concerning water problem, can the cooperative cases such as the Nile Basin Initiative and the South African Development Community be example for the cooperative efforts in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin, how have the political and economic relations developed since the 1990s among the riparian countries of the Euphrates-Tigris river basin?”

CHAPTER 2

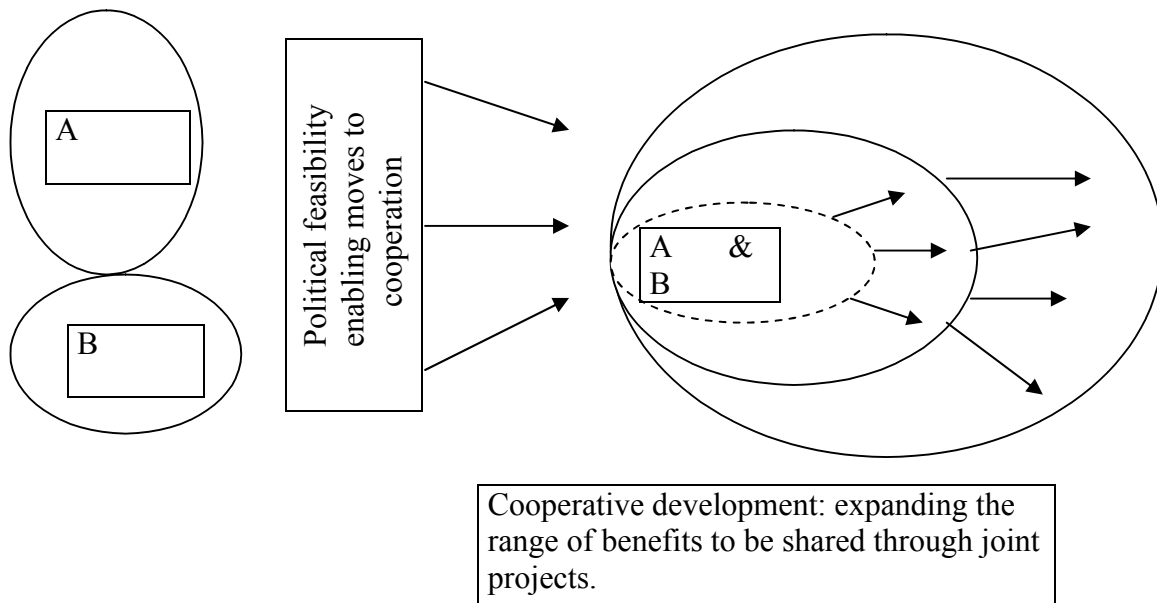
A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF WATER DISPUTES: “BENEFIT SHARING”

In this chapter, the concept of “benefit sharing” will be discussed. Many international water policy analysts argue that the concept of “benefit sharing” is instrumental in resolving conflicts among riparians of a problematic river basin. In this chapter, the substance of the concept is to be introduced. Additionally, the concept of “benefit sharing” will be compared with mainstream international relations theories and discussed. Specifically, its similarities with functionalism and its differences with realism will be elaborated. The concept of “benefit sharing” will constitute the main argument of this thesis, in particular for the solutions of water disputes in the Euphrates-Tigris river basin.

2.1. Benefit Sharing and Cooperation in Transboundary River Basins

“Benefit sharing” as a concept means cooperation among the riparians of a river in the common fields of interest which will provide all the riparians with benefits such as management of the ecosystem among the riparians, improvement of food and energy production, reduction of all kinds of costs, reduction of pollution and transportation. Here, the main argument of the concept is that the cooperation in the common fields of interests, i.e. in issues where a solution or cooperation can be realized more easily, as the last resort can open a process that can result in even an economic integration among the states.¹ Economic integration is not a final goal or an end that has to be reached absolutely at the end of the process. What is aimed at here is that the cooperation in the areas of common interest will be transformed into a wider rapprochement and cooperation.

¹ Claudia W. Sadoff, David Grey, “Beyond the river: the benefits of cooperation on international rivers”, *Water Policy* 4, Washington, 2002, p.389.



Source: Claudia W. Sadoff and David Grey, “Cooperation on International Rivers A Continuum for Securing and Sharing Benefits”, *Water International*, Vol.30, No: 4, December 2005, p. 421.

Figure1: Cooperative development: expanding the range of benefits to be shared through joint projects.

To explain the concept of “benefit sharing” and common fields of interest such as management of the ecosystem among the riparians, improvement of food and energy production, reduction of all kinds of costs and/or reduction of pollution and transportation in more detail, a set of *examples of transboundary water cooperation* are given below.

The first one to be mentioned can be the example regarding the initiative of building a joint dam project on *the Maritsa/Meric River between Turkey and Bulgaria* to prevent floods. Floods occur frequently in the basin which is shared by Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece, causing tremendous losses of property, damaging farmlands, and even resulting in several deaths. In 2005, four rounds of floods occurred, raising the public awareness about the seriousness of the issue. One flood occurred in February, another two in March and one in August. Only after these floods of 2005, was it decided to build automatic water level

monitoring systems in Greece and Bulgaria.² Unfortunately, in mid-March 2006, before these early warning systems were duly operationalized, the Turkish town of Edirne experienced one of the most disastrous floods in its modern history. This time, Turkish officials were vociferously calling for urgent action.³ The March 2006 flood also caused a significant amount of domestic political debate. As a result of these situations, to prevent these floods, Turkish and Bulgarian parties decided to build a joint dam. This joint dam was seen as permanent solution to the problem. The body of the dam was thought to be built on the Turkish side, near the village of Suakacagi and biggest part of the reservoir would lie within Bulgaria. The dam will serve the purposes of flood control, hydroelectricity generation and supplying irrigation water to both countries.

Another example demonstrating how “benefit sharing” concept works in the transboundary river basins is the *Lesotho Highlands Water Project*. This project started in 1986 between South Africa and Lesotho. The main aims of this project are to improve the use of water of the Senqu/Orange River, to control the flow of this river by regulating, storing and diverting the water and finally, to produce hydroelectricity. The project has five dams, water transfer tunnels, and a hydropower station. Within the framework of a treaty related to this project, three institutions were constituted: the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority, South Africa’s Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority, and Lesotho Highlands Water Commission. For South Africa, this project’s benefit is a cheap water supply. For Lesotho, the largest benefit of this project is hydroelectricity generation and water export revenue.⁴

Aaron Wolf is one of the first scholars who scrutinized the concept of “benefit sharing”. While explaining “benefit sharing”, Wolf talks about the concept of the

² <http://www.mpa.gr/article.html?doc_id=569785>, Accessed on 17 March 2006.

³ Mayor of Edirne has said “The Meriç River should be ameliorated by Bulgaria and Turkey”, <http://www.edirne.bel.tr/HABER04/guvercin%20derne%20ziyaret.htm>, Accessed on 17 March 2006.

⁴ Naho Mirumachi, “The Politics of Water Transfer between South Africa and Lesotho: Bilateral Cooperation in the Lesotho Highlands Water Projects”, unpublished paper, 2006, pp.4-9.

“basket of benefits”. Accordingly, the more this basket is filled with the areas or issues of cooperation, this will more bring us to the possibility of a wider range of cooperation that can be achieved. These multi-resource linkages to policies may offer more opportunities for creative solutions to be generated, allowing for greater economic efficiency through a ‘basket of benefits’. Other resources that have been included in water negotiations include financial resources, energy resources, political linkage and data.⁵ For Wolf, water, like oil and other resources, can not be separated from politics. These natural resources have been used as political tools and this needs to be acknowledged and recognised. At present, water and other resources are increasingly being connected to foreign policies.

In this context, David Grey talks about two concepts: “benefits to the river” and “benefits from the river”. According to the concept of “benefits to the river”, parties to the conflicts should take necessary actions to protect and support a river such as protecting watersheds, preserving soil fertility and reducing contaminant and sediment soil transport. That is to say, cooperation on an international river could enable better management of these ecosystems, providing “benefits to the river”, and underpin all other benefits that could be derived. Environmental management is a cornerstone of river basin management and development and can bring benefits to all river uses and users. Grey’s second concept is “benefits from the river”. Having realised the need to take actions to protect a river that is the establishment of the environment of cooperation within the framework of the concept of “benefits to the river”, all parties can then take advantage of the common benefits provided by the river, such as water for drinking, food and energy production, and transportation. That is to say, cooperative management of the water flowing in an international river can result in “benefits from the river”. For all, managing a river basin from a system-wide perspective can increase the quality, the available quantity, and the economic productivity of the river flow.⁶

⁵ Aaron T. Wolf, “Criteria for Equitable Allocations: the Heart of International Water Conflict”, *Natural Resources Forum*, Vol.23, No:1, February 1999, p.17.

⁶ Claudia W. Sadoff, David Grey, “Beyond the river: the benefits of cooperation on international rivers”, *Water Policy* 4, Washington, 2002, pp.392-393.

The cooperation on the *Rhine river* basin is one of the significant examples on how benefits to and from a river can materialize. Cooperation on the Rhine river basin relies on the “navigation agreement” signed by eight riparian states a century ago. In the mid 19th century, the important economic activity in the Rhine river basin was salmon production. By the 1920s, the growing population and industrialisation resulted in the extinction of salmon in the Rhine. By the 1950s, more than half of world’s chemical production was being made along the banks of the Rhine. Because of this situation, the Rhine was defined as “the sewer of Europe” at that time. The International Committee for the Protection of the Rhine (ICPR) was formed to address this issue, setting up a technical commission to monitor the pollution levels in the Rhine.⁷ In 1987, riparian states of the Rhine proposed the “Rhine Action Plan”. The most ambitious objective in this plan was the reduction of the chemical contaminants to the level that would allow for the possibility of life again. By 2000, with intense international cooperation, significant investments, and wider spread public support, the Rhine River became a clean source of water again. Today, much wider Rhine cooperation is planned – such as in the area of flood control.⁸

2.2. Benefit-sharing and its Reflections in International Relations Theory

The main arguments of the concept of “benefit sharing” mentioned above are also reflected in some international relations theories. Functionalism can be considered as the leading relevant theory among them. The main reason for choosing functionalism is the fact that functionalism provides the backdrop for a transition from a conflictual type of relationship into one based on cooperation.

⁷ ---, “The Rhine River”, Available at http://ihub.org/The_Central_Asian_Water_Crisis/news/CAWC_2.html, Accessed on 15 May 2006.

⁸ Claudia W. Sadoff, David Grey, “Beyond the river: the benefits of cooperation on international rivers”, *Water Policy* 4, Washington, 2002, p.394.

Within this context, in the international relations theory, functionalism has emerged with the claim to resolve international conflicts.⁹ Functionalism, inspired by the English opposition to war, the economic structure of the 19th century and the achievement of international organizations such as the World Labor Organization, is associated primarily with David Mitrany. Along with him, Paul S. Reinsch, Leonard Woolf, G.D.H. Cole, H.R.G. Greaves, Pitman Potter, Edgar Saveney also have been considered as functionalist writers. However, the master of functionalism is undoubtedly David Mitrany.¹⁰ Mitrany's ideas are accepted as a turning point for much of modern integration theory.¹¹ According to functionalism, great changes of the 20th century emerged to meet the needs of technical and functional cooperation across the borders. Functionalism is based upon the hypothesis that national loyalties can be diffused and redirected into a framework for international cooperation instead of national competition and war.¹²

According to Mitrany, the reason for international conflicts is the unnatural land sharing imposed by victorious states in war time and by powerful states in general in the international arena. The borders formed by these states have led to international and regional problems. These ethnic and geographical problems prevent the solutions for the conflicts and make the conflict more complicated. For example, the peace treaties signed after World War I did not promote solutions to the conflicts but led to the emergence of World War II. Therefore, states are the main actors causing wars. Moreover, the dominant powers shaping the international system lead to wars and to economic and political instabilities by

⁹ ---, "Fuctionalism", Available at <http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/philo/faculty/block/papers/fuctionalism.html>, Accessed on 18 June 2006, p.1.

¹⁰ Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation-State Functionalism and International Organization*, (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1964), p.8.

¹¹ Paul Taylor, "Functionalism: the approach of David Mitrany", in A.J.R.Groom and Paul Taylor (ed.), *Frameworks for International Cooperation*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990), p.125.

¹² James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, "Theories of International Integration, Regionalism, and Alliance Cohesion" in James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff (eds.) *Contending Theories of International Relations (Second Edition)*, (New York: Harper&Row Publishers, 1981), pp. 418-419.

supporting the dangerous allies formed by the parties of the conflicts.¹³ It is assumed by functionalists that to solve conflicts between states, relations first need to be developed in a positive direction within the framework of wider amity for cooperation. Secondly, states need to cooperate in economic, technical and/or welfare areas. This is the functional integration process. The process is perceived as changing mind-set and creating costs of disruption which make war less likely.¹⁴

Functionalism first proposes cooperation for resolving international conflicts. Cooperation is realized by two or more states finding a common solution within the framework of common interests among themselves. In this regard, cooperation may become fact between a stronger and a weaker actor. The stronger actors can provide stability and contribute to cooperative behaviors.¹⁵ The second and ultimate solution of functionalism is integration. According to Johan Galtung, integration is defined as when two or more states constitute a new actor. According to Charles Pentland, “international political integration is identified with the circumvention, reduction, or abolition of the sovereign power of modern nation-states”¹⁶. States which integrate create common policies on political, economical, security and foreign policy issues.

One of the best examples of integration as the ultimate point of cooperation process, and as an approach to conflict resolution in transboundary water cases, is the water issues between Spain and Portugal. Spain and Portugal share five river basins: Limia, Miño/Minho, Duero/Douro, Tagus/Tejo and Guadiana.¹⁷ These

¹³ Clive H. Church, “European Integration Theory in the 1990s”, *European Dossier Series 33*, University of North London, 1996, pp.15-16.

¹⁴ Paul Taylor, “Functionalism: the approach of David Mitrany”, in A.J.R.Groom and Paul Taylor (ed.), *Frameworks for International Cooperation*, (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990, p.130.

¹⁵ James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, “Theories of International Cooperation and Integration” in James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff (eds.), *Contending Theories of International Relations (Fifth Edition)*, (New York: Longman, 2001), p.505.

¹⁶ Charles Pentland, “International Theory and European Integration”, (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p.29.

¹⁷ Whereas Miño, Duero, Tajo are Spanish names of rivers, Portuguese call them Minho, Douro and Tejo respectively. There are no differences with regards to Limia and Guadiana.

five basin areas represent some 62% of Portugal's territory, and 41% of the surface area of Spain. These percentages show the importance of shared basins for both countries.¹⁸ Spain is always the upstream country. The Spanish-Portuguese relations on the subject of water have a history dating back to the 19th century. The first agreement was signed in 1879. The agreement was finalized in 1912 with the change of notes. It stipulated that both Spain and Portugal would be entitled to half of the flowing water.¹⁹ As both Spain and Portugal were in need of power for their growing industries they decided to exploit Duero's hydropower potential. The resultant agreement of 1964 virtually divided the hydropower potential of Duero's international section and some of its tributaries into two. The success of the 1964 Convention had a catalysing effect for further cooperation on the remaining transboundary waters. Hence, in 1968, a second convention was agreed upon which allocated the international reaches of Mino, Limia, Tagus, Guadiana and their tributaries. The Convention also envisaged the creation of a joint commission to apply the 1964 and 1968 Conventions.

In 1993, Spain announced its "Preliminary Project of the Law on the National Hydrological Plan", which not only ignores the Portuguese situation and needs but also purports to transfer some water from Duero to other regions in Spain. This development, exacerbated by broader political debates caused a crisis between the two countries.²⁰ The new situation was discussed in the Spanish-Portuguese ministerial summit of 1993. In this meeting a working party for elaboration of a new Convention was created.

In 1998, the two countries agreed on a "Convention on Co-operation for the Protection and Sustainable Use of the Waters of the Portuguese-Spanish River Basins." The objectives of the Convention were "to co-ordinate and promote actions for achieving sustainable development, a contribution to the handling of

¹⁸ --- "*Water in Spain*", Ministry of Environment of Spain, 2004, p. 485.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 486.

²⁰ José María Santafé Martínez, "The Spanish- Portuguese Transboundary Waters Agreements: Historic Perspective", *Water International*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 381-382.

droughts, floods and scarcity, and to improve water quality to ‘good status’.”²¹ The Convention also laid down foundations for increased cooperation via the regular exchange of data, technical information, and knowledge, as well as consultation.

The 1998 Convention paved the way for “rational and economic use” of waters of the shared rivers between Spain and Portugal. Rodrigo Maia commented that the 1998 Convention was framed and inspired by several UN Conventions and EU Directives, most notably the Water Framework Directive (WFD). According to Maia, the Convention incorporated major principles of the WFD such as creating an integrated and coherent water policy, envisaging the environmental quality goals, pricing of water at its true cost, and having joint management of transboundary river basins.²²

Cooperation is the main push of functionalism for solving conflicts, primarily. Diffusion of cooperation to other sectors of cooperation is defined as “ramification” in Mitrany’s theory. This is “spillover”. That is to say, the development of cooperation in one technical sector can result in the development of cooperation in other technical sectors.²³ What is meant by “spillover” in functionalism is parallel to what is explained by “benefit sharing” in that the beginning of cooperation in the common areas of interests may turn out to be large scale cooperation in subsequent stages.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) can be given as an example of the realization of the concept of “spillover”. There are 12 states located on the Southern African sub-continent. These states’ boundaries were drawn by

²¹ Andreas Thiel, “Transboundary Resource Management in the EU: Transnational Welfare Maximization and Transboundary Water Sharing on the Iberian Peninsula?”, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Vol. 47, No. 3, May 2004, p. 339.

²² For the compatibility of 1998 Convention and the WFD, see Rodrigo Maia, “The Iberian Peninsula’s Shared Rivers Harmonization of Use: A Portuguese Perspective”, *Water International*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 389-397, September 2003.

²³ James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, “Theories of International Integration, Regionalism, and Alliance Cohesion” in James E. Dougherty, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff (eds.), *Contending Theories of International Relations (Second Edition)*, (New York: Harper&Row Publishers, 1981), p.419.

colonial powers in the second half of the nineteenth century. While the boundaries were being drawn, colonial powers took into consideration mountains peaks and watersheds. This situation created tension among regional states related to the utilization and sharing of the international rivers. There are main 15 international rivers in the SADC region. Riparian states started the cooperation efforts with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980. As a result of this conference, the Lusaka Declaration (Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation) was adopted. This declaration's aim was to supply economic liberalization and develop cooperation. That is to say, cooperative efforts in this region started to achieve economic liberalization and enhance cooperative activity. In 1992, the declaration and treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was signed at the Summit of Heads of State and Government. SADC replaced the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. The main goal of SADC is to create a 130 million-person southern African common market by 2000. Other aims of SADC are to increase living standards, promote economic cooperation and growth, share the natural resources, strengthen the links among the peoples of the region, promote common security and defense policies, and promote common political values.²⁴ As it is seen, cooperative efforts in the Southern African sub-continent began with the objectives of economic liberalisation and increasing cooperation in 1980. By 2000, there was a large scale cooperation with the goal of establishing a common market.²⁵

As it is tried to be expressed above, there are parallelism between functionalism and the concept of “benefit sharing” in terms of their arguments. Both of them prioritize cooperation. Moreover, the concept of “spillover” is dominant in both approaches. That is to say, a reflection of the concept of “benefit sharing” in international relations theories can be seen in functionalism. In response, realism

²⁴ ---, “Southern African Development Community, SADC”, Available at <http://www.itcilo.it/english/actrav/telearn/global/ilo/blokit/sadc.htm>, Accessed on 25 June 2006.

²⁵ For further discussion, see chapter 3 of this thesis, “Cooperation Efforts on the Transboundary River Basins: The Nile Basin Initiative, Southern African Development Community Experiences and Reflections on the Turkish-Syrian Water Relations”

as the dominant approach in international relations after the Second World War proposes different arguments on the issue.

Realists make four assumptions. The first assumption is that states are the principal actors in the international relations system. However, states are not equal in terms of power. There is a hierarchy of power among states. In international relations, the dominant states, which influence international policies, are the great powers.²⁶ The second assumption is that states are viewed as unitary actors. The third is that the state is essentially a rational actor. The fourth assumption is that national security is a key concept.²⁷ In realism, international relations is explained through the concepts of power and interests.²⁸ Within the framework of the concepts of power and interests, states, as principal actors, try to maximise their national interests. To realise this aim, states may need the use of force.²⁹

Assumptions of this approach are that the nature of the international system is anarchic, and in this structure, states are the elements that deal with such issues. Because the states deal with security, power and governance the result is a structure that is based on competition rather than cooperation.³⁰ According to realism, states are seen as rational, unitary actors that derive their interests from an evaluation of their position within the system of states.³¹ However, it can be seen that realism did not bring a solution to the conflicts which took place in the 20th

²⁶ Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approach*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 2003), p.68.

²⁷ Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi, "Theory, Images and International Relations: An Introduction", in Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi (eds.), *International Relations Theory (Third Edition)*, (London: Allyn and Bacon, 1999), pp.6-7.

²⁸ Scott Burchill, "Realism and Neo-Realism" in Scott Burchill (ed.) *Theories of International Relations* , (New York:Palgrave, 2001), p.70.

²⁹ Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi, "Realism: The State, Power, and the Balance of Power", in Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi (eds.) *International Relations Theory (Third Edition)*, (London: Allyn and Bacon, 1999), p.56.

³⁰ Aysegül Kibaroglu, "Contending Approaches to Water Disputes in Transboundary Rivers: What can International Relations Discipline offer?", Workshop on Water&Politics, WWC, Marseilles February 26-27 2004.

³¹ Ben Rosamond, "Intergovernmental Europe", in *Theories of European Integration*, (New York:St. Martin's Press, 2000), p.131.

century; on the contrary, there emerged a more chaotic structure. That is, according to realists, international conflicts and conflicts among states are ultimately resolved by war.³² Within this context, functionalism which emphasizes cooperation, completely opposes realism which principally emphasises conflicts and competition. Functionalism rejects the realist world view that necessarily includes anarchy because functionalism is a theoretical approach which advocates resolving conflicts among the states and other actors through cooperation and reconciliation rather than confrontation and use of force.

When we compare “benefit sharing” and realism, in both cases, we are faced with the nation-states as the principle actors. However, while with “benefit sharing” the states are seen as cooperative units, in realism the states are units trying to maximise their interests proportional to their power. In the approach of “benefit sharing”, the riparian states of a river are primarily concerned with the protection of river and cooperation in the areas that provide common benefits for all or in the areas where a solution can more easily be reached while solving their problems. Realists, on the other hand, emphasize the need for the resolution of the core problems because if the process starts from problems that could be solved easily, the process would not proceed.

Realists perceive the problems in transboundary water as a potential source of conflict. Moreover, realists claim that thanks to the advantageous positions of upper riparian states, these riparian states will benefit from cooperation. One other argument of realists related to this issue is that if large scale cooperation is desired, efforts should be led by an existing dominant actor³³ because the dominant state would provide stability and increase cooperation. Realists also argue that the cooperation will result in favour of dominant power.

³² Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approach*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.68.

³³ Aysegül Kibaroglu, *Building A Regime for the Waters of the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2002), p.17.

CHAPTER 3

WATER DISPUTE IN THE EUPHRATES-TIGRIS RIVER BASIN

In the first chapter of this thesis, water problems have been evaluated from a theoretical perspective. Within this context, one of the main integration theories, functionalism, has been used as means for resolving the water issue. Cooperation, integration and spillover concepts, which are the main arguments of functionalism, have been explained. Functionalism and realism, as the dominant approaches of international relations theories, have been compared. Within this theoretical framework the concept of “benefit sharing”, the main argument of this thesis has been explained.

In this chapter of the thesis, the water problem among Turkey-Syria and Iraq will be examined specifically. The following chapters, which are entitled as “cooperation efforts on the transboundary river basin: The Nile Basin Initiative, Southern African Development Community experiences and reflections on the Turkish-Syrian water relations” “analyses of the political economic relations in the Euphrates-Tigris river basin: opportunities for benefit-sharing between Turkey, Syria and Iraq” will discuss the cooperative efforts and Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iraqi relations based on water-related socio-economic sectors such as health, agriculture, energy and trade.

Following the general information concerning water issues, this chapter illustrates the overall physical characteristics of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin. The main focus, however, will be on the political dimensions of the Euphrates and Tigris in which the perceptions of the riparian states are investigated. This chapter also outlines the historical hydropolitical developments among the riparians; the agreements and protocols related to the Euphrates and Tigris river system; and Turkey’s projects to solve the water issue in the Middle East. There is also a brief

discussion on the Orontes river issue as it relates to the relations between Turkey and Syria.

The prolonged water dispute in the Euphrates and Tigris river basin comprise Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Before discussions on the solutions of the water conflicts can be offered, the development of the issues of conflict among the riparians and development projects need to be explained. The main reasons for the conflicts and disagreements will be discussed and assessed.

Water is both vital and scarce resource. Water scarcity exists across the Middle East. Although this region has 5% of the world's population, the water resources in the region amounts to 1% of the world total³⁴ and, in addition to these facts, the region's population is rapidly increasing. Water scarcity has come in the recent years to the forefront in the relations among the countries of the Middle East. It also occupies an important place in the agenda of several international organisations. Main characteristics of the problem may be highlighted as follows:

- Current water resources in the Middle East have become insufficient to meet the needs
- The scarcity of water will continue to increase in the future as the population grows and consumption per head of inhabitant augments.

As a result, water is likely to become the cause of conflict among the countries of the region.³⁵ This situation causes tensions among the states of the region, and has become a source of tension among the riparian of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin due to the initiation of major development projects. Regarding the

³⁴ Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), pp.46-47.

³⁵ Mehmet Şahin, "Political and Security Dimensions of Euphrates And Tigris" , *MSc Thesis Submitted to the Department of International Relations*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2002, p.3.

current state of affairs, the approach in use of water resources can be characterised as a competitive rather than cooperation.³⁶

When we look at the Middle East, Turkey is the one country that is considerably well-watered.³⁷ But it should be clarified that it is not a water-rich country, it is only well-watered. In other words, it is a self-sufficient country regarding water. According to Swedish hydrologist Malin Falkenmark, countries with at least 10.000 cubic meter per head per year have limited problems; those in the 1.667-10.000 cubic meter per head per year range face general problems; countries with 1000-1.667 cubic meter per head per year are considered water stressed; those in the 500-1000 cubic meter per head per year range suffer “water scarcity”; and countries with less than 500 are thought to fall below the water barrier. So as Turkey faces general problems (i.e., 1830 cubic meters per capita per year), while its neighbours to the south all struggle with the problems of aridity.

Table 1: Water Quantities Per Capita in Some Water-Rich and Middle Eastern Countries

<u>Countries</u>	<u>Years</u>	
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2020</u>
<u>Water-rich countries</u>	10000	8000
Iraq	3287*	950
Turkey	1700*	980
Syria	890*	780

³⁶ Ayşegül Kibaroğlu, "Settling the Dispute over the Waters of the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin," Selected Papers of the International Conference From Conflict to Co-operation in *International Water Resources Management*, (eds.) J.Bogardi and S. Castelein, pp. 329-343, UNESCO-IHE Delft, The Netherlands, 20-22 November 2002, UNESCO-IHP, p.329.

³⁷ Kemal H. Karpat *The Turkish Foreign Policy: Recent Developments*, (Wisconsin: Madison, 1996), p.165.

* ---, Water Resources in Iraq, Available at <http://www.unesco.org/water/wwap/news/iraq.shtml>, Accessed on 28 July 2006

* ---, “Turkey Country Report Prepared for the 3rd World Water Forum March 2003”, Available at http://worldwatercouncil.org/fileadmin/wwc/Library/Publications_and_reports/country_reports/report_Turkey.pdf, Accessed on 28 July 2006, p.8.

* M. Salman, W. Mualla, “The Utilization of Water Resources for Agriculture in Syria: Analysis of Current Situation and Future Challenges”, *International Seminar on Water Issues of the World Federation of Scientists*, FAO, Erice, Italy, August 2003, p.1.

3.1. Physical Facts on the Euphrates and Tigris River Basin

The Euphrates and Tigris river basin becomes one basin due to their merging in the Shatt-al-Arab. Shatt-al-Arab is a waterway before the Euphrates and Tigris river basin empties into the Persian Gulf. The Euphrates river rises in Turkey and flows into the Syrian territory. Then, the river passes through Iraqi territory. In the same way, the Tigris river also rises in Turkey and flows along the Turkish-Syrian border and enters Iraq. Turkey is the upstream country of this river system.³⁸

The primary area of disagreement among Turkey, Syria and Iraq is on the Euphrates river basin. The Euphrates, originates in Turkey, enters Syria at Jarablus, continues for a length of 680 km and enters Iraq at Abu Kamal.³⁹

The Euphrates river, the biggest river of Turkey, is composed of three main tributaries: Murat, Karasu and Perisuyu.⁴⁰ All of them originate in Eastern Anatolia. In addition to this, the Tohma and Göksu rivers, two important tributaries under the Keban Dam, also flow into the Euphrates river. In Syria, the Euphrates is joined by two tributaries: Balikh (Cullap in Turkish) and Khabur. The Khabur (Habur) sub-basin, together with its transboundary tributaries and springs, is the most complicated element of the system.⁴¹ The Euphrates river is 2990 km in length; 1220 km (40.8%) of this is within Turkey, 710 km (23.7%) is within Syria and 1060 km (35.4%) is within Iraq.⁴²

³⁸ Ayşegül Kibaroglu and I.H. Olcay Ünver, "An Institutional Framework For Facilitating Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", in *International Negotiation*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2000), p. 311.

³⁹ Philip Robins, Turkey and the Middle East, *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, New York 1991, p.87.

⁴⁰ Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), p.50.

⁴¹ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, *Building a Regime for the Waters of the Euphrates and Tigris River Basin*, (London:Kluwer Law International, 2002), p.163.

⁴² Yüksel İnan, "The International Water Courses and The Middle East", Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/groupa/percent/V-2/yinan.htm>, Accessed on 14 January 2006, p.8.

According to measurements in Belkisköy, where the Euphrates leaves Turkey⁴³, the average annual discharge of the Euphrates measured for the years 1937-1993, was 31.6 billion cubic meter per second. Approximately 89% (31.6 billion cubic meter) of the water of the Euphrates is generated in Turkey, whereas the remaining some 11% (3.4 billion cubic meter) originates in Syria. Iraq makes no contribution to the run-off.⁴⁴ While the contribution of these two downstream states to the water potential of the Euphrates is such a modest percentage, Syria has been demanding 32.3% of her contribution and Iraq 43% of the water. Turkey envisages utilising only 51.9% of her contribution, compared to its contribution of 88.7%.

It is imperative to note that the total amount of the water planned to be utilised by the three riparian countries exceeds the total flow capacity of the Euphrates by 17.3 billion cubic meters. Obviously, it is impossible to meet this demand as far as the river's potential is concerned.⁴⁵

Table 2: Water Potential of the Euphrates Basin

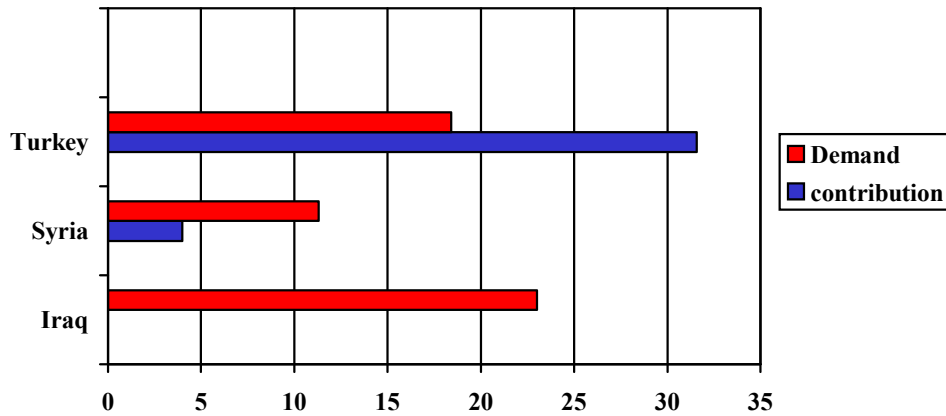
Countries	Water Potential
Turkey	31.58 (88.70 %)
Syria	4.00 (11.30 %)
Iraq	0.00 (0.00 %)
Total	35.58 (100 %)

Source: www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percent/i2/i2-6.htm

⁴³ Vefa Toklu, "Türk Dış Politikasında Su Sorunu", in İdris Bal (ed), *21. Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikası*, (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2001), p.537.

⁴⁴ Ayşegül Kibarođlu and I.H. Olcay Ünver , "An Institutional Framework For Facilitating Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", in *International Negotiation*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2000), p. 312.

⁴⁵ www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percent/i2/i2-6.htm, pp. 3-4



Source: www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percent/i2/i2-6.htm

Figure-2: Water Potential of the Euphrates Basin and Consumption Targets of its Riparians (in billion cubic meters per year)

The utilization of the Tigris river basin has been another issue of disagreement among these three countries. Originating Hazar Lake, the Tigris river is the second biggest river of Turkey. 523 km of this river, which totals 1900 km in length, flows in Turkey. It forms a 40 km-length border between Turkey and Syria. 1337 km of the Tigris is within Iraq. After crossing Iraqi territory, the Tigris joins the Euphrates to form the Shatt-al-Arab waterway in Iraq and then flows into the Persian Gulf. At the Turkish border, the Tigris River is composed of main four tributaries: Batman, Ilisu, Botan, Garzan. In addition to this, originating from Hezil and Hakkari in Turkey, the Greater Zap River merges with Tigris river in Iraqi territory.

Before it joins the Euphrates, the Tigris water potential reaches 52.7 billion cubic meters per second. According to data from Cizre Measurement Station at the Turkey-Syria border, Turkey's contribution for the years 1946-1994 was 16.2 billion cubic meter. With the Greater Zap river's contribution, Turkey's total contribution becomes 21.3 billion cubic meters. Iraq's contribution is 31.4 billion cubic meters.⁴⁶ No Syrian water drains into the Tigris. When we look at the percentages, Turkey's contribution is 40%, Iraq's and Iran's contributions are

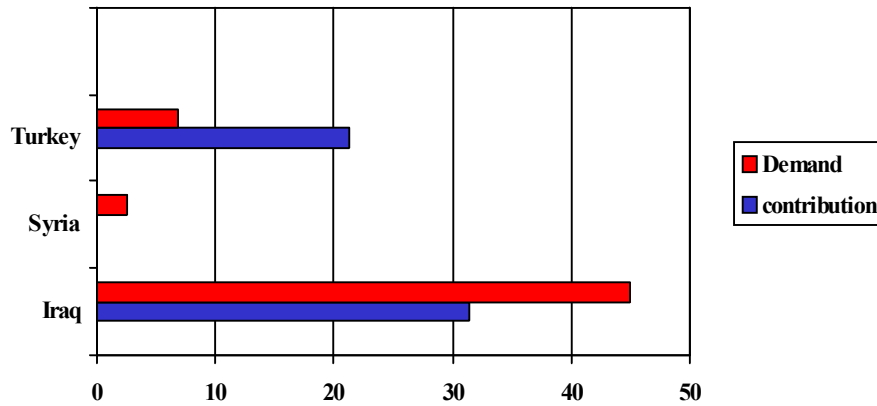
⁴⁶ Vefa Toklu, "Türk Dış Politikasında Su Sorunu", in İdris Bal (ed), *21. Yüzyılda Türk DışPolitikası*, (İstanbul:Alfa Yayınları, 2001), pp.537-538.

51% and 9% respectively. As is the case for the Euphrates basin, the consumption targets put forward by Syria and Iraq are also much higher than the water potential originating from their lands. Iraq's consumption target is 92% of her contribution, while Turkey's and consumption target is 14.1% of her contributions. Syria's consumption target is 5.3%. So as with the Euphrates basin, the amount of the water planned to be used by the three riparian countries of the Tigris river exceeds the total capacity of this river by an amount of 5.8 billion cubic meters annually.

Table 3: Water Potential of the Tigris Basin

Countries	Water Potential
Turkey	21.3 (40 %)
Iraq	31.4 (60 %)
Syria	0.00 (0.00 %)
Total	52.7 (100 %)

Source: Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), p.64.



Source: Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), p.64.

Figure 3: Water Potential of the Tigris Basin and Consumption Targets of its Riparians (in billion cubic meters per year)

3.2. Political Dimensions of Water Issue in the Euphrates and the Tigris

Basin

3.2.1. *Hydropolitical Relations in the 1960s and 1970s:*

Water politics in the region during the period between 1920 and 1960 -the period that is characterised by agreeable relations among the riparians- were generally conducted by legal arrangements.⁴⁷ Of these three countries, Iraq utilised the waters of the Euphrates the most up until the mid-1960s. The utilisation of Syria and Turkey has been very little. Turkey, however, began to construct dams over the Euphrates and the Tigris in the 1950s due to its increasing need for electricity.⁴⁸

In 1954, Turkey started its attempts to utilise waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris for purposes of irrigation and hydroelectric generation.⁴⁹ In this context, Keban Dam's construction was initiated in 1965. Iraq and Syria expressed their concerns over construction of this dam. They asserted that Turkey's project would damage their plans of water utilisation of the Euphrates and Tigris. Both Syria and Iraq opposed Turkey's installation of the Keban Dam. To discuss the Keban Dam and exchange views, Turkey invited both Syria and Iraq for a meeting. Turkey and Iraq met 22-27 June 1964, and Turkey and Syria met 5-14 September 1964. However, these meetings did not bring an agreement among the parties.

To finance the dam, Turkey started negotiating with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1963. USAID conducted the negotiations on behalf of countries and foundations which give credit. According to

⁴⁷ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, "Settling the Dispute over the Waters of the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin," Selected Papers of the International Conference From Conflict to Co-operation in International Water Resources Management, (eds.) J. Bogardi and S. Castelein, pp. 329-343, UNESCO-IHE Delft, The Netherlands, 20-22 November 2002, UNESCO-IHP, p.329.

⁴⁸ Özlem Tür, "Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri Su Sorunu", in Meliha B. Altunışık (ed.) *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Tarih, Kimlik, Güvenlik*, (İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları, Eylül 1999), p.106.

⁴⁹ Vefa Toklu, "Türk Dış Politikasında Su Sorunu", in İdris Bal (ed), *21. Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikası*, (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2001), p.539.

international norm, in order to get foreign credit, it was necessary to negotiate with countries which could be affected by the project. So, USAID wanted Turkey to release water in accordance with the needs of the riparian states. As a result of Turkey's visit to Iraq between the dates of 23-26 May 1966, Turkey agreed to release 350 cubic meters per second during the installation of Keban Dam. In accordance with this agreement, Turkey delivered 350 cubic meters per second.⁵⁰

Both Turkey and Syria completed the construction of Keban and Tabqa Dams in the same year, respectively. In May 1974, Turkey had begun to deliver only 100 cubic meters per second to Syria and Iraq in order to fill Keban Dam. But Syria and Iraq complained about this because they also needed more water to fill their dams.⁵¹ This situation also created a problem between Syria and Iraq. The problem was that Syria, to fill Tabqa Dam, released reduced amount of water to Iraq. This problem was solved with attempts of Saudi Arabia and Soviet Union.

Iraq and Syria misunderstood a point that these dams constructed and future dams which would be constructed by Turkey on the Euphrates and the Tigris would not only contribute to its own energy and irrigation needs, but they would also serve to provide regulated water supply to its neighbours. The Turkish dams on the Euphrates have been found efficient by internationally renowned scholars such as John F. Kolars, P. Beaumont, E. Anderson and Waltina Scheumann due to their effective reservoirs, low evaporation losses and geographical and topographic characteristic.

Due to the fact that the water flow of these rivers fluctuates greatly from one season to another, Turkey and its neighbours experienced serious problems with regard to floods. In summer months the average flow of these rivers ranges between 150-200 cubic meters per second. In spring, it reaches the level of 5000 cubic meter per second or more. This means strong floods in the spring and

⁵⁰ Ibid. , pp.539-540.

⁵¹ Özlem Tür, "Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri Su Sorunu", in Meliha B. Altunışık (ed.) *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Tarih, Kimlik, Güvenlik*, (İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları, Eylül 1999), p.107.

droughts in the summer. These major fluctuations have been regulated by the construction of dams on the Euphrates and Turkey's neighbours do not feel the effects of the severe drought and receive regular and stable water flows.⁵²

3.2.2. *Hydropolitics in the 1980s and 1990s:*

Main subjects of the hydropolitical relations in the 1980s and 1990s were the Southeastern Anatolian Project (Turkish acronym: GAP) and terrorism. After Keban, Turkey's second dam on the Euphrates was the Karakaya Dam. In 1974 Turkey started negotiating with the World Bank on the construction of the second dam downstream from the Keban. This was the first dam of GAP. A series of tri-lateral technical negotiations were also held to determine appropriate methods for impounding the Karakaya reservoir. Despite difficulty in obtaining full outside funding, contract bidding for work on the dam was called for in 1976. No crisis was encountered during either the construction of the dam or the impounding of its reservoir. This was largely due to further guarantees by Turkey to release 500 cubic meters per second of flow to Syria during the construction, initial impounding and operation of the dam. Karakaya Dam became operational in 1987.⁵³

Atatürk Dam, which is the fifth largest rock-fill dam on the world, is the centrepiece of GAP. It will irrigate an area of 875.000 hectares. The downstream countries saw this project as "water imperialism" and accused Turkey to hamper the future agricultural projects of both Syria and Iraq.⁵⁴ Syria, Iraq and Arab media showed a lot of reactions related to Atatürk Dam specifically, and the GAP, in general. According to Arab media, GAP appeared to pose a threat to regional

⁵² <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/i2/i2-6.htm>, p.7.

⁵³ Aysegül Kibaroglu and I.H. Olcay Ünver, "An Institutional Framework For Facilitating Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", in *International Negotiation*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2000), p. 316.

⁵⁴ Ali Çarkoğlu and Mine Eder, "Domestic Concerns and the Water Conflict over the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.37, No:1, January, 2001, p.57.

stability; the building of Atatürk Dam was widely portrayed as a belligerent act.⁵⁵ It is generally believed that the Ankara government waited for the out break of the Iran-Iraq War to start building the Atatürk Dam.

Another situation concerning Atatürk Dam was the diversion of the Euphrates. On 23 November 1989, Turkey notified Syria and Iraq on diverting the waters of the Euphrates River to impound the Atatürk Dam reservoir between the dates of 13 January and 13 February 1990. This notification led to complaints of the downstream countries. Syria and Iraq accused Turkey that during the filling the dam's reservoir, she would not release 500 cubic meters per second water as guaranteed minimum amount determined by the 1987 Agreement. Turkey pledge Syria to release minimum 120 cubic meters per second from the tributaries below Atatürk Dam and, before the diversion, 700 cubic meters per second water to compensate the decreasing amount.⁵⁶ In addition, Turkey had suggested compensating Syria's energy generation losses caused by impounding of the Atatürk Dam reservoir between the dates of 13 January and 13 February 1990. However, Syria did not react to this offer.⁵⁷ To solve this disagreement, ministerial meetings held in Ankara. As a result of these meeting, parties did not reach an agreement because Turkish side saw this problem as a technical matter, Iraq and Syria saw as a political one.⁵⁸ An official delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (Turkish acronym: DSI) was sent on a mission to Arab countries to explain the cut off in January 1990.

⁵⁵ Ali İhsan Bağış, "The Euphrates and Tigris Watercourse Systems: Conflict or Cooperation?", *The Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, 1993, p.222.

⁵⁶ Özlem Tür, "The Political Economy of Water and Self-Sufficiency in Syria and its Implications on Turkish-Syria Relations", MS Thesis Submitted to Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, 1997, p. 54.

⁵⁷ Waltina Scheumann, "The Euphrates Issue in Turkish-Syrian Relations", in Hans Günter Brauch (ed.), *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualilising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin: Springer, 2002), p.750.

⁵⁸ John Kolars, "Problems of International River Management: The Case of the Euphrates", in Asit K. Biswas (ed.), *International Waters of the Middle East from Euphrates-Tigris to Nile*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.49.

After the diversion of the Euphrates, Syria and Iraq reached a water allocation agreement. According to this agreement, Syria and Iraq shared the water flowing through Turkish-Syrian border in proportions at 42% and 58%, respectively.⁵⁹ Iraq demanded from Turkey to release 700 m³/sec water from the Euphrates river at the Joint Technical Committee in May 1990 and at a meeting of the foreign ministers. In turn, Turkey insisted of 500 cubic meters per second. As a result of negotiations, parties agreed on 700 cubic meters per second for critical periods.⁶⁰

Another crisis in this era occurred in 1996 after Turkey started the construction of the Birecik Dam on the Euphrates River. The dam was designed to regularise the water level of the Euphrates during the generation of hydroelectricity at the Atatürk Dam during peak hours when the downstream flow would reach its maximum. Both Syria and Iraq sent official notes to the Turkish government in December 1995 and January 1996 indicating their objection to the construction of Birecik Dam on the grounds that the dam would affect the quality and quantity of waters flowing to Syria and Iraq.⁶¹

These crises reveal that the initiation of major development projects by Turkey caused increasing demands on the waters of the river system which, in turn, exacerbated tensions among the riparians. The outcomes of the series of negotiations discussed above were fruitless. The reason behind this failure was

⁵⁹ Özlem Tür, "The Political Economy of Water and Self-Sufficiency in Syria and its Implications on Turkish-Syria Relations", MS Thesis Submitted to Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, 1997, p. 55.

⁶⁰ Waltina Scheumann, "The Euphrates Issue in Turkish-Syrian Relations" , in Hans Günter Brauch (ed.), *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflict*, (Berlin: Springer, 2002), p.750.

⁶¹ Özgür Hüseyin Eksi, "International Water Disputes: The Euphrates-Tigris Case, In Relations Between Turkey, Syria and Iraq", *MSc Thesis Submitted to International Politics of Asia and Africa*, The University of London, London, 1997, p.38.

that the parties could not reach any consensus on the basic principles and norms (rights and obligations) that would sustain the negotiation process.⁶²

Despite Turkey's attempts of cooperation, Syria used terrorism as an instrument against water. To prevent Turkey's projects on the Euphrates and the Tigris, Syria supported the terrorist organization PKK which tried to be effective in the Southeast of Turkey. Additionally, Syria supported ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) and the left-wing (Dev-Sol) terrorists. Terrorist attacks against Turkey increased in the second half of the 1980s. In 1986, Syrian Prime Minister Abd Al-Rauf al Kasm came to Ankara and announced that Syria did not support such attacks, but PKK continued its attacks from Syrian lands. In such an environment, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal made an official visit to Damascus in 1987.⁶³ What came out of Özal's Damascus visit was not very significant in terms of Syrian commitments. The PKK bases in Syria were moved to Beqaa Valley in Lebanon, which was again under the Syrian control. Syria refused to extradite the leader of PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, whom it described as a political refugee. PKK still continued to launch attacks and cross the Syrian border in operations against Turkey. In 1987, due to efforts of Turgut Özal, an interim protocol was signed with Syria. According to this protocol, Turkey would release 500 cubic meters per second within the Syrian border and Syria would stop supporting PKK.⁶⁴ However, Syria continued to support PKK because she did not believe Turkey would not cut off water.⁶⁵

There are critical views about these 500 cubic meters per second from the Turkish stand point. This amount was believed to be a great concession that Turkey was

⁶² Ayşegül Kibaroglu and I.H. Olcay Ünver , "An Institutional Framework For Facilitating Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", in *International Negotiation*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2000), pp.319-320.

⁶³ Daniel Pipes, "Beyond the Golan: Prospects for Syrian-Turkish Confrontation", Available at <http://www.danielpipes.org/article/276>, Accessed on 7 December 2005, February 15, 1996.

⁶⁴ Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), p.67.

⁶⁵ William Hale, *Türk Dış Politikası 1774-2000*, (çev: Petek Demir), (İstanbul: Mozaik,2003), p.324.

giving to Syria.⁶⁶ The Prime Minister of Turkey, Süleyman Demirel, also stated in his talks that this amount is determined arbitrarily. Concerning the fact that in August and September the amount of water in the Euphrates was reduced as less as 250 cubic meters per second, Turkey had to make up the difference from her own reservoirs to release the 500 cubic meters amount to Syria.

Atatürk Dam's completion decreased the downstream state's bargaining leverage. As Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel threatened in November 1991 to bomb the Beqaa Valley and implied that Turkey's dams would deter threats to GAP. The following April, Syria signed another security agreement with Turkey, without receiving reciprocal assurances on water. Moreover, by the end of 1992, Ankara had obtained financing for the Birecik Dam by signing a "Build, Operate, Transfer" agreement with a multinational European consortium after recouping its investment. Damascus and Baghdad nevertheless appealed to Arab states not to finance GAP while calling on the international consortium to give up working for the Turkish government on what Damascus termed "Arab waters".

Throughout 1993, various meetings were held in which Turkey, Syria and/or Iraq gathered to discuss the issue of water allocation. To discuss both regional and bilateral issues, Süleyman Demirel and Syrian Prime Minister Zoub met in Damascus on 19-20 January 1993. In this meeting, overcoming bilateral issues at the foreign ministerial level was decided.⁶⁷ Although Turkey had undertook to solve the water issue by the year's end, Turkey rejected Syria and Iraq's demand for 700 cubic meters/sec.⁶⁸ and an equal three-way division of the Euphrates

⁶⁶ Özlem Tür, "Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri Su Sorunu", in Meliha B. Altunışık (ed.) *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Tarih, Kimlik, Güvenlik*, (İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları, Eylül 1999), p.110.

⁶⁷ ---, "Water Issue Between Turkey, Syria and Iraq", Available at <http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume1/JuneAugust1996/WATERISSUESBETWEENTURK EYSYRIAANDIRAQ.pdf> , Accessed on 27 November 2005, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Syria and Iraq as downstream states demanded 700 cubic meters/sec. from Turkey, in line with Syria's view of the 1987 Agreement as temporary until Atatürk Dam began hydropower production in July 1992.

water.⁶⁹ At the same time, no documents were signed by delegations because the leader of the PKK terrorist organisation was still living in Damascus. The riparian states' foreign ministers decided to hold another meeting in April 1993. This meeting closed with Iraq's continued demand of 700 cubic meters per second from the Euphrates. This demand was again considered totally unacceptable by Turkey. In June 1993, another meeting was held in Ankara. The Iraqi delegation did not join this meeting. Thus, Turkey's efforts to start a bargaining process in order to reach institutional solutions on the water issue failed.⁷⁰

After Turkey began the construction of Birecik Dam in 1996, Syria supported PKK's activities to forestall its construction. At the same time, Arab countries got together and issued a declaration in which they demanded a water-sharing agreement and Syria protested against Turkey because of polluting water which later entered Syria. Downstream countries' efforts failed to block constructions of the Birecik and Karkamis dams, close to the Turkish-Syrian border, which was started to build in 1996⁷¹ and Karkamis dam is Turkey's the fifth dam on the Euphrates river. After the expulsion of PKK terrorist organisation's leader from Syria, Iraq and Syria tried to block export credits to construct Ilisu Dam on the Tigris River. The main aim of Turkey for constructing this dam was to generate electricity and irrigate Tigris valley agricultural lands. However, there were many objections concerning construction of the dam, such as the dam's displacement of 100.000 inhabitants and the flooding of many towns and ancient Hasankeyf.⁷²

⁶⁹ Paul Williams, "Turkey's H2O Diplomacy in the Middle East", *Security Dialogue*, Vol.32, No.1, March 2001, p.30.

⁷⁰ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, "Prospects for Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, annual 1994/1995, p.150.

⁷¹ Dogan Altinbilek, "Development and Management of the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin", *Water Resources Development*, Vol.20, No.1, March 2004, p.16.

⁷² Paul Williams, "Turkey's H2O Diplomacy in the Middle East", *Security Dialogue*, Vol.32, No.1, March 2001, pp.30-31.

3.3. Agreements and Protocols Related to the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers

There are historical agreements and protocols among riparians and between Turkey (or Ankara Government) and colonial powers for preserving the status of cooperation on water issues. These agreements and protocols are as follows:

3.3.1. *The Paris Treaty:*

Article 3 of this treaty, concluded on 23 December 1920 between France and Britain, being the two mandatory states on Iraq and Syria, laid down that an agreement be concluded between them for setting up a joint committee to make a provisional study for any project to be carried out by the French mandatory government in relation to the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris as to affect the waters of the two rivers at the point of their entry into the region subject to the British mandate.⁷³

3.3.2. *The Ankara Agreement Between Ankara Government and France on 20 October 1921:*

This agreement is the first legal article in connection with Turkey and Syria. The aim of this agreement was to meet the fresh water need of Aleppo.⁷⁴ Article 12 is related to concept of “equity”.

Article 12:

The Kuveik water is to be distributed between the city of Aleppo and the region under Turkish control in such a way as to give equitable satisfaction to the

⁷³ Yüksel İnan, “The International Water Courses and the Middle East”, Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/groupa/percent/V-2/yinan.htm>, Accessed on 27 August 2005, p.11.

⁷⁴ Bülent Topkaya, “Water Resources in the Middle East: Forthcoming Problems and Solutions for Sustainable Development of the Region”, Available at <http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr/muhfak/publications/gap.html>, Accessed on 15 June 2006, July 1998,

*two parties. The city of Aleppo to meet its water requirements will be able to take water from the Euphrates the costs are paid.*⁷⁵

It can be understood from the 12th article of the 1921 agreement that by covering expenses. Syria would take water from the Euphrates, but this opportunity would be limited to a geographical region, the city of Aleppo.⁷⁶

3.3.3. The Lausanne Peace Treaty:

The Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed between the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Victorious States of World War I. In this Treaty, Article 109 is important and related to the Euphrates and Tigris.

Article 109:

*In default of any provisions to the contrary, when as the result of the fixing of a new frontier the hydraulic system (canalisation, inundation irrigation, drainage or similar matters) in a state, or when use is made on the territory at a state, in virtue of pre-war usage, of water or hydraulic power the source of which is on the territory of another state, an agreement shall be made between the state concerned to safeguard the interests and rights acquired by each of them. Failing an agreement, the matter shall be regulated by arbitration.*⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Düstür*. III. Ter. Cilt 2. Sah. 152 Mad 12.

⁷⁶ Mehmet Şahin, "Political and Security Dimensions of Euphrates And Tigris" , *MSc Thesis Submitted to the Department of International Relations*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2002, p.36.

⁷⁷ Lozan Antlaşması, 24.7.1923, *Düstür*: III. Ter. Cilt 5. Sah.16.

3.3.4. *The Protocol Related to Constitution of Syrian Border (Hatay) in 1939:*

This protocol is related to the Orontes River. According to this protocol, Turkey and Syria would utilise the water of Orontes in accordance with equality principle.⁷⁸

3.3.5. *The Treaty of Friendship and Neighbourly Relations Between Turkey and Iraq on 29 March 1946 in Ankara:*

This treaty was concluded between Iraq and Turkey; and under Article Six, six protocols were annexed thereto. The protocol provided a framework for the two parties to deal with their respective interests in the Euphrates-Tigris river basin and tributaries. The protocol emphasized mainly the urgency of building up flood control works on the Euphrates and Tigris river basin and underlined the positive impact of storage facilities to be sited in the Turkish territory.⁷⁹ The main features of this agreement read as follows;

(i) In order to ensure the maintenance of regular water supply, to regulate the water flow and to avoid the danger of floods during the annual periods of high water, it had been found necessary to construct dams and permanent observation stations in Turkish territory (Preamble),

(ii) Authorisation to undertake studies with a view to controlling the river: Iraq may send to Turkey groups of technical experts to make investigations and surveys, collect hydraulic and geological information needed for the selection sites for the construction of dams and observation stations to be constructed on the Tigris, Euphrates and their tributaries (Article 1).

(iii) Collaboration in carrying out the projected studies (right of access). Provision of facilities: The technical experts from Iraq shall collaborate with Turkish technical experts; Turkey shall authorise them to proceed to the places to be visited and shall provide them with the information, assistance and facilities necessary for the accomplishment of their task (Article 2),

⁷⁸ Vedat Durmazucar, *Orta Doğu'da Suyun Artan Stratejik Değeri*, (İstanbul, 2002), p.62.

⁷⁹ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, *Building a Regime for the Waters of the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2002), pp.222-223.

(iv) Turkey shall install and operate permanent flow measurement facilities, and transmit periodically the readings and the recorded data to Iraq (Article 3),

(v) Turkey in principle accepts to construct flow regulation works needed in the interest of Iraq in Turkish territory (Article 4),

(vi) Turkey shall inform Iraq of projects for waterworks on any of the Protocol watercourses, and shall consult with Iraq with a view to accommodating the interests of both countries (Article 5).⁸⁰

3.3.6. Economic and Technical Cooperation Treaty:

This agreement was signed between Turkey and Iraq on 7 February 1976. With this agreement, the parties agreed on setting up the Joint Iraqi-Turkish Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation. In addition to this, the parties agreed on cooperating in all areas relating to interests of both parties⁸¹

3.3.7. The 1987 Economic Protocol:

The protocol of 1987 is a comprehensive agreement between Turkey and Syria. It was a provisional agreement which laid down that the quantity of waters flowing to the Turkish-Syrian borders during the filling of Atatürk Dam in Turkey should not be less than 500 cubic meter/sec. Iraq had objected to this agreement because it did not meet the minimum limit of his legitimate rights to the waters of the Euphrates. In the meantime, it is a provisional agreement coinciding with the filling of Atatürk Dam.⁸² The relevant article in this agreement is as follows:

Article 6:

During the filling up period of the Ataturk Dam reservoir and until the final allocation of the waters of the Euphrates among the three riparian countries, the Turkish Side undertakes to release a yearly average of more than 500 m³/sec.

⁸⁰ Ibid. , pp.222-223.

⁸¹ See for details, *Resmi Gazete* 14 Mayıs 1976.

⁸² Yüksel İnan, "The International Water Courses and the Middle East", Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/groupa/percent/V-2/yinan.htm>, Accessed on 27 August 2005, p.14.

*At the Turkish-Syrian border and in cases where the monthly flow falls below the level of 500 m³/sec., the Turkish Side agrees to make up the difference during the following month.*⁸³

3.4. Turkish Cooperation Proposals to Cope with Water Scarcity in the Middle East

3.4.1. The Three Staged Plan:

Turkey refused the idea of “sharing” the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris put forward by Iraq and Syria. Turkey offered a plan to Syria and Iraq in 1984 for *optimal, equitable and reasonable utilisation* of the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris.⁸⁴ This plan offered at the fifth Joint Technical Committee meeting is the “Three Staged Plan”. Turkey claimed that the ultimate objective of its Three-staged Plan was to realise the optimum utilisation of the water resources of the Euphrates and Tigris Basin.⁸⁵

Turkey's plan rested on two basic principles:

a. The Euphrates and the Tigris make up a single transboundary river system not only because they are connected by their natural course when uniting at the Shatt al-Arab, but also because Iraq uses the waters of both rivers interchangeably through its Thartar Canal Project which transfers the Tigris waters to the Euphrates.⁸⁶

⁸³ ---, “Protocol on Matters Pertaining to Economic Cooperation Between The Republic of Turkey and the Syrian Arab Republic”, Resmi Gazete, 10 Aralık 1987, Sayı: 19660, p.6.

⁸⁴ Gün Kut, “Ortadoğu Su sorunu: Çözüm Önerileri”, in Sabahattin Şen (ed.), *Su Sorunu, Türkiye ve Ortadoğu*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1993), p.478.

⁸⁵ Mete Erdem, “The Tigris-Euphrates Rivers Controversy And The Role of International Law”, *Perceptions, Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. VIII, No.1, May/March 2003, p.17.

⁸⁶ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, *Building a Regime for the Waters of the Euphrates and Tigris River Basin*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2002), p.254.

b. The three countries need to work together on preparing and assessing a common inventory of water and land resources in the basin. The reason for this is that the methods of collecting and interpreting data vary considerably and a unified method would have to be applied when working on a transboundary watercourse.⁸⁷

The Stages of the plan were as follows:

- Stage 1: Inventory studies for water resources

(i) to exchange the whole available data (levels and discharges) of the selected gauging stations below: Experts of the three countries shall agree upon the nomination of the representative meteorological stations in the Euphrates-Tigris basin, and exchange data on them as well as the whole available data concerning evaporation, temperature, rainfall, snowfall (if available) on monthly basis for the representative stations;

(ii) to check the above mentioned data;

(iii) to measure jointly the discharges at the above mentioned stations in different seasons, if necessary;

(iv) to evaluate and correct the measurements;

(v) to exchange and check data about the quality of water (if available) or (such data after having been initiated);

(vi) to calculate the natural flows at various stations after the estimation of water uses and water losses at various sites.

⁸⁷ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/ac/aci/default.htm>.

- Stage 2: Inventory studies for land resources

(i) to exchange information concerning soil classification methods and drainage criteria used and practised in each country;

(ii) to check the soil conditions for projects, planned, under construction and in operation;

(iii) if the studies indicated under item (ii) could not be carried out for reasons acceptable to all sides, soil categories shall then be determined to the extent possible;

(iv) to study and discuss the crop-pattern determined according to soil classification and drainage conditions for projects, planned, under construction and in operation;

(v) to calculate irrigation and leaching (washing away of the soil) water requirements based on the studies carried out in the above mentioned items for the projects planned, under construction and in operation.

- Stage 3: Evaluation of the water and land resources

(i) to discuss and determine irrigation type and system for the planned projects aiming at minimising water losses and to investigate the possibility of the modernisation and rehabilitation of the projects in operation;

(ii) based on the project-wide studies under item (Stage 2.v), to determine the total water consumption of the whole projects in each country including municipal and industrial water supply, evaporation losses from reservoirs and the conveyance losses in irrigation schemes;

(iii) to set up a simulation model which presents a river system schematically to analyse water demand and supply balance, considering water transfer opportunity from the Tigris to the Euphrates;

(iv) to discuss the methods and criteria for determining the economic viability of the planned projects.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, *Building a Regime for the Waters of the Euphrates and Tigris River Basin*, (London: Kluwer Law International, 2002), pp.254-255.

However, the Three-Staged Plan has not been accepted by Iraq and Syria up till now. Because Syria and Iraq said that the waters of the two rivers must be shared by a mathematical formula.⁸⁹ In addition to that, according to these countries, it is known that the criteria and practices connected with the issue of the soil classification or soil studies are many and diversified, and consequently it is natural that each states selects the criterion suitable for her own circumstances. It, therefore, can not be expected that the three states participating in the river itself to adopt uniform criteria and practices. Also, the research and studies related to the soil classification are inherently too complicated and would take a long time to accomplish, and their results could not be definitely demonstrated prior to reaching their final detailed stage. Also, the principals set forth in the plan may be practicable if they are applied within one state only. This is due to the existence of substantial differences in the economic evaluation in each state, in the economic and agricultural policies and also in the requirements of each state for certain kind of agricultural and crops. Syria and Iraq, therefore, rejected this plan because it could not lead to an equitable and reasonable solution to the problem.

3.4.2. Complementary Cooperation Proposal: The Peace Pipeline Project

The Peace Pipeline Project was offered by Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal to set forth an alternative solution to the water issue in the Middle East at the end of the 1980s. The project aimed to supply water to eight Middle Eastern countries via two different pipelines. The first and largest, called the “Western Pipeline”; would run south through Syria and Jordan before finishing up in Mecca. The second, smaller “Gulf Pipeline” would run across to Kuwait and then down the west side of the Gulf as far as Muscat in Oman.⁹⁰ The project aimed to meet

⁸⁹Mehmet Şahin, “Political and Security Dimensions of Euphrates And Tigris” , *MSc Thesis Submitted to the Department of International Relations*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2002, p.32.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* , p.33.

the water needs of 15 million people.⁹¹

According to the project, part of the water from the Ceyhan and Seyhan rivers, which now flow into the Mediterranean Sea and are not utilised by Turkey, would be piped south to provide drinking water for the Arabian peninsula.⁹² The Arab states, however, opposed the project not only because of cost-efficiency and fears of water cut-offs, but primarily because of an abiding perception that Israel itself might receive water via Jordan. The Arab states also worried that this plan would increase their dependence upon Turkey.

3.4.3. *The Manavgat Water Supply Project*

The Manavgat water supply project was developed by Turkey to supply water to cities on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey and countries in the region, which are facing water scarcity, especially Israel.⁹³

During an official visit to Israel in March 1996, Demirel promoted the Manavgat Water Supply Project. The construction of this project was completed in 1999 at a total cost of \$ 150 million. It is equipped to deliver up to 183 MCM amount of water for irrigation and drinking- less than 10% of the amount of the Peace Pipeline- to two platforms floating offshore near Antalya, where it would be loaded into super tankers.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Aziz Koluman, *Dünyada Su Sorunları ve Stratejileri*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002), p.81.

⁹² Erol Manisalı, “Water and Turkish-Middle East Relations” , in Kemal Karpat (ed.) *The Turkish Foreign Policy: Recent Developments*, (Wisconsin: Madison, 1996), p.2.

⁹³ ---, Turkey Country Report Prepared for the 3rd World Water Forum”, Available at http://www.worldwatercouncil.org/fileadmin/www/Library/Publications_and_reports/report_Turkey.pdf, Accessed on 15 January 2006, March 2003, p.73.

⁹⁴ Paul Williams, “Turkey’s H2O Diplomacy in the Middle East”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol.32, No.1, March 2001, pp.34-35.

Within the framework of this project, to discuss the water transfer from the Manavgat river to Israel, the Prime Minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon and Former Minister of Energy and National Resources of Turkey, Zeki Çakan met on 6 August 2002. During the meeting, a “Joint Committee for the Manavgat Water Supply Project to Israel” was established.⁹⁵ After the Committee meetings, an intergovernmental agreement between the related states was signed in Tel Aviv on March 4th 2004.⁹⁶ According to this agreement, Israel undertook to buy 50 million cubic meters per year for a period of 20 years.⁹⁷ However, on 30-31 January 2006, Turkish and Israeli delegations held a meeting in Ankara. At the end of the meeting, parties have decided to cancel agreement concerning water transfer from Manavgat river to Israel. According to Israel, the main reason for cancelling the agreement was the high water transfer cost.⁹⁸

3.5. Syria’s Dilemma: The Orontes (Al-Asi) River

To understand Syria’s point of view concerning water sharing, it is necessary to explain the Orontes river as a special case, because, for the Orontes river, Syria is the “upstream” country and Turkey the “downstream” one. Despite Syria complaints about Turkey’s water policies on the Euphrates and Tigris, she acts completely differently regarding the Orontes river.

Rising in Lebanon, the Orontes river passes through Syria and flows into the Mediterranean in the Turkish province of Hatay. It flows for 40 km in Lebanon, 120 km across Syria and 88 km through Turkey. In Lebanon there are two water

⁹⁵ Mithat Rende, “Water Transfer From Turkey Water-Stressed Countries in the Middle East”, unpublished paper, p.12.

⁹⁶ İbrahim Gürer, Mehmet Ülger, “Manavgat River Water as a Limited but Alternative Water resources for Domestic Use in Middle East”, Available at <http://www.ipcri.org/watconf/papers/ibrahim.pdf>, Accessed on 18 February 2006.

⁹⁷ Mithat Rende, “Water Transfer From Turkey Water-Stressed Countries in the Middle East”, unpublished Article, p.12.

⁹⁸ Gülçin Üstün, Utku Çakırözer, “Manavgat Projesi İptal”, Available at <http://www.milliyet.com/2006/02/02/guncel/axgun02.html>, Accessed on 22 May 2006.

regulators on the Orontes, and in Syria there are two dams, the Destan and Maherde, in addition to a water regulator in the province of Jisr Ash-Shugur. Both Syria and, to a lesser extent, Lebanon have been intensively utilising this river for irrigation purposes. Syria has been making use of 90% of the total flow, which reaches an annual average of 1.2 billion cubic meters at the Turkish-Syrian border. Out of this capacity, only a small 120 million cubic meters enters Turkey after it is heavily used by Syria. However, this amount will further decrease to about 25 million cubic meter if Syria's planned reservoirs of Ziezoun and Kastoun are built in addition to the existing dams on the river. 80 million cubic meter of water from the Orontes has been earmarked for Lebanon, in accordance with an agreement signed between Syria and Lebanon -the "Bilateral Agreement Concerning the Usage and Sharing of the Waters of the Al-Asi River (Orontes) between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Lebanese Republic"- on 20 September 1994.⁹⁹

Syria's record in sharing the waters of the Orontes contrasts dramatically with what it claims should be happening to the waters of the Euphrates. Syria is the upstream state and its irrigation schemes have virtually halted the flow of the river into Turkey's Hatay province, an area which is claimed by Syria.¹⁰⁰ That means Syria claims that Hatay is Syria's province, not Turkey's. From this point of view, the Orontes river flows completely within Syrian territory and empties into the Mediterranean Sea from Syria's territories. Therefore, Syria claims that it is not a necessity to release water into Turkey's border for Syria.

Since the signing of the Adana Accord (Security Protocol) between Turkey and Syria in October 1998, there have been a number of promising mutual official visits which point towards improved bilateral dialogue and a new trust in the region. As a product of this recent rapprochement, the two riparians have further improved their economic relations and have signed the first Free Trade

⁹⁹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percent/i2/i2-6.htm> ,p.6.

¹⁰⁰ Natasha Beschoner, "Water and Instability in the Middle East", *Adelphi Paper*, No.273,1993, p.27.

Agreement on 22 December 2004 which actually defines and recognises state boundaries.

Bilateral relations have improved since 1998 and joint efforts are on the way. During the most recent visit by Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan to Syria on 22 December 2004, the press recorded that the Turkish Prime Minister indicated his cooperation on the issue and promised technical assistance to Syrian Prime Minister Otri that includes a joint project to build a dam on the Orontes River in Syria. The purpose of this dam would be to provide water to irrigate 20.000 ha in Turkey and 10.000 ha in Syria as well as to produce hydropower for Turkish and Syrian needs. It was agreed that a joint technical delegation would be formed to study the technical issues pertaining to the construction of the joint dam. A Turkish-Syrian delegation visited the Orontes basin in Syria to examine the topographical and geological characteristics of the region as well as the places likely to be affected by the dam's construction.¹⁰¹

Whether negotiations for the construction for this recently proposed joint dam will materialise or not, remains to be seen. The recent technical dialogue focuses solely on water quantity issues; urgent water quality matters are yet to become part of the negotiation agenda. However, the seeds of cooperation observed in the Orontes river basin may pave the way for further confidence-building measures between Turkey and Syria.

¹⁰¹ ---, "DSİ 2005c: Türk Heyeti Suriye'yi Ziyaret Etti." Basın Bültenleri, DSİ Genel Müdürlüğü, Basın Müşavirliği, Available at <http://www.dsi.gov.tr/basin/suriyeturk.htm>, Accessed on 8 September 2005, 18 May 2005.

3.6. Concluding Remarks

To summarize, the water issue among Turkey, Syria and Iraq can be considered in two parts: before and after 1960s. Relations between the riparian states were not conflictual and were generally conducted by legal arrangements before the 1960s.

Since the 1960s, water has become a source of tension among the riparians to the Euphrates and Tigris river basin: Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Relations after 1960s can be divided as relations influenced by the GAP and the terrorism:

Turkey began to construct dams for purposes of irrigation and hydroelectric generation. Within this context, GAP was the key project to realize this purpose. Syria and Iraq are downstream countries and they asserted that Turkey's project would damage their plans of water utilisation of the Euphrates and Tigris.

From the 1980s to 1998, relations between riparians developed under the shadow terrorism. To forestall Turkey's projects on the Euphrates and the Tigris, Syria supported the PKK, ASALA and the left-wing (Dev-Sol) terrorists. Syrian-Turkish relations started to improve after the 1998 Adana Protocol.

In this chapter, the historical background concerning the water issues among the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin has been explained. In the following chapter, solutions and suggestions will be introduced. Within this framework, cooperative efforts on transboundary river basins, such as the Nile basin and rivers in the Southern Africa, will be compared with Turkish-Syrian water rapprochement specifically.

CHAPTER 4

COOPERATION EFFORTS ON THE TRANSBOUNDARY RIVER BASINS: THE NILE BASIN INITIATIVE, SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES AND REFLECTIONS ON THE TURKISH-SYRIAN WATER RELATIONS

Water as a basic human necessity, is a critical resource for all aspects of human existence, environmental survival, economic development, and good quality of life. Water has become more and more crucial and strategic natural resource in the Middle East and South Africa. It is claimed that the crucial aspect of water resources in these regions will precipitate conflict in these regions. There are many interrelated reasons, which contribute to water-related crisis situation. The first reason is the increasing world population. The second reason is the changing and increasing human necessities. The third reason is that the amount of freshwater available to any country on a long-term basis is limited. Fourth, as human activities increase, more and more waste products are contaminating the available sources of surface water and groundwater. The fifth reason is that there are increasing delays in implementing new water development projects because of the escalating project costs, lack of investment funds, increasing technical complexities of new development projects. The sixth factor is that climate change affects the water systems in a negative way. These reasons cause tensions among the riparians of transboundary river basins. At the same time, there are some cooperation efforts such as the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) and The Southern African Development Community (SADC).

This chapter will study these river basins and compare them with the cooperative efforts in the Euphrates-Tigris river basin. Lately an initiative had taken between the Syrian Ministry of Irrigation General Organization of Land Development and the Southeastern Anatolia Regional Development Administration of Republic of

Turkey to start a cooperative initiative for water-related development issues. Main reason on focusing the Nile Basin Initiative and Southern African Development Community is that these rivers, the Nile river and the rivers related to the Southern African Development Community such as Kunene, Cuvelai, Okavango, Orange, Maputo, Umbeluzi, Incomati, Limpopo, Save, Buzi, Pungué, Zambezi, Rovuma, Congo and Nile, were deemed as conflictual areas until recent past. However, these basins turned out to be providing bases for promoting cooperation and peace rather than creating conflict among the participants. The second reason to focus these areas is that the Nile river and the rivers in the Southern Africa are transboundary rivers like the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

In this chapter, it will be examined whether or not Turkey and Syria can solve their disagreements about water allocation, if these countries can develop broader cooperation framework comprising water-related development sectors.

4.1. The Nile Basin Initiative

There are many rivers all around the world which created conflicts among the riparians. While some of them are international rivers, others are transboundary rivers. Riparians of these rivers sometimes could not agree on the definition of these rivers as international river or transboundary water and could not agree on the quantity of water to be allocated for each country. One of these rivers is the Nile river basin. This region was deemed as conflictual area until recent past. However, The Nile basin has effectual opportunities for both all riparians and ensuring the cooperation. In this basin, within the framework of “win-win” strategy, a comprehensive cooperation among the all riparians could enhance in the matters of food production, energy, transportation environmental conservation and other related sectors.¹⁰² Therefore, riparians in this basin have promoted

¹⁰² Martha Karua, Nile-Com Chair, Official Launch of the Applied Training Project (ATP) in Cairo, Egypt on January 18, 2005, in Nile News, Available at <http://www.nilebasin.org/Documents/NBI%20Newsletter%20Mar2005.pdf>, Accessed on 13 June 2006, p.1.

cooperation and peace because of the influence of the international donors such as World Bank.

The Nile Basin region is the one of the most underdeveloped and unstable regions with per capita incomes in the range of US\$ 100-200 per year. In this region, international wars between Ethiopia and Eritrea, civil wars in Sudan and ethnic problem in Rwanda, Burundi, Congo are keeping on.¹⁰³

In the Nile River Basin, there are 10 countries. These are Egypt and Sudan as the downstream countries, Ethiopia and Eritrea on the Ethiopian highlands as upper riparian states and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi in Central and the East African lakes region. All riparians need the water of the river basin to different degrees in order to meet the basic requirements and sustain the economic growth.¹⁰⁴ In turn, Egypt and Sudan are the main riparians of the Nile basin and Nile's water has the economic significance for these two countries.¹⁰⁵ The Nile river has two main tributaries as the White Nile and the Blue Nile.¹⁰⁶

Legal agreements related to the Nile river basin started at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁰⁷ Egypt was the dominant country in the region and the early developments of the Nile water regulations served almost exclusively the interests of its most dependent riparian, Egypt.

¹⁰³Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Promising Hydrological Peace Process", in I. Baz et al. (eds.), *Co-operation on Transboundary Rivers*, (Baden: Nomos Baden), p.115.

¹⁰⁴ Claudia W. Sadoff, David Grey, "Beyond the river: the benefits of cooperation on international rivers", *Water Policy 4*, Washington, 2002, p.401.

¹⁰⁵ J. Anthony Allan, "The Nile Basin: Evolving Approaches to Nile Waters Management", *Occasional Paper 20*, SOAS Water Issues Group, June 1999, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Catalyst for Cooperation", in Brauch, Hans Günter; Selim, Mohammed; Liotta, Peter H.; Chourou, Bechir; Rogers, Paul (Eds.) *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 2003), p.761.

¹⁰⁷ Metawie, Abdel Fattah, "History of Cooperation in the Nile Basin", *Water Resources Development*, Vol.20, No: 1, March 2004, p.47.

In the British Empire period, many agreements related to the Nile river basin were reached by the High Commissioners of the different British colonies in North and East Africa. These agreements assured a constant and unhampered flow of the Nile into the Egyptian colony. The most important treaty was the 1929 Nile Water Agreement. Following the wave of the independence in Africa in the 1950s, this agreement was replaced with 1959 Agreement. The 1929 Nile Water Agreement was signed between the newly independent Egypt and the Administration of Sudan and the East Africa countries, on behalf of the British Empire. Two different issues were encompassed in the treaty. One of these issues was that this agreement set up the dominance of the downstream countries interests. At the same time, independent construction on the Nile of the East African countries was not allowed. Other issue in the agreement was related to water utilization between the two downstream countries namely Egypt and the Administration of Sudan. In this agreement, while Egypt was apportioned an unhampered access to the Nile waters, Sudanese water rights was recognized.¹⁰⁸

In 1952, General Nasser decided to construct the Aswan Dam as a project of solution to Egyptian water needs. General Nasser needed to support an international lender for funding the dam. One part of Aswan Dam would be in Sudanese territory. So, World Bank, as a major potential lender, asked for a prior agreement with Sudan. Most of the Aswan High Dam costs were funded by Soviet Union.

After the end of the colonial era in the Nile Basin, a bilateral agreement namely “Agreement for the full utilization of the Nile waters” between Egypt and Sudan in 1959 was signed. This agreement replaced the 1929 Agreement. According to 1959 Agreement, the Nile waters to the other riparians were not allocated. In turn, this situation has never been accepted by riparians except Egypt and Sudan and has caused tensions and problems. 1959 Agreement defined the status quo concerning the sharing of the Nile river basin waters. With the 1959 Agreement, Egypt and Sudan shared the water of Nile River (%75 of the water for Egypt and

¹⁰⁸ Henrike, Peichert, “The Nile Basin Initiative: A Promising Hydrological Peace Process”, in I. Baz et al. (eds.), *Co-operation on Transboundary Rivers*, (Baden: Nomos Baden), p.117.

%25 of the water for Sudan).¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the two riparians have decided to set up a Permanent Joint Technical Commission (PJTC) for preparing and conducting the further plans and projects.¹¹⁰ The vital interest of both downstream countries is to secure the status quo. However, cooperation as a condition of conducting the projects such as dams and hydropower stations is a prerequisite for international lenders or donors.¹¹¹

After 1959 agreement, cooperation efforts in this basin were driven by Egyptian security concerns and self-interest in securing an unhampered Nile flow. With this agreement, Egypt agreed with Sudan in order to commence construction of the High Dam (Aswan) and achieve the control of Ethiopian flood.¹¹² Up to the 1990s, there were some cooperation attempts such as Hydromet Project and Undugu Project. These projects either failed or succeeded partly.¹¹³

In 1967, Hydromet Project was the first multilateral cooperation effort in order to promote inter-riparian collaboration in the basin. Egypt and Sudan as riparians of the Upper White Nile, reached an agreement with United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and World Meteorological Organization (WMO). According to this agreement, the Upper White Nile riparians without Ethiopia, carried out a detailed hydrological research. The Hydromet Project was carried out some 25

¹⁰⁹ J. Anthony Allan, "The Nile Basin: Evolving Approaches to Nile Waters Management", *Occasional Paper 20*, SOAS Water Issues Group, June 1999, p.2.

¹¹⁰ A.T.Wolf, "International Water Conflict Resolution: Lessons from Comparative Analysis", *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, Vol.13, No.3, December 1997, p.271.

¹¹¹Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Catalyst for Cooperation", in Brauch, Hans Günter; Selim, Mohammed; Liotta, Peter H.; Chourou, Bechir; Rogers, Paul (Eds.) *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 2003), pp.765-766.

¹¹² J. Anthony Allan, "The Nile Basin: Evolving Approaches to Nile Waters Management", *Occasional Paper 20*, SOAS Water Issues Group, June 1999, p.2.

¹¹³Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Catalyst for Cooperation", in Brauch, Hans Günter; Selim, Mohammed; Liotta, Peter H.; Chourou, Bechir; Rogers, Paul (Eds.) *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 2003), p.766.

years, from 1967 to 1992. The Hydromet Project was the first step of multilateral cooperation process on this basin.¹¹⁴

In 1983, as a new cooperation effort, so-called Undugu Initiative was set up by Egypt. Within this context, Egypt tried to form a new platform for cooperation. Undugu was an unofficial African Group. The main aim of the initiative was to serve as a platform for informal discussions regarding the overall economic development of the Nile basin region. This group consists of Egypt, Sudan, Congo and the Central African Republic, and was later joined by Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. In turn, Ethiopia and Kenya did not join to this initiative. The annual meetings on ministerial level within the framework of the Undugu Initiative focused on the water related development sectors such as energy, agriculture, health, environment industry, trade and transportation. In 1989, this group submitted a request to UNDP in order to take on broad technical and economic studies of further cooperation attempts among the members of the Undugu Group. During 1989, the UNDP sent two missions to research opportunities of promoting the cooperation among the Nile basin states.¹¹⁵

After the end of the cold war, political tensions in this basin, especially between Egypt and Ethiopia, became less. After 1990s, cooperative relations on the Nile basin including all riparians have been witnessed.¹¹⁶ Cooperation process including for the first time all riparians states has started in this basin since 1992. In 1992, cooperation known as Tecconile (Technical Cooperation Committee for the Promotion of the Development and Environmental Protection of the Nile Basin) was set up by six of the ten riparians of the Nile River basin states. The

¹¹⁴ Henrike, Peichert, “The Nile Basin Initiative: A Promising Hydrological Peace Process”, in I. Baz et al. (eds.) *Co-operation on Transboundary Rivers*, (Baden: Nomos Baden), p.119.

¹¹⁵ Henrike, Peichert, “The Nile Basin Initiative: A Catalyst for Cooperation”, in Brauch, Hans Günter; Selim, Mohammed; Liotta, Peter H.; Chourou, Bechir; Rogers, Paul (Eds.) *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 2003), p.767.

¹¹⁶ J. Anthony Allan, “The Nile Basin: Evolving Approaches to Nile Waters Management”, *Occasional Paper 20*, SOAS Water Issues Group, June 1999, p.1.

members of Tecconile are Egypt, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Dem. Rep. Congo.¹¹⁷

The Tecconile Initiative aimed to reach a comprehensive legal and institutional framework consisting of the short and long term goals. In the short term, Tecconile was planning to establish the technical, institutional and personal structure. In turn, in the long term, Tecconile aimed to reach an overall agreement among the all riparians. Tecconile Initiative, set up in 1992, renamed the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), as an effort to increase intensity of cooperation among the riparians of the river, in 1998.¹¹⁸ The main aim of foundation of the NBI is that all Nile basin states work together to develop the resources of the river basin for sharing the benefits.¹¹⁹ Ethiopia, Kenya, and Burundi entered into the Nile Basin Initiative as observers. However, these countries later joined to the cooperation process as members in 2002 spring. Only Eritrea as one of the Nile basin riparians is still an observer in this process.¹²⁰

Within the framework of this process, an action plan was prepared namely the Nile River Basin Action Plan. This plan was discussed for a period of six years, from 1992 to 1998. It was adopted by the Ministers of Water of the Nile riparian countries in 1998. Lacking the financing resources to implement the action plan, riparian countries want the World Bank to coordinate the international donors to promote inter-riparian collaboration in the basin and implement the Nile Basin Action Plan. The World Bank accepted to support this plan in 1997. To coordinate

¹¹⁷ ---, "Sequence of Major Events of the Nile Basin Initiative Process", Available at <http://www.thewaterpage.com/nbihistory.htm>, Accessed on 19 July 2006, p.1.

¹¹⁸ Ayman Al-Sayed Abdel-Wahab, "The Nile Basin Initiative", Available at <http://www.siyassa.eg/esiyassa/AHRAM/2002/7/1/REPO1.HTM>, Accessed on 19 July 2006.

¹¹⁹ ---, "Nile Basin Initiative, Recent Development in the Nile Basin Countries", Available at http://www.worldbank.or.jp/02event/01seminar/pdf_ss/ss4_meraji.pdf, Accessed on 19 July 2006.

¹²⁰ Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Catalyst for Cooperation", in Brauch, Hans Günter; Selim, Mohammed; Liotta, Peter H.; Chourou, Bechir; Rogers, Paul (Eds.) *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer, 2003), p.769.

the external aid agencies, the World Bank proposed a meeting named the International Consortium for Cooperation on the Nile (ICCON).

Both Teconile and then the Nile River Basin Initiative have the three-track institutional structure. One of them is Council of Ministers (Nile-COM) whose chairmanship rotates annually. This is the highest decision-making body which consists of the all ministers of riparian states. Second organization of the Nile River Basin Initiative is Technical Advisory Committee (Nile-TAC). The Nile-TAC consists of two permanent officials of the each member states. Third organization is a permanent Secretariat (Nile-SEC) in Entebbe, Uganda.

In February 1999, the Nile Basin Initiative was formally established by the Nile Council of Ministers, and in June 1999 the new Secretariat of the Nile Basin Initiative began operating.¹²¹

Within the framework of this cooperation process, in 1993, a permanent conference series namely Nile 2002 Conferences was started. These meetings got together in Kampala, Khartoum, Arusha, Addis Abeba, Kigale and Cairo.¹²² The main aim of the conferences is to form an informal mechanism for exchange of views among the riparians. It was planned to achieve a cooperation agreement until 2002.¹²³

4.2. Southern African Development Community

Water is one of the main resources in the world, which people use to survive. At the same time, water is a shortage source in the world. According to the UN Panel of Futurologists (1998), lack of fresh water is one of the main problems that humanity comes face to face. In addition to this, increasing population is affecting

¹²¹ Ibid. , pp.769-770.

¹²² J. Anthony Allan, "The Nile Basin: Evolving Approaches to Nile Waters Management", *Occasional Paper 20*, SOAS Water Issues Group, June 1999, p.7.

¹²³ Henrike, Peichert, "The Nile Basin Initiative: A Promising Hydrological Peace Process ", in I. Baz et al. (eds.), *Co-operation on Transboundary Rivers*, (Baden: Nomos Baden), p.127.

demand on freshwater supplies. Africa is such a region facing these problems.¹²⁴ Africa has 62% of world land area and 60 shared river basins.¹²⁵ However, the rivers located far from the centers. Within this context, lack of the integrated management on these basins makes the region a conflictual area.¹²⁶

There are 12 states that located on the Southern African sub-continent. These are the republic of Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland. These states' boundaries were drawn by colonial powers in the second half of the nineteenth century. While the boundaries have been drawing, colonial powers took into consideration mountains peaks and watersheds. This situation created tensions among regional states related to the utilization and share of the international rivers.

There are 15 major international rivers in the SADC region namely Kunene, Cuvelai, Okavango, Orange, Maputo, Umbeluzi, Incomati, Limpopo, Save, Buzi, Pungué, Zambezi, Rovuma, Congo, Nile.¹²⁷ These rivers in SADC region have seasonal flooding character. In the dry season, water level of some rivers can be reduced. Consequently, in this period, flooding in this region does not take place. However, flooding is extensive with high flows in the wet season.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Mohamed, Elmi Abdullahi, "Joint Development and Cooperation in International Water Resources", in Mikiyasu Nakayama (ed), *International Waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), p.209.

¹²⁵ Ibid. , pp.209-210.

¹²⁶ Piet Heyns, "Water-Resources Management in Southern Africa" in Mikiyasu Nakayama *International Waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), p.6.

¹²⁷ Ibid. , p.5.

¹²⁸ William M. Adams, "Integrated River Basin Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa", in A K Biswas & C Tortajada (eds) *Integrated river basin management: the Latin American experience*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.31.

Table 4: River basins in SADC and riparian states of these rivers

<u>River Basin</u>	<u>Number Of States</u>	<u>Basin States</u>
Kunene	2	Angola, Namibia
Cuvelai	2	Angola, Namibia
Okavango	3	Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe
Orange	4	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa
Maputo	3	Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland
Umbeluzi	2	Mozambique, Swaziland
Incomati	3	Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland
Limpopo	4	Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe
Save	2	Mozambique, Zimbabwe
Buzi	2	Mozambique, Zimbabwe
Pungué	2	Mozambique, Zimbabwe
Zambezi	8	Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Rovuma	3	Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania
Congo	9	Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Dem. Rep. of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Zambia
Nile	10	Tanzania, Burundi, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, Dem. Rep. of Congo

Source: Piet Heyns, “Water-Resources Management in Southern Africa” in Mikiyasu Nakayama *International Waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), p.7.

Although these rivers have different characteristics, there are also common properties affecting the cooperation and regional development. These are as follows;

- seasonal and changeable flow,
- rivers’ transboundary structure,
- low flows and large floods,
- rivers located far from the demand centers.
- lack of water amount for irrigation¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Mohamed, Elmi Abdullahi, “Joint Development and Cooperation in International Water Resources”, in Mikiyasu Nakayama (ed), *International waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), p.214.

After 1950s, Southern African states have concluded several agreements. While nine of these agreements were signed by SADC member states, sixteen of these agreements were concluded concerning SADC's thirteen shared watercourses. These nine agreement signed by SADC member states can be categorized under the three headings; (i) Agreements establishing general watercourse commissions, (ii) Agreements concerning single watercourses, and (iii) Agreements concerning specific watercourse projects. In the first categorization, there are four agreement established water commissions to oversee the management of shared watercourses. In the second categorization, there are two important agreements, namely "The Agreement on the Action Plan for the Environmentally Sound Management of the Common Zambezi River System"(ZACPLAN) and "the Okavango River Basin Commission Agreement"(OKACOM). In the third categorization, there are three agreements concerning water-project management. These agreements established governing bodies.¹³⁰

In 1979, the leaders of region got together in Arusha, Tanzania. This meeting led to the base of the African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).¹³¹ These leaders agreed to focus on development and cooperation instead of market integration. Because, according to leaders, market integration had to be future aim.¹³² To promote the cooperation and solve the water-related problems among riparian states, in 1980, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was established in Lusaka, Zambia. As a result of this conference, Lusaka Declaration (Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation) was adopted. This declaration's aim was to supply the economic liberalization and develop cooperation. SACDC was established by nine states namely Angola,

¹³⁰ Meredith A. Giordano and Aaron T. Wolf, "Transboundary Freshwater Treaties", in Mikiyasu Nakayama (ed), *International waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), pp.80-82.

¹³¹ ---, "The Origins", Available at <http://www.sadc.int/english/about/history/index.php>, Accessed on 18 July 2006.

¹³² Margaret Lee, "Regionalism in Africa: A Part of Problem or a Part of Solution", *Polis/R.C.S.P./C.P.S.R.*, Vol.9, No Special, 2002, p.10.

Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.¹³³

The Declaration and Treaty establishing SADC was signed at the Summit of Heads of State or Government in Windhoek, Namibia in 1992. In this summit, a Treaty transforming the "SADCC" from a coordination conference into SADC, the Community was signed.¹³⁴ SADC replaced the Southern African Development Coordination Conference in 1992.¹³⁵ The main aim of SADC is to create 130 million-person southern African common market by 2000.

While South Africa joined the SADC in 1994, the Democratic Republic of Congo joined in 1997. Although Uganda applied for the membership in 2000, she is still waiting for SADC approval.¹³⁶

The Objectives of the SADC are to:

- (i) increase development and living standards of the peoples of Southern Africa;
- (ii) promote economic cooperation and growth;
- (iii) achieve sustainable utilization of natural resources;
- (iv) strengthen historical, social and cultural affinities and links among states;
- (v) promote common security and defense policies;
- (vi) promote common political values;¹³⁷
- (vii) achieve effective protection of the environment.¹³⁸

¹³³ M.C.Lee, "Development, Cooperation and Integration in the SADC Region", *Social Science & Humanities and Law & Management Research Journal*, Vol.2, 1999, p.30.

¹³⁴ ---, "The SADC Framework For Integration", Available at <http://www.sadc.int/english/documents/risdpc/chapter1.php>, Accessed on 18 July 2006.

¹³⁵ Richard Gibb, "Southern Africa in Transition: Prospects and Problems Facing Regional Integration", *the Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.36, No.2, June 1998, p.289.

¹³⁶ ---, "South Africa and Southern African Development Community", Available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emev/cabs/sadc.html>, Accessed on 18 July 2006.

¹³⁷ ---, "SADC Objectives", Available at <http://www.sadc.int/english/about/objectives/index.php>, Accessed on 18 July 2006.

¹³⁸ Meredith A. Giordano and Aaron T. Wolf, "Transboundary Freshwater Treaties", in Mikiyasu Nakayama (ed), *International waters in Southern Africa*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2003), p.80.

Table 5: Institutions of the SADC

Institutions	Mission
The Summit of Heads of States or Governmental	The Heads of the State or Government of all members constitutes this summit. The main mission of this summit is latest policy making organ.
Council of Ministers	Ministers participating from each member states constitute this council. They are responsible for promoting the development of SADC.
Sectoral Committees and Commissions	Task of these committees and commissions is to coordinate the sectoral activities.
Standing Committee of Officials	This institution is a technical advisory committee to the Council. Standing Committee of Officials meets at least once a year.
National Contact Points	The main responsibility of National Contact Points is regular consultation for all SADC subjects.
Sectoral Contact Points	Sectoral Contact Points participate in sectoral meetings, and assist Sector Coordinating Units in the monitoring projects.
Secretariat	This institution is responsible for strategic planning and application of programs of SADC and implementation of decisions of the Summit of Council.
Tribunal	A Tribunal will be constituted to guarantee the proper interpretation of the conditions of the Treaty. Decisions giving by Tribunal are ultimate.

Source: ---, "Southern African Development Community, SADC", Available at <http://www.itcilo.it/english/actrav/telearn/global/ilo/blokit/sadc.htm>, Accessed on 18 July 2006.

4.3. Growing Networks in the Euphrates and Tigris River Basin: GAP-GOLD Protocol and ETIC

To solve water-related problems and bring Turkey, Syria and Iraq closer to each other, there are some cooperation efforts among the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin. One of these cooperative efforts is the "GAP-GOLD Protocol." This attempt takes place between Turkey and Syria;

The GAP Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA) took some useful steps in 2001 to initiate contacts with Syria by sending a delegation to that country following the invitation of the General Organization for Land Development (GOLD), Ministry of Irrigation, Syria. Following this mission, a Syrian

delegation headed by the Minister of Irrigation paid a visit to Turkey. As a result of these bilateral relations, a Joint Communiqué was signed between the GOLD and the GAP RDA on 23 August 2001. This agreement envisions the cooperation of the two sides in such areas as training, study missions, technology exchange and conduct of joint projects. The agreement intends to improve the relations between the two countries further, through training of staff from both countries, by hosting specialists from Syria in Turkey specific training activities. Once such training is institutionalized, courses are planned either in Syria or in Turkey for other Arab speaking countries as well. In fact, further steps have already been taken, and a technical team from Syria has been invited to the region to discuss the principles of implementation. This agreement between GAP and GOLD also includes provisions about 'twin protection areas'-one from each country to be studied, planned and implemented as a Twin Development Project that can be implemented in both countries. In June 2002 the GAP Minister, with a delegation from GAP RDA visited Syria. Talks were held regarding the GAP-GOLD cooperation and an implementation document was signed that defines the principles of implementation of the cooperation envisioned in the Joint Communiqué. A Syrian delegation headed by the Syrian Irrigation Minister later reciprocated this visit, attending the inauguration of the wastewater treatment plant built by GAP RDA at the Turkish side of the border, and visiting the project-related sites in GAP.

The GAP-GOLD Protocol comprises a limited range of essential but effective activities to create a coordination mechanism between these two government agencies. The overall goal of this agreement and its subsequent implementation protocol (2002) is to provide sustainable utilization of the region's land and water resources, and to deal with water management within a larger picture of overall socio-economic development and integration of the under developed regions in Turkey and Syria. The agreement is mainly drafted with a basic objective of establishing a dialogue between the two countries and strengthening inter-riparian engagement by building 'intergovernmental networks' which would serve to open up new opportunities for realizing win-win solutions. Under this recent promising developments between Turkey and Syria, GAP, which once constituted a bone of contention in the regional politics, is becoming a source of gradual cooperation for development related activities.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Ayşegül Kibaroglu, "Water for Sustainable Development in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin," *Proceedings of the 2nd Asia Pacific Association of Hydrology and Water Resources*, Vol. 2, Singapur, 5-8 July 2004, pp. 976-985

Another cooperation effort concerning not only Turkey and Syria but also all riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin is the Euphrates-Tigris Initiative for Cooperation (ETIC) as a track-two effort. This initiative established in 2000 with signing founding document, is a riparian initiative that aims to provide cooperative atmosphere in the fields of technical, social and economically sustainable development within the Euphrates-Tigris region. ETIC's founding members are from the academic communities in Iraq, Syria, Turkey and the United States of America.¹⁴⁰ The founding members of ETIC met at Kent State University, Ohio, USA between the dates of 19-22 May 2005 to finalize the preparatory stage of the initiative.¹⁴¹ As a result of this meeting, ETIC was established formally.¹⁴² This initiative uses a development focus instead of a water focus. With this new approach, parties of this initiative set goal to cope with environment protection, social and gender equity, governance, gras-roots participation in a holistic, multi-stakeholder framework.¹⁴³

ETIC's objectives are to provide opportunities dialouge; to develop project concepts that will be attractive to decision-makers and implementers in the Euphrates-Tigris region; to create sub-networks by bringing together different private stakeholder groups such as farmers, NGOs, community-based organizations, and business and professional societies; to provide a venue for public officials and professionals to address common problems; to implement joint pilot projects that benefit all riparians; to increase public awareness concerning the issues in the Euphrates-Tigris region; to facilitate education and capacity building to ensure sustainability for cooperation and development.

In 2006, ETIC/Kent State University, in partnership with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Bahcesehir

¹⁴⁰---, "The Euphrates-Tigris Initiative for Cooperation (ETIC) Founding Document", USA, May 2000

¹⁴¹---, *ETIC News Letter*, Volume 1, No. 1, June 2005.

¹⁴²---, *ETIC News Letter*, Volume 1, No. 3, March 2006.

¹⁴³---, *ETIC Brochure*, 2001, in curcilation

University, Istanbul and Turkish Water Foundation, organized a training program. This training program was held in February 2006, at Bahcesehir University, Istanbul. In this meeting, subjects such as dam safety for engineers, managers and technical staff who are involved in planning, operation, management, and maintenance of dams were discussed.¹⁴⁴

4.4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the Nile, Southern Africa and Euphrates-Tigris river basin has been tried to be comparatively analyzed to answer the question that whether the cooperation efforts in the first two cases can be an example to be repeated in the case of the Euphrates-Tigris river basin. To realize this objective, the chapter has been separated into three parts. In each of these parts the specific conditions of the basins has been elaborated. Moreover the common features among these three basins have been examined.

In the Nile river basin, it was argued that since the colonial period, there had been a dominant power over the utilization of the waters of the Nile river, that is Egypt. Egypt tried to handle the issues concerning the utilization of this river through bilateral relations in which it has the ability to dictate terms of conduct over the other riparian states. However multilateral frameworks have not been ignored in this basin. With the contributions of the international donors (specific contributions from World Bank is specifically important in this case), the cooperation efforts have taken their place in the agenda of the riparian states.

In the second part, first of all, the specific conditions of the Southern African region have been set. The special attention has been paid to the fact that with 12 states with more or less equal strength and the 15 rivers fulfilling the functions of both constituting the borders of the neighboring states and carrying the feature of being a transboundary water in themselves. The boundaries that have been drawn by the colonial states without taking into consideration of the specific conditions

¹⁴⁴ ---, *ETIC News Letter*, Volume 1, No. 3, March 2006.

of the region after the second half of the 19th century, increased the complexity of the problem. However these countries find a way to establish cooperation among themselves through institutionalizing their relations, especially after the Southern African Development Coordination Conference in 1980, which included 9 riparian states. This conference was subsequently replaced by the Southern African Development community.

In the part concerning the Turkish-Syrian relations, we claim that 1998 constitute the turning point in their relations. The positive atmosphere emerged after 1998 was also reflected in the water related issues. The institutionalization efforts gained acceleration following that date. One of the most important attempts is the GAP-GOLD cooperation.

The Euphrates-Tigris Initiative for Cooperation (ETIC) as another cooperation effort on the Euphrates-Tigris river basin is a track-two initiative. The Euphrates-Tigris Initiative for Cooperation (ETIC) is concerning not only Turkey and Syria but also all riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river basin. ETIC's founding members are from the academic communities in Iraq, Syria, Turkey and the United States of America. This initiative was established with a founding document signed in 2000. In the positive atmosphere emerged after 2000, this attempt helped to develop the relations among Turkey, Syria and Iraq.

In all these cases, besides the specific conditions of these regions, the common features among them have also been examined throughout this chapter. As it was mentioned above the common features of these basins are the conflictual nature of the relations, the existence of transboundary waters, the presence of a dominant power, and the contribution of the international donors to promote cooperation among the riparian states. The efforts and the achievements in the Nile and the South Africa river basins proved to be a useful example the achievements of which can be repeated in other parts of the world. Taking into consideration the scope and the achievements of the cooperation efforts in South Africa region that incorporated both the security dimension of the relations among the riparians and

water related sectors, such as agriculture, transportation and energy, it was argued that the successes in the above mentioned region can be repeated in the Euphrates-Tigris river basin, in which there is a need for a similar approach to handle the complex problems.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE EUPHRATES-TIGRIS RIVER BASIN: OPPORTUNITIES FOR BENEFIT-SHARING AMONG TURKEY, SYRIA AND IRAQ

In this section of the thesis, the political and economic relations developed since the 1990s among the riparian countries of the Euphrates-Tigris river basin will be analyzed within the context of ‘benefit-sharing’ approach. In this context, in addition to the primary sectors of socio-economic development related to water such as energy, agriculture and health, the developing relations and cooperation opportunities between these countries will be analyzed upon the basis of trade, investment, transportation and banking sectors. Through the analysis of the political and economic relations among these three riparian countries, the future cooperation possibilities in the river basin in the field of regional socio-economic development will be examined with a special emphasis on water issues, and suggestions will be made to that end. In consequence, by way of taking the matter of regional cooperation in the river basin from a broad perspective embracing many areas of the socio-economic life, cooperation possibilities that will increase the benefits of each of the three riparian/neighbouring countries may be created.

As it can be seen upon the analysis of the political and economic relations among the three riparian countries, the relations in the basin/region have generally developed at the bilateral level. The political and economic relations that involve all of the three countries are comparatively limited. Therefore, in this section of the thesis, in the light of the interviews held with the experts of the issue in the relevant institutions of Turkey and by using primary and secondary statistical resources, the political and economic relations between Turkey-Syria and Turkey-Iraq will be discussed in its historical context, putting special emphasis on the

relations that developed since the 1990s on the basis of different sectors by drawing attention to the benefit-sharing approach.

5.1 Analysis of the Turkish-Syrian Political and Economic Relations: 1998 Adana Security Accord and Expanding Relations in Various Fields of Socio-Economic Development

Even though there are historical, cultural, social and economic ties between Turkey and Syria, the relations between the two countries have never reached the expected level. The mutual lack of trust and prejudices against each other can be put forward as the underlying reasons beneath this.¹⁴⁵ The 1998 Adana Security Accord can be regarded as the turning point of the relations between the two countries. Following the signing of this protocol, the relations between the countries have started to develop positively. Especially after the death of Hafez Assad in the year 2000, the moderate policy carried out by his son, Bashar Assad has contributed to this positive atmosphere.¹⁴⁶

This positive atmosphere between the two countries also had repercussions on the sectors such as agriculture, energy, health, trade, investment, transportation and banking. The sectoral relations between Turkey and Syria are as follows:

5.1.1. Agriculture

The cooperative relations regarding agricultural sector between Turkey and Syria began on 23 November 1976 with the signing of the ‘Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation Protocol’, ‘Veterinarian Agreement’ and ‘Plant Protection

¹⁴⁵ Selahattin İbas, “History of the Relations between Turkey-Syria” in Türel Yılmaz and Mehmet Şahin (eds.), *Syria in Middle Eastern Politics*, (Ankara: Platin, October 2004), p.54.

¹⁴⁶ Meliha Benli Altunışık, Özlem Tür, “From Distant Neighbours to Partners? Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations” *Security Dialogue*, Vol.37, No.2, p.229.

and Quarantine Agreement'. After this date, the agricultural relations have been executed within the framework of Joint Economic Commission protocols.¹⁴⁷

Following this period, the water problem between the two countries and Syria's policy of supporting terrorism in return for water against Turkey nearly stopped the relations in the agricultural sector. This interval in the relations continued until 1993. In 1993, the 'Cooperation in the Animal Health Convention' and the 'Plant Protection and Quarantine Agreement' were signed as the renewed version of the 'Veterinarian Agreement' and 'Plant Protection and Quarantine Agreement' which had been signed in 1976. On March 25-29, 2001, during a visit to Syria, the agreement which was signed in 1976, the 'Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation in Agriculture Agreement', was renewed.¹⁴⁸ This agreement was signed by the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Prof. Dr. Hüsnu Yusuf Gökalp and Syrian Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Mr. Asaad Mustafa on 28 March 2001.¹⁴⁹

As a result of the meetings held within the framework of this agreement signed in 2001, it was decided that the minelands between Turkey and Syria cleaned and opened them for organic farming. Both countries gave their full support to this project. In his visit to the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs Mr. Sami Güçlü, the Syrian Ambassador to Ankara Mr. Khaled Raad spoke as follows about the issue; "The cleansing of the border region from mines and opening it to organic farming will have great economic contribution to the people living in both sides of the border."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Mr. Cemal Kaygısız, Department Chief, Bilateral Relations and Protocol, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, 30 June 2006, Ankara.

¹⁴⁸ ---, "Turkey-Syria Agricultural Relations", Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs Turkey, Service Notes, p.1.

¹⁴⁹ ---, "New Cooperation Between Turkey and Syria", Available at <http://www.tarim.gov.tr/arayuz/9/haberayrintisi.asp?ID=109>, Accessed on 30 June 2006.

¹⁵⁰ ---, "Full Support from Syria for the Cleansing of the Minelands and Opening Them for Organic Farming", Available at <http://www.tarim.gov.tr/arayuz/9/haberayrintisi.asp?ID=334>, Accessed on 30 June 2006.

Apart from these cooperation activities, mutual biannual meetings are held between the authorities of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs and Syrian and animal diseases in the border region.¹⁵¹

On 3 October 2002, at the Cilvegözü border gate, a meeting was held between the agricultural authorities of the two countries on the trade of animal products and fight with the epidemic animal diseases.

On 28-29 July 2003, the relevant authorities of Ministry of Agriculture also participated in the 6th Session of the Joint Economic Commission meeting held between Turkey and Syria. In this meeting, the parties decided to activate the agreements on 'Animal Health' and 'Plant Protection' which were signed in 1993. Apart from this, Syria expressed its willingness to utilize the new watering techniques used in Turkey. According to the decisions taken in the meeting, Turkey and Syria agreed to keep on with the border meetings on the plant and animal diseases.¹⁵²

On 21-22 May 2004, a meeting was held in Adana between the Turkish and Syrian authorities on the harmful insects among the agricultural products in the border region.¹⁵³ Syrian Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Dr. Adel Safar, visited Turkey between the dates of 23-26 June 2004. Within the framework of this visit, the first session meeting of the Turkey-Syria Agricultural Executive Committee was held on June 23. The first session meeting protocol was signed on 24 June 2006. This protocol covers the issues of vegetable production and plant protection, animal health, fisheries, agricultural researches, soil and water preservation, agricultural education and publication, development of

¹⁵¹ ---, "Turkey-Syria Agricultural Relations", Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs Turkey, Service Notes, p.1.

¹⁵² ---"Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation", 2003, pp.10-11

¹⁵³ ---, "Turkey-Syria Agricultural Relations", Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs Turkey, Service Notes, p.2.

economic and commercial cooperation.¹⁵⁴ On 8 August 2005, the Turkey-Syria Animal Health Protection Committee 1st Session meeting was held at the Hatay/Cilvegözü border gate. On 14-16 November 2005, the 2nd Session meeting was held in Syria. In these meetings, the initiatives regarding the removal of Syria's restrictions on the livestock and animal products trade from Turkey to Syria and to the third countries were discussed.¹⁵⁵

On 23-26 April 2006, at the meeting held in Turkey with the participation of four Syrian experts, the issues of fish protection, fishing and its control were examined.¹⁵⁶

5.1.2. Energy

The relations between Turkey and Syria in energy sector began with the crude oil purchase of TÜPRAŞ from Syrian National Oil Company (SYTROL) in 1995. Turkey's policy of increasing the diversity of energy imports has encouraged the natural gas trade with Syria possible. In the talks between the delegations of the two countries, it was agreed that cooperation in the areas of oil and natural gas should be started; and they established technical study groups for that purpose.¹⁵⁷

In the sixth meeting of the Turkey-Syria Joint Economic Commission held in Ankara between the dates of 24-29 July 2003, it was decided to prepare a cooperation protocol between the two countries in the areas of oil, natural gas and mining.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ ---, "Cooperation Period between Turkey-Syria in Agriculture", Available at <http://www.tarim.gov.tr/arayuz/9/haberayrintisi.asp?ay=7&yil=2004&ID=336>, Accessed on 20 June 2006.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Mr. Cemal Kaygısız, Department Chief, Bilateral Relations and Protocol, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, 30 June 2006, Ankara

¹⁵⁶ ---, "Turkey-Syria Agricultural Relations", Republic of Turkey Service Notes, p.2.

¹⁵⁷ ---, "Turkish-Syria Business Council Joint Meeting", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 1 May 2006, p.1.

¹⁵⁸ ---"Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation", 2003, p.10.

On 22-23 December 2004, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid an official visit to Syria. In this visit, critical issues concerning the energy sector were also discussed. In relation to this, the issue of Egypt-Turkey Natural Gas Pipeline Project (Mashrek Agreement) which was developed for the transportation of the Middle Eastern natural gas resources over Turkey was discussed with Syria, which is also a passage country in the project.¹⁵⁹

In the Executive Board meeting of the Turkish-Syria Business Council held in Damascus on 13-16 November 2005, it was stated that the number of companies working in the energy sector are limited in Syria. In this perspective, it was suggested that there is a big potential for the Turkish companies especially on the projects of power stations, power transferring lines, distribution networks and subscription services.¹⁶⁰

Besides these developments in the energy sector between the two countries, there is also an important cooperation among Turkey-Syria-Iraq in the field of energy. Apart from the three mentioned countries, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Libya take place in the project which is called as the ‘Interconnection of the electric systems of the seven countries (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Libya)’. This project has started with the ‘Memorandum of Understanding on the Interconnection of Electric Networks’ which was signed among Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq on 17 January 1989. Following that, on 13 June 1993, the ‘General Trade Agreement’, and on 07 November 1996, the ‘General Interconnection Agreement’ was signed. In 1999, Lebanon applied in order to participate in the project and the participation took place in the year 2001. After the participation of Lebanon, the name of the project was changed as ‘Interconnection of Six Countries (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon)’. Following a meeting in Damascus on 1 November 2003, Libya

¹⁵⁹ ---, “Erdoğan will talk on energy in Syria”, *Vatan Newspaper*, 23.12.2004.

¹⁶⁰ ---, “Syria Visit of the Turkish-Syria Business Council Executive Board”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, 13-16 November 2005, p.1

submitted its application for participation. On 2 November 2003, the application was accepted and the project gained its current name as the ‘Interconnection of the electric systems of the seven countries (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Libya)’.¹⁶¹

Within the framework of this system, the connection of the countries’ networks to each other is projected. The reason for preferring the interconnection system is to provide energy for a lower cost and more efficiently. In order to accomplish the smooth operation of the system, the interconnected countries mutually need to have the same capacity of providing energy. Another fact about this system is that, when the countries are connected with this system, they create a common market on the sectoral basis at the same time. This structure may also contribute to the countries’ cooperation tendencies towards each other.¹⁶²

Apart from this system, Turkey has a relation with the European system named as the ‘Union for the Co-ordination of Transmission of Electricity (UCTE)’.¹⁶³ Turkey’s relation with the UCTE dates back to the 1970s. UCTE is a European system. Turkey’s interest in UCTE within the framework of its membership process to the EU has increased the importance of this European system for Turkey. It is not possible for Turkey to become a member of the UCTE and the interconnection system of 7 countries at the same time. However, it is possible to connect the European system and the seven countries’ interconnection system to each other through a project which is named as ‘MEDRING’ (the Euro-Mediterranean Electricity Ring). Turkey’s importance is increasing within the scope of this project because the European Union has determined Turkey as the last country of UCTE in the east. According to this, when MEDRING or a similar

¹⁶¹ ---, “Yedi Ülke (Mısır, Irak, Ürdün, Lübnan, Libya, Suriye ve Türkiye) Elektrik Sistemlerinin Enterkonneksiyonu Projesi”, unpublished paper, TEIAS, p.1

¹⁶² Interview with Mr. Metin Günyol, Department Chief, International Relations, TEIAS, 20 June 2006, Ankara.

¹⁶³ Şerife İpek, Hikmet Sezer, “Türkiye’nin Enterkonneksiyonları ve Yeni Piyasa Yapısında Uluslararası Elektrik Ticareti”, unpublished paper, TEIAS, p.7

project is realized, Turkey would be the one to take control of the rest of the 6 countries in the 7-country system as the last member of the UCTE in the east.¹⁶⁴

5.1.3. Health

In the third session of the Joint Economic Commission meeting held between the dates of 19-20 July 1988, Turkey and Syria signed a protocol. According to protocol, parties decided to prepare an agreement concerning health services. Between the dates of 29 January-5 February 1989, Prof. Dr. Abdul Rauf Abbas, from the Syrian Ministry of Health, visited Turkey to obtain information about Turkish medicine industry and create trade opportunities.¹⁶⁵

In 1994, a Turkish delegation visited to Syria. In this visit, parties decided to sign a health protocol to establish cooperation. In the fourth session of the Joint Economic Commission meeting held between the dates of 7-11 May 2000, parties agreed about signing a cooperation agreement. In 2003, Syria Prime Minister Muhammed Mustafa Miro visited Turkey. In this meeting, a cooperation agreement between Republic of Turkey and Syrian Arab Republic was signed on 29 July 2003, namely “Cooperation Agreement in the field of Health”. Also, in Autumn 2003, a Turkish Health Fair was organized in Damascus.¹⁶⁶

In the sixth session of the Joint Economic Commission meeting held in 2003, a cooperation agreement was made between Turkey and Syria covering the economic, scientific, technical and commercial issues in the health sector. Apart from this, a joint working group was established consisting of the authorities of the Ministry of Health of the two countries. This group convened its first meeting in April 2004, in which it was decided to cooperate in the areas of joint combat

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Mr. Metin Günyol, Department Chief, International Relations, TEIAS, 20 June 2006, Ankara.

¹⁶⁵ ---, “Turkey-Syria Relations in the field of health”, Ministry of Health, Republic of Turkey Service Notes, p.1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. , p.2.

with water borne diseases, information sharing and medical treatment.¹⁶⁷ Within the Framework of “Cooperation Agreement in the field of Health”, “Sister-Hospital and Cooperation Protocol” between Gaziantep Child Diseases Hospital and Halep Child Diseases Hospital was signed in Gaziantep, Turkey on 31 October 2005.¹⁶⁸

5.1.4. Trade

As the relations in the other sectors, the commercial relations between Turkey and Syria have started to change after 1998. Economic reforms and liberalization process which Syria has gone through after the year 2000, put Syria into a higher rank position among the Middle Eastern countries. In this context, the commercial relations between Syria and Turkey have developed as well.¹⁶⁹

The most important countries that Syria is exporting are Germany, Italy, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. The most critical materials that Syria is exporting can be counted as crude oil and oil products, foodstuff and live animals, textile and textile fiber and cotton wool. The leading importing countries on the other hand are Germany, Italy, China and France. The most significant import materials are machinery and transportation equipments, foodstuff, live animals, metals and metal products, chemicals and phosphate.¹⁷⁰

When we look at the commercial relations between Turkey and Syria, we see that commercial relations started to be regulated by 17 September 1974 with the signing of the Trade Agreement. Following this, another commercial agreement named as the Long Term Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed in 1982.

¹⁶⁷ ---“Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation”, 2003, p.10.

¹⁶⁸ ---, “Turkey-Syria Relations in the field of health”, Republic of Turkey Service Notes, p.2.

¹⁶⁹ ---, “Country Bulletin: Syria”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, December 2004, p.1.

¹⁷⁰ ---, “Country Bulletin: Syria”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, December 2004, p.10.

Then, on 17 July 1987, the Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed.¹⁷¹ However, these agreements could not bring the relations to the expected levels due to the lack of confidence and the strained political atmosphere between the two countries.

The moderate policy executed by Bashar Assad after coming to power in the year 2000 has reflected itself in the commercial relations of the two countries. In this context, within the new cooperation atmosphere, the Sixth Session meeting of the Turkey-Syria Joint Economic Commission meeting was held on 29 August 2003. Significant decisions were taken at this meeting on trade between the two countries. At the meeting, the parties pointed out that the current trade between the two countries is far below the potential. Turkey and Syria decided to finalize the talks on the Free Trade Agreement as soon as possible. In this meeting, Turkey highlighted the necessity of the establishment of the Preferential Trade System which is essential for the development of the trade relations between the countries. Moreover, the parties have agreed upon the necessity of establishing border trade centers in order to increase the economic activities in the border and peripheral cities of the both countries.¹⁷²

On 7-8 January 2004, the Syrian President Bashar Assad paid a visit to Turkey. This visit has had a significant place in the relations between the two countries, because Bashar Assad is the first Syrian president to visit Turkey. During his visit, agreements carrying great importance for both of the countries were signed. One of them was the ‘The Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation’ which was signed on 7 January 2004. This agreement is crucial for the commercial and economic relations between the two countries.¹⁷³ The definitions of the state borders of Turkey and Syria are included in the agreement. Syria’s putting its

¹⁷¹ ---, “Turkey-Syria Bilateral Commercial and Economic Relations”, Foreign Economic Relations Board , March 2006, p.1.

¹⁷² ---“Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation”, 2003, p.4.

¹⁷³ ---, “Dinner Invitation Organized by DEIK/Turkish-Syria Business Council on the Occasion of the Visit of the Syrian Arab Republic Prime Minister Mr. Muhammed Naci Otri ”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, 14 July 2004, p.1.

signature to this agreement is a significant development that can be regarded as Syria's approval of "the Hatay issue" as sovereign part of Turkey which was resolved for Turkey in 1939 in compliance with the international law.¹⁷⁴ Another important agreement signed between Syria and Turkey during this visit was the 'Investment Incentives and Protection Agreement'.¹⁷⁵

In January 2004, as a result of the visit of Bashar Assad to Ankara, it was declared that the first round of the meetings of the Free Trade Agreement to complete its legal structure would be started on 26 April 2004.¹⁷⁶

On 22-23 December 2004, during the official visit of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria, a 'Free Trade Agreement' was signed. With this agreement, the parties defined and recognised the borders of the two countries.¹⁷⁷ With the entering into force of this 'Free Trade Agreement', according to the foreign trade data of the year 2005, approximately 15% of the taxes levied on the industrial products in total, and by the end of the third year following the agreement's entering into force, approximately 50% of the taxes will be eliminated.¹⁷⁸ The Chairman of the Turkish-Syria Business Council, Mr. Fatih Karamancı stated that the trade volume between the two countries has increased

¹⁷⁴ Selahattin İbas, "History of the Relations between Turkey-Syria" in Türel Yılmaz, Mehmet Şahin (ed.), *Syria in Middle Eastern Politics*, (Ankara: Platin, October 2004), p.62.

¹⁷⁵ ---, "Turkey-Syria Bilateral Commercial and Economic Relations", Foreign Economic Relations Board, March 2006, p.1.

¹⁷⁶ ---, "Dinner Invitation Organized by DEIK/Turkish-Syria Business Council on the Occasion of the Visit of the Arabic Republic of Syria Prime Minister Mr. Muhammed Naci Otri", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 14 July 2004, p.1.

¹⁷⁷ Aysegül Kibaroglu, İlhan Sagsen, Özlem Kaplan, "Turkey-Syria Security Relations Within The Context Of Water And Terrorism: Implications of the 1998 Adana Protocol", *The Fifth METU Conference on International Relations: International Security: Old Issues and New Challenges*, June 15-17, 2006, p.30.

¹⁷⁸ ---"Turkey-Syria Bilateral Commercial and Economic Relations", Foreign Economic Relations Board, March 2006, p.3.

152% since 1994 and reached \$755 million in 2004.¹⁷⁹ It was also stated that with the Free Trade Agreement the bilateral trade volume is expected to rise to 2 billion dollars in the medium term and that the Turkish private sector may reach the Arab market of 300 million by using the Arab Free Trade Zone which was put into effect in the beginning of 2005 and to which Syria is a party. It was also emphasized that, with this agreement the regional trade volume, which was then 9%, would be increased.¹⁸⁰

During the executive board meeting of the Turkish-Syria Business Council held between the dates of 13-16 November 2005 in Damascus, the Free Trade Agreement and its delayed ratification was negotiated. It was expressed that after the agreement is put into force, the competitive power of the Syrian industry will be increased. In addition to that, with the entering into force of the agreement, the non-customs barriers such as import permit and embassy certification fee will be eliminated.¹⁸¹

At the Turkish-Syria Business Council meeting on 1 May 2006, it was declared that the Free Trade Agreement had been published in the Official Gazette on 7 March 2006 and submitted to the Council of Ministers in Turkey for approval. At the same meeting, in the Syrian party's speech, it was pointed out that the Free Trade Agreement Syria signed with Turkey was the first Free Trade Agreement signed outside the Arab countries.¹⁸² This factor increases the significance of the agreement with regard to the relations between Turkey and Syria.

¹⁷⁹ ---, "The Executive Board Meeting/Press Meeting and Iftar Invitation Organized by DEIK/Turkish-Syria Business Council on the Occasion of the Visit of the Syrian Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Abdullah Al Dardari and the accompanying Businessmen Delegation, Foreign Economic Relations Board, 07.10.2005, p.3.

¹⁸⁰ ---, "Notes of the Official Visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-23 December 2004, p.1.

¹⁸¹ ---, "Syria Visit of the Turkish-Syria Business Council Executive Board", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 13-16 Kasım 2005, p.1.

¹⁸² ---, "Turkish-Syria Business Council Joint Meeting", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 1 May 2006, p.1.

When we take a look at the trade statistics between Turkey and Syria, we see that there has been an increase after the political detente in the 2000s. However, still the trade volumes are not at the desired level. Major trade materials and commercial materials between the two countries are as follows:

Table 6: Turkey-Syria Foreign Trade (Million Dollars)

Years	Export	Import	Balance	Volume
2000	184.3	544.3	-360.1	728.6
2001	281.1	463.5	-182.3	744.6
2002	256.5	506.2	-249.7	762.7
2003	410.8	413.3	-2.6	824.1
2004	391.8	357.6	34.2	749.4
2005	547.3	270.2	277.1	817.5

Source: TUIK

Table 7: Main Turkish Export Products to Syria (2005)

Products	Value (Dollar)	(%)
Mineral Fuels	118,724,969	21.69
Boilers, Machineries	50,416,280	9.21
Automotive and Spare parts productions	42,631,760	7.79
Cereal	38,077,508	6.96
Man-made staple fibres	35,156,562	6.42
Iron, Steel	31,444,718	5.75
Salt, Sulphur, Cement	30,824,053	5.63
Articles of Iron, Steel	27,531,971	5.03
Animal and Vegetal Fat	26,303,115	4.81

Continued Table 7

Plastics	26,032,693	4.76
Other	120,149,844	21.95
Total	547,293,473	100.0

Source: TUIK

Table 8: Main Turkish Import Products from Syria (2005)

Products	Value (Dollar)	(%)
Mineral Fuels	159,179,068	58.91
Cotton	71,476,384	26.45
Salt, Sulphur, Cement	7,951,997	2.94
Vegetables	7,004,344	2.59
Plastics	4,771,940	1.77
Iron, Steel	4,142,257	1.53
Coffee, Tea	3,162,476	1.17
Oil Seeds and Fruit	1,522,194	0.56
Wool	911,304	0.34
Manufactures of plaiting materials	835,813	0.31
Other	9,253,745	3.42
Total	270,211,522	100.0

Source: TUIK

5.1.5 Investment

In the sixth session of the Joint Economic Commission meeting held between the dates of 24-29 July 2003 in Ankara, concerning the investment sector between

Turkey and Syria, the necessity of finalizing the investment protection and development agreement was pointed out.¹⁸³

The rules that need to be fulfilled in order to make an investment in Syria are worded in the Law Number.10. According to this Law, in the areas excluding the organized industrial zones in Syria, a ‘Temporary Industry Licence’ is being issued for one year term which can be extended. It is a facilitating factor for the investors’ arrival that the people who want to invest in the areas excluding the organized industrial zones within the framework of Law Number 10 are being issued an ‘Industrial Licence’. Besides this, within the framework of the Law Number 10, the foreign currency coming to Syria by way of transfer can be transferred abroad. However, the earnings in Syrian Lira cannot be changed to foreign currency to be transferred abroad. The production facilities need to import raw materials to be able to manufacture goods. In order to import raw materials, the exchange allotment has to be made. The abroad transfer of the profit gained from the production is restricted to once a year. In accordance with the Law Number 10, the return of the capital for 5 years is prevented. The foreign currency earned from the export via the investment in Syria has to be brought to Syria before being sent to the central company in Turkey. This fact increases the cost as the money needs to be transferred twice.¹⁸⁴ These kinds of problems should be solved in order to improve the investment relations between the two countries.

On 7-8 January 2004, the Syrian President Bashar Assad paid a visit to Turkey. This visit has an important place in the relations between the two countries. During the visit, an important agreement was signed in the area of investment between Turkey and Syria titled as the ‘Agreement on the Investment Incentives and Protection’.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ ---“Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation”, 2003, p.10.

¹⁸⁴ ---“Turkey-Syria Commercial and Economic Relations”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, March 2006, pp.6-7.

¹⁸⁵ ---, “Turkey-Syria Bilateral Commercial and Economic Relations”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, March 2006, p.1.

During Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's visit to Syria on 22-23 December 2004, the Syrian Prime Minister Naci Otri stated that all kinds of infrastructure works had been fulfilled in the organized industrial zones and the bureaucratic procedures in the field of investment were aimed to be lessened.¹⁸⁶

In the Turkish-Syrian Business Council Executive Board meeting held in Damascus between the dates of 13-16 November 2005, many issues were discussed concerning the field of investment. At this meeting the general difficulties were assessed in the following issues such as the import licence, the foreign exchange transfer within the framework of Investment Law Number 10, banking, public procurement, trade and transportation.¹⁸⁷

In the Turkish-Syrian Business meeting dated 1 May 2006 the issues of investment relations were debated. At the top of these issues, the rapid pass of the relevant amendments on the Law Number 10 from the parliament and their entering into force were included. Another issue was the duty-free entrance of the necessary machinery and equipment into the country. Apart from this, there is a five-year tax immunity for the foreign investments in Syria and the investments can be 100% foreign.¹⁸⁸

5.1.6. Transportation

Road transports between Turkey and Syria are sustained within the framework of "International Road Transport Agreement" signed in 23.03.1982 and protocols related to this agreement.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ ---, "Notes of the Official Visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-23 December 2004, p.3.

¹⁸⁷ ---, "Turkish-Syria Business Council Joint Meeting", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 1 May 2006, p.3.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. , pp.1-2.

¹⁸⁹ ---, "Türkiye-Suriye İikili Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkileri", Foreign Economic Relations Board, Mart 2006, p.4.

Railway transportation to the Middle East and Near East is provided within the framework of “The Joint Agreement of Middle East Railway Conference” to which Turkey, Iran, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon are parties. After opening Al-Waled border gate between Syria and Iraq for freight and passenger transportations since 1997, TCDD started to transport in the line of Nusaybin-Kamisli. Transportation is provided to Jordan via Syria by the line of Islahiye-Meydanekbez in Turkish border.¹⁹⁰

Table 9: Fees determined by Syria for vehicles with Turkish licence plate

	Fees of transit crossing from Syria (\$)	Fees of transportation to Syria (\$)
Crossing Fee	375	180
Insurance (for 1 month)	60	60
Entrance Fee	199	199
Precudure Fee	10	10
Visa Fee	25	25
TOPLAM	657	474

Source: DETKİB (Denizli Textile and Apparel Exporters' Union)

At the date of 3 July 2003, a decision was taken in the accordance with Law No.25. Within the framework of this decision, entrance to Syria and transit crossing fee has been determined as 1 cent/km.¹⁹¹ At the sixth session of Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation between the dates of 24-29 July 2003 in Ankara, decisions related to transportation sector were taken. In this meeting, parties agreed to renew the Air Transport Agreement between Turkey and Syria and the Letter of Agreement between Syrian Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) and Turkish CAA for Air Traffic

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. , p.4.

¹⁹¹ ---, “Notes of the Official Visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria”, Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-23 December 2004, p.3.

Control Services. The Turkish side, emphasizing the importance of further development of cooperation in the field of aviation, proposed to establish two new air traffic services (ATS) routes between Turkey and Syria, respectively Ankara-Aleppo and Adana-Karatay and submitted to the Syrian side the map of these routes. Both sides agreed to discuss and finalize the proposal concerning ATS routes. At the same meeting, both sides emphasized with satisfaction the reactivation of Turkey-Syria-Iraq (Nusaybin-Qamishly-Al Yaroubiyeh) railway line on 30th of July, 2003. As a result of this meeting, Turkey and Syria agreed to sign the Maritime Transport Agreement between two countries within three months.¹⁹²

During Syrian President Bashar Esad's visit to Turkey in 2004, parties signed agreements regarding Land, Maritime, and Air Transportation.¹⁹³ Syria Transportation Minister Markam Obeid visited Turkey between the dates of 8-11 May 2004. During the visit, Obeid emphasized the need to develop cooperative relations between Turkey and Syria such as transportation, energy, agriculture. In this visit, parties signed "the Protocol of Turkey-Syria Joint Transportation Commission", and "Land Transportation Agreement". "The Maritime Transportation Agreement" signed in 1976 also revised in this visit. According to Land Transportation Agreement, parties agreed to exchange data concerning freight and passenger transportations.¹⁹⁴ After the revision of "the Maritime Transportation Agreement" in 2004, at the meeting of business council between Turkey and Syria, parties emphasized that seaway transportation between two countries will be started soon.¹⁹⁵ At the meeting between Turkey and Syria on 23 October 2004, parties decided to expand the Turkey-Syria road. At the same

¹⁹² --- "Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission from Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation", 2003, pp.4-7.

¹⁹³ ---, "Notes of the Official Visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-23 December 2004, p.2.

¹⁹⁴ ---, "Türkiye ile kara taşımacılığı alanında anlaşım imzalandı", SAVAK Newspaper, 14 May 2004.

¹⁹⁵ ---, "Türk-Suriye İş Konseyi Yürütme Kurulu'nun Suriye Ziyareti", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 13-16 November 2005, p.1.

meeting, Turkey demanded Syria to decrease border crossing fee (USD 375) collecting from vehicles.¹⁹⁶

Turkish-Syrian Business Council Joint Meeting gathered on 1 May 2006 in Istanbul. In this meeting, full-size projects such as construction of North-South motorway and airport are stipulated to be started in foreseeable future.¹⁹⁷

5.1.7. Banking

There are five public banks in Syria. One of these banks is Commercial Bank of Syria. This bank finances 70% of country's export. On December 2002, Law concerning establishment of private bank was approved. According to Law, three banks which were given licences started to work.¹⁹⁸

At the Sixth Session of Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation between the dates of 24-29 July 2003 in Ankara, subjects concerning banking sector were discussed. Turkey offered that Turkish Eximbank could provide financial support for projects in Syria realized by Turkish contractors in Syria under the guarantee of the Syrian Arab Republic.¹⁹⁹

In Syria, Law No.24 regarding banking procedure came into force in 2004. This law includes the subjects such as regulation of foreign currency's entrance to Syria and exit from the country and secrecy of banking procedure.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ ---, "T.C. Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanı Sn. Ali Coşkun Başkanlığında Suriye Arap Cumhuriyetine Gerçekleştirilen İşadamları Heyet Ziyareti", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-25 October 2005, p.4.

¹⁹⁷ ---, "Türk-Suriye İş Konseyi Ortak Toplantısı", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 1 May 2006, p.3.

¹⁹⁸ ---, "Suriye Ülke Bülteni" Foreign Economic Relations Board, December 2004, p.2.

¹⁹⁹ ---"Protocol on the Sixth Session of the Turkish-Syrian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific, Technical and Commercial Cooperation", 2003, p.4.

²⁰⁰ ---, "Notes of the Official Visit of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Syria", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 22-23 December 2004, p.2.

Private banks were allowed to be established in Syria in line with Law No. 28 published in 2001. According to this law, five private banks were established in this country. However, in this law, foreign capital portion of these banks is limited with 49%. In Turkish-Syrian Business Council Joint meeting in 2006, Syrian side emphasized that banks in Syria establishing with 100% foreign capital was allowed to work in line with new banking law. Within this context, Turkish banks are expected to work in Syria in near future.²⁰¹

5.2. Analysis of the Turkish-Iraqi Political and Economic Relations: Expanding Relations in Various Fields of Socio-Economic Development After 2003

There are historical, cultural, economic and commercial links between Turkey and Iraq.²⁰² Turkish-Iraqi relations developed on a relatively fixed line until the end of the 1950s.²⁰³ There are observed changes in the relations between Turkey and Iraq in the course of the second half of the 20th century. After the 1950s, tensions between two countries concerning water issue, construction of dams and development projects took place. These tensions affected overall relations such as economical, political, cultural, social relations in a negative way. However, until 1990s, relations between Turkey and Iraq in many sectors developed fairly.²⁰⁴ The main sectors were oil trade and trade in other sectors. After the Gulf War, relations between two countries came to a deadlock as a result of UN embargo to Iraq. Turkey has suffered major losses in the fields of trade, tourism, transportation, communication, and banking. The greatest loss has been experienced in foreign

²⁰¹ ---, "Türk-Suriye İş Konseyi Ortak Toplantısı", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 1 May 2006, p.3.

²⁰² Güner Öztekin, "Opening Remarks of 'the New Iraq' Conference", *Joint Conference Series No.3*, Foundations for Middle East and Balkan Studies (OBIV), 2005.

²⁰³ M.A.Dahham, "Turkish-Iraqi Relations:Tension and Prospects for Positive Developments", *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, Annual 1998-99/10, Istanbul, p.90.

²⁰⁴ Patricia, Carley, "Turkey's Role in the Middle East", *Peace Works*, United States Institute of Peace, p.4.

trade. In twelve years period, Turkey has sustained possible export losses in excess of \$17 billion and has been forced to pay a \$1 billion for import because of the abnormal increases in oil prices during the crises period.²⁰⁵ Turkey's total cost in this period has been estimated at between \$30 billion and \$100 billion, and Turkey argued that international community never compensated Turkey for its losses.²⁰⁶ This situation continued until the American invasion in Iraq in 2003. Although the war in 2003 also affected Turkish economy negatively in general, the level of relations between Turkey and Iraq increased after 2003. However, the amount of restarted relations and trade with Iraq is not in the level of relations before 1991.

5.2.1. Pre-1991 Period in Turkey-Iraq Relations

There are historical, cultural, political and economic ties between Turkey and Iraq. Even though disagreements concerning especially water issue between the two countries occurred, relations between Turkey and Iraq in many sectors developed until the Gulf War. The most important of these was foreign trade. The trade volume between Turkey and Iraq was approximately \$2 billion annually before the Gulf Crisis. The share of Iraq in Turkey's exportation was 8.1% before the Gulf Crisis (1985-1990). Turkey's exports to Iraq were approximately \$1 billion. As for imports from Iraq, there were some \$1.5 billion. Before the first Gulf War/Crisis, Turkey's major imports from Iraq were oil and oil products.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ İdris Adil and Talip Aktaş, "Economic relations between Turkey and Iraq and The Peril of Impending War: Turkey's Losses and Possible Risks", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 2003, p.4.

²⁰⁶ Carol, Migdalovitz, "Iraq: The Turkish Factor", *CRS Report for Congress*, 31 October 2002, p.4.

²⁰⁷ İdris Adil and Talip Aktaş, "Economic relations between Turkey and Iraq and The Peril of Impending War: Turkey's Losses and Possible Risks", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 2003, pp.12-16.

Table 10: Turkey's Exports/Imports with Iraq (million \$)

Years	Exports	Imports	Volume	Balance
1985	961	1.137	2.098	-175
1986	533	769	1.322	-215
1987	945	1.154	2.099	-209
1988	986	1.437	2.423	-450
1989	445	1.650	2.095	-1.204
1990	215	1.047	1.261	-832

Source: TUIK, DEIK

On 27 August 1973, Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline Agreement was signed between Turkey and Iraq. The purposes of this agreement were transporting the Iraqi crude oil from mainly the Kirkuk region and other production fields in Iraq to Ceyhan (Yumurtalık) Marine Terminal. Within the framework of Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline Agreement, the Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline System has been constructed. This system included to two pipelines. The first one of these two pipelines commissioned in 1976 and the first tanker was loaded at the date of 25 May 1977. The second pipeline was started to be constructed in 1985 and was commissioned in 1987.²⁰⁸

Table 11: Lengths of Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipelines

	Iraq	Turkey	Total
1 st Line	345km	641km	986km
2 nd Line	234km	656km	890km
Total	579km	1.297km	1.876km

Source: BOTAS

Before the Gulf Crisis, livestock exports from Turkey to Iraq were one of the main sectors of Turkey's exportation. This exportation was concerned as the most important production and exportation staples for Southeast Turkey. Statistics of

²⁰⁸ ---, "Boru Hatları ile Petrol Taşıma A.Ş. Petroleum Pipeline Corporation" Available at <http://www.botas.gov.tr/raporlar/Botas/petrol.htm>, Accessed on 15 July 2006, p.3.

livestock exports from Southeast Turkey between the years of 1984-1990 were as follows;

Table 12: Livestock exports from Southeast Turkey (thousand dollars)

Years	Exports	Change (%)
1984	146.931	-
1985	177.206	21
1986	171.588	-3
1987	185.325	8
1988	200.148	8
1989	197.801	-1
1990	178.081	-10

Source: DEIK

Relations between Turkey and Iraq in the field of agriculture started with a meeting held by Agriculture Ministries of these two countries in 1976. After this meeting, ‘Turkey-Iraq Agricultural Cooperation Agreement’ was signed in 1977 in Ankara. In the same year, ‘Turkey-Syria Agriculture Executive Committee’ met for the first time in Ankara. In May 1979, the third meeting of ‘Turkey-Syrian Exucutive Committee’ met in Ankara. Relations and meetings between Turkey and Iraq on agriculture were interrupted from the meeting in 1979 until 1996.²⁰⁹

5.2.2. Relations between Turkey and Iraq in the period of 1991-2003

The Gulf War was the turning point in the relations between Turkey and Iraq. In 1990, Iraq accused Kuwait of non-compliance with oil production quotas. Iraq claimed that Kuwait gave damage to Iraq because of this reason and demanded \$2.4 billion in indemnity. As a result of this process, Iraq invaded Kuwait on 1 August 1990. After this invasion, the United Nations Security Council passed the The Resolution 662. According to the The Resolution, the United Nations announced its non-recognition of Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait and the imposition

²⁰⁹ Interview with Mr. Cemal Kaygısız, Department Chief, Bilateral Relations and Protocol, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, 30 June 2006, Ankara.

of economic, financial and military sanctions against Iraq on 9 August 1990. In addition to this, the United Nations Security Council passed another important decision namely the Resolution 678. According to the Resolution 678, the United Nations (UN) allowed military intervention against Iraq and wanted Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait until 15 January 1991. When the time had expired, an international coalition intervened to Iraq on 16 January 1991.²¹⁰ This process started with Iraq's invasion to Kuwait in 1990 effected Turkey's economy at large and relations between Turkey and Iraq, specifically in a negative manner.

After the Gulf Crisis, Turkey's losses have been experienced in the fields of foreign trade, military, transportation, and pipelining crude oil. The major loss field of Turkey is foreign trade. While trade volume between Turkey and Iraq before the Gulf Crisis was some \$2 billion annually, the Gulf Crisis and following the Gulf War led to a fall in trading volume between Turkey and Iraq.²¹¹ Trade statistics in this period are as follows;

Table 13: Turkey's exports/imports with Iraq (million \$)

Years	Exports	Imports	Volume	Balance
1991	122	-	122	122
1992	212	1	213	211
1993	160	-	160	160
1994	141	-	141	141
1995	123	-	123	123
1996	219	32	251	187
1997	549	454	1.003	95
1998	366	247	613	119
1999	247	414	661	-167

²¹⁰ İdris Adil and Talip Aktaş, "Economic relations between Turkey and Iraq and The Peril of Impending War: Turkey's Losses and Possible Risks", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 2003, p.9.

²¹¹ Mustafa Güleç, Gencay Oğuz, "Irak Savaşının Gölgesinde Türkiye Ortadoğu Ülkeleri Ticari İlişkileri", Republic of Turkey Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry for Foreign Trade, May 2003, p.3.

Continued Table 13

2000	371	487	858	-116
2001	839	505	1.344	334
2002	649.7	677.3	1.327	-27.6
2003	829	112.6	941.6	716.4

Source: DEIK

While Turkey's exports to Iraq have been approximately \$1 billion before the Gulf Crisis, this figure has been about \$215 million in the following period. Likewise, this crisis affected on Turkey's imports from Iraq negatively. Because of increasing the oil prices, Turkey has been forced to pay an extra \$1 billion for imports during the period of crisis.²¹²

One of the main items of Turkey's foreign trade to Iraq was livestock exportation. This item was the most important production and exportation staples for Southeast Turkey. After 1991, the amount of livestock exportation has decreased. These losses affected the economic level of people living in Southeast Turkey negatively. Statistics of livestock exports from Southeast Turkey between the years of 1991-2001 were as follows;

Table 14: Livestock Exports from Southeast Turkey

Years	Exports	Change (%)
1991	176.327	-1
1992	94.910	-46
1993	178.244	88
1994	172.650	-3
1995	89.939	-48
1996	65.951	-27
1997	51.571	-22
1998	13.431	-74

²¹² İdris Adil and Talip Aktaş, "Economic relations between Turkey and Iraq and The Peril of Impending War: Turkey's Losses and Possible Risks", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 2003, pp.4-16.

Continued Table 14

1999	12.448	-7
2000	11.815	-85
2001	18.601	624

Source: DEIK

Turkey's major imports from Iraq were oil and oil products. To transport these products from Iraq to Turkey, two pipelines were constructed in 1976 and in 1987 respectively.²¹³ The Turkey-Iraq Crude Pipeline System is composed of these two pipelines. This pipeline system carried out the oil and oil products in Kirkuk and other regions in Iraq to the Sea Terminal at Yumurtalık, Ceyhan in Turkey until 1990. Because of the UN embargo imposed against Iraq as a result of the first American invasion to Iraq, the Turkey-Iraq Crude Oil Pipeline System was closed down in August 1990.²¹⁴ This pipeline system reactivated on 16 December 1996 in order to have limited oil transportation in line with the United Nations the Resolution Number 986 adopted on 14 April 1995. Within the framework this the Resolution, the UN Security Council set up program, namely the oil-for-food. This program was characterized as a temporary measure to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people such as food, medicine and some agricultural inputs. Under the program, Iraq was given authorisation to sell its oil and oil products to buy humanitarian goods.²¹⁵ Security Council allowed Iraq to sell up to \$1 billion of oil for 90 days and use the proceeding for humanitarian needs.²¹⁶ The products Turkey could export to Iraq within the framework of oil-for-food program were as follows;

²¹³ ---, "Boru Hatları ile Petrol Taşıma A.Ş. Petroleum Pipeline Corporation" Available at <http://www.botas.gov.tr/raporlar/Botas/petrol.htm>, Accessed on 15 July 2006, p.3.

²¹⁴ İhsan Gürkan, "Turkish-Iraqi Relations: The Cold War and Its Aftermath", *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, Annual 1996-1997/9, Istanbul, p.51.

²¹⁵ ---, "Iraq Switches off Oil Pipeline to Turkey", Available at http://english.people.com.cn/english/200106/06/eng20010606_71893.html, 06 June 2001, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²¹⁶ Güner Öztekin, "Economic Sanctions and No-Fly Zones in Iraq", *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, Annual 2001/12, Istanbul, p.11.

Table 15: Products Turkey could export to Iraq within the framework of oil-for-food program

Nutrition goods	Wheat, flour, sugar, chickpea, lentil, bean, tea, milk,
Nutrition industry	Machines and equipments for flour, lure, meat, tomato paste, olive oil, and milk factories
Drinking water and sewerage	Materials and equipments for new drinking water and sewerage plants
Health	Medicine, medical materials and equipments, ambulance, instruments and equipments for laboratory
Electricity	Materials and equipments for production, distribution and transmission of electricity
Agriculture	Machines and equipments for agriculture sector, manure, agricultural medicine
Education	Stationary materials, chair, electronic instruments for education
Transportation	Garbage trucks, water and fuel tank, buses and trucks, Materials and equipments for new trainway
Telecommunication	Materials and equipments for telecommunications sector
Construction	Several materials for construction sector
Petroleum	Several materials and equipments for oil production

Source: DTM

Until 1990, Turkey's annual revenue from oil transportation was approximately \$400 million. However, Turkey's loss of income in a five month period of tension leading to war in 1990 has been estimated as \$160 million. Turkey's annual loss between the years of 1991-1996 was \$400 million. In the period between the years of 1997-2001 –the period that was allowed to limited oil transportation by United Nations the Resolution- , Turkey's annual revenue loss from the Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline was reduced to \$200 million. In this period, Turkey's total losses were about \$1 billion. Turkey's total loss in the field of transporting the oil and oil products in Kirkuk and other regions in Iraq to the Sea Terminal at

Yumurtalık, Ceyhan in Turkey has been estimated as \$3.560 billion as of the end of 2001.²¹⁷

Apart from foreign trade losses, Turkey has also suffered from military cost and spending funds for Iraqi refugees after Gulf War in 1991. While Turkey has spent \$1.830 billion during the period 1990-2001 for military security precautions, she had to spend about \$100 million for the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi refugees.²¹⁸

The Iraqi invasion to Kuwait and the following the Gulf War also affected Turkey's transportation sector in a negative way. This sector includes air, land, rail, and sea transportation. In the period between the years of 1991-2003, total losses concerning the sector were estimated at \$3.836 billion. The losses in the air transportation were the cancellation of direct flight, the losses of ground services fee, the losses of the transit fee for the transit flights, the use of longer routes, and passenger and cargo revenues losses. In land transportation sector, Turkey has undergone losses. The greatest loss in the land transportation was freight incomes in foreign trade with Iraq. According to International Transport Association of Turkey, the averaged freight incomes were \$400 million before the Gulf War. The losses in the sea transportation were the increase in insurance premiums, the decrease of servicing fees at the ports of Mersin and Iskenderun in the event of transit shipments. In the rail transportation, Turkey has suffered losses in passenger, cargo and transit transportation.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ İdris Adil and Talip Aktaş, "Economic relations between Turkey and Iraq and The Peril of Impending War: Turkey's Losses and Possible Risks", Foreign Economic Relations Board, 2003, p.22.

²¹⁸ Ibid. , p.24.

²¹⁹ Ibid. , pp.22-23.

5.2.3. The Relations between Turkey and Iraq after the War in Iraq in 2003

Even though the relations between Turkey and Iraq started to increase after the American invasion in 2003, the amount of restarted relations and trade with Iraq is not in the level of relations before 1991. After the 2003 invasion, the UN embargo on Iraq was lifted in accordance with the UN the Resolution Number 1483 adopted on 21 May 2003. In the process of reconstruction of Iraq, relations based on several sectors such as foreign trade, transportation, banking, construction, and energy started to develop after 2003.²²⁰

Foreign trade relations between Turkey and Iraq enhanced along with the lifting the UN embargo to Iraq in 2003. Turkey's exportation to Iraq has been estimated as \$829 million and \$1.808 million in 2003 and 2004 respectively. As for imports from Iraq in 2003 and 2004, there were \$112,6 million and \$467,6 million respectively.²²¹ Within the framework of foreign trade, oil and oil products are the main items in Turkey's importation from Iraq. Developments between Turkey and Iraq in this sector took place after the American invasion to Iraq. In November 2004, Iraq decided to give a share to Turkish companies in oil projects. Within this context, Turkey and Iraq have agreed to start negotiations on joint oil production in oil fields in the region of Gharraf in southern Iraq.²²² In December 2004, Iraq's oil ministry has given the first oil field development contracts after the war period to Turkish and Canadian firms. Turkey's Everasia won the contract to develop the Khurmala Dome region in the north Iraq. This was the first agreement signed with a foreign firm after the Saddam Huseyin

²²⁰ Mustafa Güleç, Gencay Oğuz, "Irak Savaşının Gölgesinde Türkiye Ortadoğu Ülkeleri Ticari İlişkileri", Republic of Turkey Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry for Foreign Trade, May 2003, p.3.

²²¹ ---, "Türkiye-Irak Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkileri Hakkında Değerlendirme", Republic of Turkey Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry for Foreign Trade.

²²² ---, "Turkey to grasp a share in Iraq oil and banking sectors", 7 November 2004, Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20041107>, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

regime.²²³ Within the framework of developing relations between Turkey and Iraq, Turkey started to sell oil products such as gasoline and liquefied petroleum gas to Iraq. However, Turkish companies decided to stop selling oil products because of \$1 billion in unpaid Iraqi debt on 21 January 2006.²²⁴ Turkey and Iraq signed an agreement on the basis of the Iraq's debts concerning the import of these products on 16 February 2006. As a result of this agreement, 300 oil tankers began entering Iraq.²²⁵ On 4 March 2006, Iraqi Finans Ministry announced to be transferred \$637 million for the overdue payments to cover fuel imports from Turkey.²²⁶

Development of relations between Turkey and Iraq after 2003 affected exchanges based on transportation in a positive way. Turkey's railway transportation to Iraq via Syria was stopped on 8 April 1982 because of Syria's restriction. On April 2000, Syria lifted this restriction and transit railway among Turkey, Syria and Iraq was opened on 2 January 2001. After these developments, relations on railway transportation among these three countries increased. On 16 September 2003, Turkey, Iraq and Syria came together in Istanbul to increase in railway traffic volume and quality.²²⁷ On 29 July 2005, Iraq decided to restart direct flights to Turkey. After 15 years, Iraqi Airway Flights, scheduled Baghdad-

²²³ ---, "Iraq awards key oilfield contracts", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20041216>, 16 December 2004, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²²⁴ ---, "Turkey stops Iraq oil exports", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20060121>, 21 January 2006, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²²⁵ ---, "Iraq to import oil products", Available at <http://www.iraqdirectory.com/DisplayNews.aspx?id=904>, 16 February 2006, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²²⁶ ---, "Iraq pays \$637 million to cover fuel imports from Turkey", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20060304>, 4 March 2006, Accessed on 13 July 2006

²²⁷ ---, "Turkish, Syrian, Iraqi railroad officials to discuss railway transportation", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/2003.09.16>, 16 September 2003, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

Istanbul-Baghdad, started again from Istanbul on 3 August 2005.²²⁸

In banking sector, Turkey and Iraq reached an agreement on 7 November 2004. According to agreement, Iraq has approved the opening of Turkish banks in the country. Ziraat and Vakıfbank were initially allowed to open branches in Iraq.²²⁹ In 2005, Ziraat Bank got the first permission to operate in Iraq. However, the bank was unable to begin operating for security reasons. In 2006, Vakıfbank and Akbank started to negotiations with Iraqi authorities to open representative office and branches in northern Iraq.²³⁰

In the process of reconstruction of Iraq, the Turkish construction companies can take an active role in the reconstruction projects. The Iraqi Chamber of Commerce made a call for the Turkish companies at a meeting held in İzmir on 18 October 2003 to send bids to the construction projects in Iraq. In this framework, the Turkish companies and the member companies of the Kirkuk Chamber of Commerce were stimulated to cooperate in the reconstruction of Iraq.²³¹ As of the year 2005, the Turkish companies were continuing to work in Iraq under the contracts that were signed before the end of Saddam regime. The Minister of Trade, Mr.Kürşat Tüzmen stated that the level of business between the two countries had reached 5.5 billion dollars in 2005.²³²

²²⁸ ---, "Iraqi Airlines to Fly to Turkey after 15 years", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20050729> , Accessed on 13 July 2006

²²⁹ ---, "Turkish banks to open in Iraq", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20041107%282%29>, 7 November 2004, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²³⁰ ---, "Turkish banks start presence in Iraq", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20060125>, 25 January 2006, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²³¹ ---, "Turkish companies invited to invest in Iraq", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/2003.10.18>, 18 October 2003, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²³² ---, Business increases between Turkey and Iraq, Available at http://www.portaliraq.com/news/Business+increases+between+Turkey+and+Iraq_1111626.html?PHPSESSID=bb67b7b437542696e9bf228620286b43, 6 November 2005, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

The relations between Turkey and Iraq in the energy field have started to warm up after the year 2003. In 2004, the Iraqi Ministry of Industry and Minerals rented several stations from Turkey in order to provide the necessary energy for the cement factories and solve the problems that the cement sector faced.²³³ In 2005, Turkey started to sell electricity to Iraq.²³⁴ In his official visit to Ankara, the Iraqi Prime Minister Ibrahim Jaafari stated that by the end of 2005 May, the electricity export Turkey to Iraq would reach 350 megawatts and the export capacity would reach 1.200 megawatts by the end of the year.²³⁵

5.3. Concluding Remarks

As displayed in the above sections, these developing relations between Turkey-Syria and Turkey-Iraq on the sectoral basis are very important in terms of the countries' coming closer to each other and solve the problems between them. Within the framework of the 'benefit sharing' approach that was mentioned in the first part of the thesis, cooperation among several sectors of above defined socio-economic development may help to provide a solution for the riparians of a river who are having problems among each other. According to the 'benefit sharing' approach, in case the riparians go into cooperation in the sectors such as agriculture, energy, transportation, health, trade, investment and in the fields of common interest such as environmental protection, pollution reduction, decreasing all costs, this cooperation would facilitate them to solve their problems.

²³³ ---, "Turkish electricity to operate cement factories in Iraq", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20041031>, 31 October 2004, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

²³⁴ Interview with Mr. Metin Günyol, Department Chief, International Relations, TEIAS, 20 June 2006, Ankara.

²³⁵ ---, "Turkey to triple electricity exports to Iraq", Available at <http://www.iraqieconomy.org/home/bilecon/turkey/20050520%282%29>, 20 May 2005, Accessed on 13 July 2006.

In this section, the relations among the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system; Turkey, Syria and Iraq, are discussed on the sectoral basis. In spite of the ups and downs in the relations in the course of time, there has been a positive tendency lately. This cooperation which is developing in all sectors also reveals itself in the water-related sectors like agriculture, energy, environment and health. This process has helped the removal of the tense atmosphere among the three countries and warmed up the relations. This convergence may also pave the way for a solution towards the water problem which has started in the 1960s.

The 1998 Adana Protocol and Bashar Assad's becoming president in the year 2000 can be regarded as the turning points of the beginning of the development in the relations between Turkey and Syria in the positive direction.²³⁶ During this period, significant changes happened between Turkey-Syria in the sectors of agriculture, trade, energy, health, investment, banking and transportation, when compared to the past. These developments reflected itself in the water problem between Turkey-Syria as well in a positive way. In the official visit of the Syrian President Bashar Assad to Turkey in 2004 – which was the first visit ever made by a Syrian President – the two countries recognized the borders of each other with the 'double taxation agreement'. By this way, a problem which had been legally solved in 1939 also became acknowledged by Syria. As a result of this agreement, Turkey and Syria have also begun to cooperate in the issue of Orontes(Asi) River. This cooperation brought the issue of constructing a dam on the Orontes(Asi) River to the agenda.

When we take a look at the relations between Turkey-Iraq, it is seen that the relations, which were nearly stopped since the Gulf War in 1991, have started to warm up after the second operation in 2003. This process also had effects on the relations between the countries especially in the sectors of trade, energy, transportation and construction. As border neighbours, these countries' getting closer to each other is an important opportunity in the solution of the problems between each other. These contacts and the developing relations carry great

²³⁶ Özden Z. Oktav Alantar, "Turkish-Syrian Relations at the Crossroads", *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies*, Annual 2000, p.164.

importance for the solution of the ongoing water problem between the two countries.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis is primarily concerned with the ongoing water problem among Turkey, Syria and Iraq, and its ways of solution. The perceptions and requirements of these riparian countries over the water issue have been analyzed within the scope of this thesis. The main questions raised in the introduction part have tried to be dealt with throughout the thesis. Following results are attained within the framework of the thesis;

Water is a vitally important resource for all of the three riparians for meeting the energy requirements and irrigation as well as its other features. Today, the increasing population has caused not only the increase in the agricultural production but also an increase in the energy necessities. Not being able to meet the increasing agricultural demands forced particularly Syria and Iraq for agricultural imports. The fact that the agricultural imports damaged the trade balances caused Syria and Iraq to increase the food production in accordance with the principle of 'self-sufficiency'. This situation, therefore, increased the needs of these countries for water. Within such an atmosphere, following the 1960s, major development projects were initiated in order to meet the growing needs. Relations between Turkey, Syria and Iraq started to deteriorate since then. The strained atmosphere between the riparian countries affected their foreign relations with each other negatively. These unfavorable relations continued until the 2000s.

From the point of view of Syria and Iraq, the main reason for this negative atmosphere among the riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system is indicated to be the GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project) which was started by Turkey in late 1970s as a major land and water resources development project. Syria and Iraq claimed that the GAP contaminated waters of the rivers and impeded their utilization. In return for this claim, Turkey stated that the dams that

were constructed over Euphrates river within the scope of GAP had regulated the flow which was extremely important for water floods.

These strained relations have started to change positively with Syria after the signing of Adana Protocol in 1998 and with Iraq in 2003 after the War. Within the framework of this transformation, they entered into cooperative relations in the sectors such as agriculture, energy, transportation, health, trade and investment. Apart from the cooperation efforts on the sectoral basis, developments within land and water resources management were also seen between the riparians. The GAP RDA-GOLD Protocol between Turkey and Syria, and the ETIC among the three riparians may be given as an example for these developments. When these initiatives are assessed, some projections can be made. The cooperation efforts between GAP Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA) and the General Organization for Land Development (GOLD) started with the Joint Communiqué signed in 2001. Following this agreement, an implementation document is signed in 2002. The primary aim of this cooperation effort is to provide sustainable utilization of the region's land and water resources, and to deal with water management within a larger picture of overall socio-economic development and integration of the under developed regions in Turkey and Syria. Within the framework of this endeavor, data exchange can be made between the two countries concerning the land and water resources in order to be able to make an efficient and sustainable water allocation. Apart from that, this agreement may be transformed into a cooperative structure. Such a cooperative structure can pave the way for the creation of a larger cooperation arena for socio-economic development and the integration in the underdeveloped regions. A cooperation to that end would at the same time contribute to the two countries' getting closer to each other, to produce common policies and to solve the ongoing water problem between them. Other than this initiative, a similar one which is tried to be established among Turkey, Syria and Iraq is the Euphrates and Tigris Initiative for Cooperation (ETIC) as a track-two effort. ETIC is an initiative set forth by the academicians of the three riparian states and the USA. The aims of this initiative which was established with the founding document signed in 2005, are to provide

opportunities for dialogue; to develop project concepts that will be attractive to decision-makers and implementers in the Euphrates-Tigris region; to create sub-networks by bringing together different stakeholder groups such as farmers, NGOs, community-based organizations, and business and professional societies; to provide a venue for public officials and professionals to address common problems; to implement joint pilot projects that benefit all riparians; to increase public awareness concerning the issues in the Euphrates-Tigris region; to facilitate education and capacity building to ensure sustainability for cooperation and development. In order to provide more efficiency for this cooperation endeavor, which has been established with the initiatives of the academicians, the support and participation of the party countries, governments and relevant institutions are necessary. On condition that such a participation is provided, this effort would become a wider scoped and more applicable initiative as the decision makers would also get into the mechanism. Otherwise, it will remain as a limited project among the elites of the countries which will not achieve any improvement in the current state of the affairs. On the other hand, by developing a participatory project that deals with the issues of education, cooperation and development, in which the farmers, NGO's and business societies take part, would establish a significant cooperative structure among the three riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris. This stance would eventually increase the trust and friendship ties among the three states and facilitate them to solve their problems.

Another factor that will enable increase in cooperation among the three riparians of the Euphrates and Tigris river system is the GAP, which is regarded by Syria and Iraq as the source of conflict among the three countries. Within the framework of the sectoral cooperation initiated in the 2000s, GAP may be transformed in the future into a project that all three of the countries can benefit from in compliance with the 'benefit sharing' concept. That is to say, by involving the three riparians in creating joint socio-economic development projects and carrying out data exchanges, the needs of the countries can be determined. As a result of this, joint policies can be created in the fields of common interest such as allocation of water, environmental protection, increasing food production,

increasing hydroelectricity production and reduction of costs. By this way, permanent solutions for the problems can be attained. From this perspective, the aims of GAP and its potential contributions to the rivers and the other riparian states must be well explained to Syria and Iraq, and their participation must be provided under common projects. By this way, GAP will gain a regional project status. In consequence, this project which is regarded as a reason for dispute by Syria and Iraq will pave the way for a regional cooperation.

Within the framework of the above mentioned factors, it can be said that the developing relations on sectoral basis among the three states, the cooperation projects between the riparians such as the joint dam project on the Asi River, and wider scoped initiatives like GAP-GOLD, ETIC, will not only create the possibility for solution of the ongoing water problems among Turkey, Syria and Iraq, but also will help to establish trust, friendship and cooperation.

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