

# ORSAM REVIEW OF REGIONAL AFFAIRS

No.72, JUNE 2018



## WATER ISSUE IN TURKEY- IRAQ RELATIONS AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

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International developments played a major role in the emergence process of the problem according to the assessment made for the solution of the problem related to transboundary waters between Turkey and Iraq that have been going on for many years. For, the given problem undergoes change by being affected not only by the political developments between the two countries but also the political economic and technological developments in the international arena. In this study, the reasons for the evolution the transboundary waters issue has been going through from the very beginning to present will be revealed and inferences will be made for the foreseeable future.

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### **1. Historical Origin and Evolution**

In general, the emergence of the water issue between Turkey and her neighbors is said to have started by the construction of the Keban Dam on the Euphrates River in 1965. While it is useful to point out

that this view is not so wrong, it is also beneficial to examine the context of the water issue in the framework of the bilateral arrangements between the riparian countries before the emergence of the problem, in order to understand the later change.

Even though the arrangement between Turkey and Syria with a view to meeting the water needs of the city of Aleppo may be regarded as irrelevant, addressing the whole of the Euphrates-Tigris basin would be a more useful approach.

Along with its significance for the Turkish War of Independence, the Ankara Treaty signed between Turkey and France, Syria's mandatory state is also crucial as it is the first example of efforts to take advantage of the transboundary waters between Turkey and her neighboring countries. Article 12 of the Ankara Treaty states that the city of Aleppo can receive water from the river Euphrates with its own expenditures by emphasizing the equitable principle for the purpose of meeting the water need.<sup>1</sup> This Article in the

Treaty is significant in that it demonstrates that the equitable principle was brought forward between the two sides even in 1921 on transboundary waters. For, the equitable principle will continue to be brought to agenda due to the developments both between Turkey and her neighboring countries and in international law in later periods event tough its content is controversial.

The second arrangement between Turkey and her southern neighbors regarding the transboundary waters before the large-scale dam construction is the Treaty signed in March 1946 between Iraq and Turkey and the First Additional Protocol linked to it.<sup>2</sup> When the text is examined, it is seen that a very different approach from the present understanding is dominant on the Iraqi side and it should be considered as a very understandable situation.

The protocol has a content that reflects the efforts of the Turkish and Iraqi sides, especially on the issue of flood prevention. It is striking that the main concern of the two

governments, which did not have the technology of making big dams and hydroelectric power plants yet in those years, is the desire to prevent floods and to establish observation stations for this purpose and to act jointly.

Due to scientific and engineering developments and socio-economic problems in the world, the great dam construction technology that emerged as the result of Keynesian economic policies of the United States in the 1930s and represented by the Hoover Dam, began to spread to the world after the Second World War. That Turkey which was to obtain large-scale dam construction technology in the 1950s and 1960s had the plans to generate hydroelectric energy from the Euphrates and Tigris rivers in those years was quite clear. The protocol also determined that the studies on the conduct of observations and the cost of transmitting the information obtained from these structures to the Iraqi side shall be met by Iraq. Unfortunately, this understanding of cooperation in the

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protocol could be maintained in the following period.

It would not be wrong to report that there are a number of reasons behind the fact that this understanding could not be sustained. The first of these can be included in a general framework as political reasons. In 1946, the Second World War was over and the sufferings of the Cold War started to be felt. Both Turkey and Iraq decided to side with the Western bloc led by the US and entered the path of movement against Soviet influence. Then, Iraq would be judged to be in the Western bloc until the political unrest that emerged in Iraq in 1958 and resulted in the coup by General Qasim. Although

she was never considered a complete Soviet satellite, during the Baath period, beginning in 1968 and lasting till the US occupation in 2003, Iraq displayed an incompatible image with the West. On the other hand, Turkey, an important member of the Western alliance against the Soviet Union, did not experience remarkable hardships with the Western countries except the short-run tensions during the Cold War.

Even if Turkey tried to remain her neutrality in the war Iraq fought against Iran for eight years between 1988 and 1990, she managed to develop her relations with Iraq, especially in the economic field. However, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in

August 1990 and the end of the Cold War due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, should be considered the beginning of a new period for Iraq-Turkey relations. Within this period, it can be claimed that Turkey's relations with the Western allies started to go through tense years. In particular the security problems resulted from the PKK and consequently, the domestic and transboundary measures taken by Turkey led to tense relations between European countries and Turkey. In the same period, it was seen that Iraq identified Turkey with the Western alliance and Turkey acted in accordance with the view that she was left alone.<sup>3</sup> The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) that accelerated in this period, received a reaction from the Saddam regime and at the discorsal level, the regime expressed their discomfort by arguing that Turkey cut off the water Iraq and Syria were to receive.

Another underlying reason for the termination in the following stages of the cooperation between Turkey and Iraq

that had emerged in early 1946, is that the progress in the engineering and technology fields tend to spread around the whole world out of the United States. The structure, originally named as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and briefly known as the World Bank, was founded after the Second World War, specifically for the reconstruction of Europe. The belief that the depression caused by the economic strains on the way to the Second World War was effective and the approach that the inadequacy of demand as the fundamental problem in economics was the priority of this institution established as a sister company to the IMF as an institution preventing the world from falling into the same situation again.

This effect of the World Bank which facilitates international financing paved the way for large-scale infrastructure projects to make life easier. The Western European countries, which have sufficient capital accumulation and technological level and quickly dressed

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their wounds in the wake of the war with the Fordist mode of production facilitating mass production and consumption, became such that they did not need the loans and facilities to be provided by the World Bank. The countries in which the World Bank concentrated its activities after this period were those that were close to the Western alliance and at the same time underdeveloped in the international theatre. In this context, the World Bank played a serious mediator role between India and Pakistan in the reorganization of Indus irrigation system after the independence in 1947. In this regard, the

World Bank supplied financial and technical assistance for the construction of dams, canals and deviation structures to be carried out in the Indus river basin at that time.<sup>4</sup> In the same period, the construction of the Keban Dam, the first dam on the Euphrates river, started. It is widely accepted that a dispute over the transboundary waters revealed itself in Turkey's relations with her riparian countries, Syria and Iraq, due to the construction that began in 1965. When the crises regarding the transboundary waters showing up after this period examined, it is seen that the crises began when the constructions



of new dams started and water was held within the boundaries of Turkey.

After the Turkish decision to build the Keban Dam in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin, a new era started. The Keban Dam regulates the Euphrates waters and has a very positive effect on the storage structures in Syria and Iraq. However, Iraq insisted Turkey to leave 350 cubic meters of water per second during the filling of the Keban Dam. The institutions providing financing for the Keban Dam also put a strain on Turkey in this direction and in the course of signing an agreement in Ankara, Turkey indicated that she would take all appropriate measures regarding the release of 350 cubic meters of water per second. When Turkey decided on the construction of the Karakaya Dam downstream the Keban Dam, the World Bank as a new provider of financing also insisted on the release of water, the amount of which was to be guaranteed, during the reservoir filling and its functioning.<sup>5</sup> These two experiences Turkey went through led to a negative

approach to the involvement of third parties on the subject. The intervention of financiers was perceived not as a balanced approach advocating the rights of both upstream and downstream riparian states but as an attitude that defended merely the rights of downstream countries. The first meeting of the riparian countries was held on 22-27 June 1964 in order to decide on the flow of the river during the filling of the Keban Dam. While Iraq insisted on a fixed amount, Turkey stated that it was impossible to come to terms with a single formula. Iraq recommended that the Joint Technical Committee (JTC) be in control of an agreement and its implementation. Syria rejected the proposal along with Turkey and put forward a counterproposal that the JTC should investigate the possibility of water transfer from the Euphrates to the Tigris River. Nevertheless, Iraq rejected this proposal and insisted that the debate was only on the Euphrates River, not on both rivers. Syria, however, changed her given attitude in the 1980s, and this change was

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perceived as a common Arab stance against Turkey.

Iraq considers the neighboring countries, in particular, Turkey, as the source of water shortage in the country. She argues that the Southeastern Anatolia Project Turkey had put into practice as a multifaceted development project, and the roots of which had roots in the 1930s resulted in a decrease in the amount of water in the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers and the water shortage emerged accordingly in the country. This claim is far from being acceptable. Especially in the Tigris river, which is the main water source of Iraq, there exist no projects that have been launched and consumes water. The Ilisu Dam, which causes much speculation, is a dam where there is no water consumption activity, that is, it has no irrigation purpose and it only aims to generate electricity. The Tigris River is a river like many others in the region where the current is highly variable during the year. Receiving its water from the snow in high altitudes in Turkey, Iran and Iraq, the river reaches the

highest water level in April-May, while the August-September period signals the lowest level. Due to the current feature of the river which increases the water amount, the Turkish dams are beneficial structures that store up water when the current is high, regulate the proper release of water in July and August when water is most needed, and hold Iraq in good stead. When the amount of flow of water in the Tigris river is taken into account, it is known that more than 60% of the total flow gathers in the Tigris river in Iraqi lands. Considering the data of international organizations, Iraq has a considerably higher water per capita than neighboring countries. The amount of water per capita in Iraq is 2,461 meters per year.<sup>6</sup> This amount is remarkably high, especially when compared to neighboring countries. The amount of water per capita per year is 1,652 cubic meters in Turkey, 837 cubic meters in Syria, 1,880 cubic meters in Iran, 155.5 cubic meters in Jordan, and 89.52 cubic meters in Saudi Arabia.

Despite the high amount of water per capita compared to neighboring countries, Iraq greatly suffers from water-related problems. 25% of Baghdad, the capital city, does not have a water network, and the population living here has to rely on expensive and unsecured resources. In other cities outside Baghdad, 30% of the population does not have access to water services. This ratio is much higher compared to the rural areas.

## **2. Domestic Affairs in Iraq's Water Management**

It would not be wrong to say that the domestic political and water-related developments on the Iraqi side apart from the political and economic issues between Turkey and Iraq are to play a significant part in the dispute upon the transboundary waters between these two neighbors.

The problems arising from the Iraqi Constitution and the Central Government and the internal conflicts in Iraq and their

impact on the water resources are two major problem areas.

### **2.1 The Iraqi Constitution and Issues Regarding Water Management**

Following the US-led coalition forces invading Iraq in 2003 and the removal of Saddam Hussein from power, a debate began on how the new Iraqi government would be shaped. In this period, ethnic and religious conflicts became apparent and negative developments which could even be called a civil war occurred. The Resolution No. 1546 of the United Nations Security Council revealed that the new regime would be based on federalism. The given Resolution talks about a federal, democratic, pluralistic and united Iraq and puts forward the future of Iraq. The Transitional Administrative Law was then drafted by the Interim Administrative Council that was later established and the basis for the 2005 Iraq Constitution was constituted.

According to Article 1 of the Iraqi Constitution adopted on

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15 October 2005, Iraq is a parliamentary, democratic federal republic.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the federalism law, which was adopted in October 2006, foresaw the establishment and regulation of federal territories, but due to the disagreements both between the Kurdish Regional Government and the Central Government and among various ethnic, religious and sectarian groups.

The federal structure in Iraq cannot be considered separate from ethnic and religious identities. For this reason, the structure expected to be unifying seems to have a decomposing feature. The fact that political parties have been organized on an ethnic and sectarian basis is the main argument that

strengthens the idea that there is still a long way to go for democracy in Iraq. In Iraq, every ethnic, religious and political group regards federalism from a various point of view. In particular, the Kurdish Regional Government considers federalism as a mechanism that jeopardizes the influence of the Central Government on the Kurdish regions and enhances the influence of the Regional Government. The bitter events that happened in the past also prompt them to be more jealous about their determination in this direction. Among the Shiite groups, there are several groups some of which are opposed to federalism while some others back up the establishment of a Shiite area covering nine

provinces. Sunni groups, on the other hand, are worried that Iraq will not be able to maintain her integrity because of the federal structure she embraces.<sup>8</sup>

The Iraqi Constitution emphasizes that oil and natural gas resources belong to all Iraqis in Article 111. However, Article 112 states that the federal government would manage the oil and natural gas resources together with provinces and territories in the producer status and distribute them equally to the Iraqi people. It was also stated in this article that the regions previously deprived of by the old regime will be given priority.<sup>9</sup> These expressions provide sufficient arguments for all parties in disputes arising from the management and distribution of income from oil and natural gas and bring about an uncertain regulation.

The same uncertainty reappears when it comes to water resources. The Constitution divides water resources in the country as the resources that come outside Iraq and those that are already in the country and gives explicit power to the

federal jurisdiction over external water resources. However, provinces that are not organized as a region do not have their own authority to develop water resources. This complex water management structure of Iraq is also a kind of demonstration of ethnic and sectarian tension and controversy in the country at the same time.

Article 110 of the Constitution regulates the exclusive powers of the federal government. According to paragraph 8 of the Article, “in accordance with international law and agreements, the planning policies for water resources from outside Iraq and to guarantee the amount of water reaching Iraq and to ensure a fair distribution in Iraq” are included within the authority of the Iraqi Federal Government. Article 114 of the Constitution regulates the authorities to be jointly used by the federal government and regional governments. Paragraph 7 of the said Article states that “the federal and regional governments have been given the joint authority to regulate the water policy which guarantees fair distribution of

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internal water resources". It is also under the provision that it will be through a law.

It is clearly stated in Article 115 of the Constitution that the policies of the regional governments have precedence if the federal and regional governments pursue the conflicting policies of promoting water resources. It is pointed out also in Article 121 that if the federal government's legislative power conflicts with the regional legislative power in matters, not within the exclusive authority of the federal government, it is indicated that the regional government has the authority to change the national regulation from the national level to the regional level.

According to the Iraqi Constitution, other provinces, except Baghdad and temporarily Kirkuk, may come together to form a region. Until now, however, no other region has been established rather than the Kurdish Regional Government in the north of the country. There may be from time to time a desire in this direction, but for now, it can be thought that

those who oppose these ideas are dominant. The Kurdish Regional Government consists of Dohuk, Sulaymaniyah and Erbil provinces. This region, including the mountainous area in northern Iraq, is quite rich in terms of water resources compared to other parts of Iraq. Many branches of the Tigris River are located in this region. Furthermore, the Dokan and Darbandikhan hydroelectric power plants that are important hydroelectric power plants in the country are also within the borders of the Kurdish Regional Government. The Mosul Dam, the largest dam and hydroelectric power plant in the country and located on the main branch of the Tigris River, has remained under the joint control of the KDP and the PUK, although it is not within the borders of the Kurdish Regional Government but as a result of a rapid operation carried out by the Iraqi Central Government in 2017, Baghdad took its control back.

Iraq will face a new challenge in case the Kurdish Regional Government and the

Central Government have a dispute over policies on the development of water resources. The current Constitution does not give much hope for solving this issue. It is clear that the Kurdish Regional Government will act jealously, arguing the experience of the regional administration, which has been internalized since 1992, and the experiences it has had in the past given the rights granted by the present Constitution. However, in the present day when the significance of the basin-based management of water is understood, all parties should take into consideration that a fragmented water management will cause problems.

There is a second problem in the Iraqi Constitution concerning water management. An issue is not clear regarding the division by the Constitution of duties and powers between the regional and federal governments on water management. While the federal government is responsible for the waters coming from outside the country, it is understood that the meaning here is the main branches of

the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. There are no branches joining the Euphrates River in Iraq and there is no problem in terms of the Iraqi Constitution. The problem should be evaluated in relation to the Tigris river. It should not be forgotten that according to the Cizre measuring station, the average current of the Tigris River amounts only 16 billion cubic meters just before leaving Turkish lands. The annual average current of the river is about 50 billion cubic meters. A part of the remaining amount between these two figures is provided majorly by the Khabur water and Great Zab in Turkey, and the Little Zab originating from the Zagros Mountains in Iran as well as by the north of Iraq. In the Iraqi Constitution, it is necessary to determine which waters are to be evaluated in which scope, as there exists a separation upon the management of waters that come outside Iraq and that originate directly within the country. If the branches of the Tigris River that originate from other countries and join the River in Iraq are accepted within the authority of the federal government, the

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area of activity of the Kurdish Regional Government in water management will be very narrow. However, if the given waters are considered as water resources in the country, a hydrological reality will be denied and another dimension will be added to the problems related to water management in Iraq. In order to eliminate this problem, it is required to clarify the issue through a legal arrangement.

The Iraqi Constitution adopted in 2005 has emerged as a product of conflict due to the interests of all ethnic and sectarian groups in water management as well as in other issues. Today, when the modern water management is based on the basin, making water management inextricable by giving exclusive authorities to every stakeholder or administrative structure on water management will cause serious problems in Iraq. Putting into practice a water management embracing the whole country seems to be the only way to ensure a fair distribution of water frequently referred to in the Iraqi Constitution.

## **2.2 The Effects of Internal Conflicts in Iraq on Water Resources**

It has been recently seen in Iraq that water has been used once again as a weapon in internal conflicts. There has also been news indicating that KRG will not release water from the Tigris reaches for irrigation in the conflict between the central government and KRG. As an extremely important substance in economic and human terms, water's becoming a tool in the politics is a subject that leads to problems for the entire country.

The Tigris could not be saved from becoming a tool of ongoing political unrest in Iraq. Having started to be used as an element of show of force between the central government and Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq, the water issue is observed to also influence Turkmen society living in the country. Upon the tensions rising between the central government in Baghdad and Kurdish Regional Government due to the export of the oil drilled especially from the Kurdish region, it is seen that KRG stopped

releasing water down the dam and reservoirs kept under KRG control, prior to the operation launched in the disputed regions, notably Kirkuk. Whereas it was said that a certain amount of water was released following the reactions, it was stated that the amount was not sufficient.

On the other hand, it is also seen that ISIS used both Mosul dam and the water structures in al-Anbar province against the Iraqi central government in the period in which it was influential in Iraqi territory. The use of these structures for military purposes seriously damaged the already susceptible water infrastructure and led to an additional problem while the wounds of the destruction of the 2003 US invasion had not yet been dressed. There is a need for a considerable amount of financial sources as well as a determined political will in order to overcome these problems.

### **3. Factors that will Affect the Negotiations with Iraq**

#### **3.1 Climate Change**

There are more than 250 transboundary water basins in the world and almost 145 countries include a transboundary water basin in their territory. It is a generally accepted fact that water demand depends on both population growth and economic development. There is still limited access to clean potable and tap water in several parts of the world. Depending on the excessive use of water, another water resource which is groundwater table decreases swiftly and water demands cannot be satisfied especially in the regions which have arid and semi-arid climate.

Climate change will affect the Middle Eastern geography including Turkey as well as the entire world. Especially the tendency of decrease of precipitation in the Euphrates-Tigris basin and as a consequence, both the decrease of the water amount in the stream and the evaporation losses are expected to show an increase. Taken into consideration within this framework, it should be seriously

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noted now that 500 m<sup>3</sup>/s of water that Turkey guaranteed to release across its border with Syria under the 1987 protocol will not be possibly released if the projections of climate change come true. Although it is seen that the amount of water used for irrigation per hectare in Turkey decreased with the developing technology, it should not be expected to show a decrease in the close or medium term for the other countries of this basin having regard to their political and economic circumstances. However, it is considerably important to put emphasis on this fact especially in the bilateral negotiations and international platform. The comparative use of data about the effective use of water in the international platform will play a significant role in proving the justifiability of Turkey on this matter.

### **3.2 New Theoretical Developments**

Ensuring active participation on the international level with regard to water issues is important for Turkey to tell its thesis. However, another point which should be noted here is to

foresee where the use of theoretical developments will end up in the international field while attempts have started to be taken to this end since new concepts are suggested from time to time with regard to water management and discussions evolve within the framework of those concepts. The most important example of this is the concept of “Water Security.” It is predicted that the concept of water security will be discussed further on the international agenda in the following years. As a result of the efforts to add the subject to the agenda of the United Nations Security Council or that of the General Assembly, it seems likely to lead to a period in which all matters of water will be explained through the concept of “water security.”

The concept of “security” is frequently used to draw attention to a certain matter or to take extraordinary measures due to the importance it has in terms of its meaning. The concept of water security has also been defined several times since the end of the 1990s when it came to the agenda within this

scope. Many academicians, international agencies, organizations and states have recognized this concept for the moment and have used it in their discourse and the concept has started to be seen as a magic wand in the resolution of all the water problems.

Although several concepts have been established in respect of the concept of water security, there has not yet been a compromise on a single definition accepted by all the institutions, organizations or states. Therefore, especially states have addressed the issue from a certain viewpoint and have made efforts to form a basis for their views on transboundary waters.

Since “security” is one of the major problems in the Middle Eastern geography in which we are located, the water issue has found itself a place within the scope of the security concept while states have chosen to consider water within this framework.

The concept of water security has been developed within a framework that envisages ensuring cooperation between

states rather than competition as well as meeting the needs of all the strata of the society and paving the way for their participation. Water security is also defined or used without definition outside the structure of the United Nations. Having been established to act as a platform in order to ensure cooperation between the institutions and organs of the United Nations, the UN Water has created a definition so that the concept of water security will be understood commonly by member states and other organizations acting in cooperation.<sup>10</sup> The mentioned definition is a concept that has emerged with the full understanding of collective security. The concept of water security has started to be used more frequently in the international arena and, in this sense, has turned into a tool which will support the attitude that the Arab world has historically adopted. Within this framework, it will be beneficial to oppose the use of the concept of water security as it is understood in international terms on the platforms on which it is used as well as its use which will lead to a

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conventional “security” understanding.

### **3.3 Iranian influence in the basin**

When it comes to the problems faced between the riparian countries of the basin, what comes to mind first is the problem among Turkey, Syria and Iraq. However, there are several headsprings of the Tigris originating from Iran. Iran cuts the stream through these headsprings from time to time, with the dams constructed on these reaches and causes serious losses in Iraq. This leads the water problems in Iraq to occupy the agenda more. When the problems caused by sandstorms resulting from the Basra marshes drained especially under Saddam regime come to the agenda, it shifts off the responsibility to the dams constructed by Turkey and does not hesitate to blame Turkey using the strongest language. The latest example of this was seen in the summer of 2017. Iranian President Rouhani targeted Turkey, indicating that the dams constructed by Turkey negatively affected the

Euphrates and the Tigris and alleged that Turkey was responsible for the sandstorms.<sup>11</sup> Although this allegation was not valid, it was reiterated frequently in the environments where Turkey was not present, which created a perception and put Turkey in a difficult situation in the international arena.

### **Conclusion and Assessment**

Developing technology and differentiating forms of production have an influence over the foreign policies of countries in each period. Within this framework, the issue of transboundary waters which could not be on the world agenda at the beginning of the 20th century started to have a place in the world politics upon the development of big dam construction techniques. The problem emerging between the riparian states of the Euphrates-Tigris basin in the 1960s started to be discussed more in the international field and a perception was created to show that Turkey was in fact the source of problems for the dams which provided water regularly to the

lower riparian countries. In order to eliminate this perception, there is an obligation to work in cooperation with all institutions and to explain the issue especially by means of technical data.

A new concept is suggested as a magic wand almost every ten years in terms of trans-boundary waters. Finally, the concept of “water security” started to shape the international agenda. However, the lower riparian countries find the means of using each newly emerging concept in order to update the previous allegations and to put them forward again. Within this framework, it is useful to have a wary approach to the “water security.”

The efforts to make the water problem have an international dimension have yielded positive results in certain basins. However, Turkey’s attitude towards the problem in the Euphrates-Tigris basin has not changed for long years. Turkey has taken each opportunity to extend its objection to the intervention of third parties with the problem. Turkey’s attitude in this regard has been consistent

and perpetual. Turkey has always opposed the association of other issues with the water problem since the 1960s when the problem arose in the Euphrates-Tigris basin. This attitude shown itself in the 1980s when especially Syria tried to make a connection between security and water and Turkey did not accept such connection.

It should be taken into consideration that Iraq, which succeeded in affecting the public opinion in several terms during the construction of a dam which did not consume water like Ilisu Dam and thus, which did not have a purpose of irrigation, will raise its voice upon the beginning of the operation of the Cizre Dam in the river mouth of Ilisu Dam that also had a purpose of irrigation. What is important at this point is to state that Turkey plans to consume 6 billion cubic meters of water from this dam that will be located on the main reach of the Tigris. It should be taken into consideration that the main reach of the Tigris which has an average stream of 16 billion cubic meters per year

It will take a long time for Iraq, which has not succeeded in breaking the cycle of war, occupation and civil war, to compensate for the damages it faces in its water infrastructure. Nonetheless, Iraq, which can renew its water infrastructure swiftly with the income it will earn after fully launching its oil and natural gas resources to the international market, should have a central water management system.

at the measurement station in Cizre reaches 50 billion cubic meters in Baghdad. This means that it is considered to be very useful to indicate on each occasion that it will be appropriate for Turkey, which plans to use only 6 billion cubic meters from a stream of 50 billion cubic meters, to benefit to such extent. Furthermore, it is possible for this number to be levelled down more with the developing technology.

It will take a long time for Iraq, which has not succeeded in breaking the cycle of war, occupation and civil war, to compensate for the damages it faces in its water infrastructure. Nonetheless, Iraq, which can renew its water infrastructure swiftly with the income it will earn after fully launching its oil and natural gas resources to the international market, should have a central water management system. Dividing the rivers into headsprings left to the central government and sub-reaches left to the regional

government under its Constitution, Iraq should primarily remove the incoordination between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the central government. However, Iraq will inevitably fall into a new chaos in case of any amendment in the Iraqi Constitution based on quite delicate balances.

Turkey shows that water can be used as a means of cooperation in the new period despite the ongoing problems about benefitting from the waters originating from their territory and flowing to that of other countries. If the other riparian countries, Syria and Iraq adopts this understanding with regard to the problem in the Euphrates-Tigris basin, it should be accepted that the long-lasting problem between the countries can be easily solved. Turkey should also contribute to the conclusion of the problem by taking active roles especially in terms of technical assistance in this regard.

## Endnotes

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