

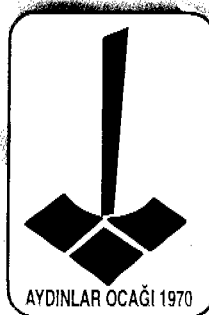
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# WATER CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**Prof. Dr. Nevzat YALÇINTAŞ - Bahattin KARAKAYA -  
Recai KUTAN - Ertan YÜLEK - Yaşar YAKIŞ**

INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND TRAINING  
IN WATER RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION

**PUBLICATION OF  
ENTELLECTUALS  
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**PANEL SERIES: 17**

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PANEL SERIES: 17  
ISTANBUL, 1996  
ext 141/102  
BARCODE 13640  
276 96WA

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## FOREWORD

*Iraq and above all Syria have made a habit of exaggerating their water needs when demanding water from Turkey. These countries are exploiting the issue on the international platform, and as ammunition against Turkey in the Islamic World.*

*In recognition of the subject's importance and the fact that the water problem poses a potential danger in the Middle East, our association organized a panel discussion two years ago. Now we are publishing the views expressed at this forum in more detailed written form for the benefit of a wider reading public. This attitude of our southern neighbours, with whom we should be on friendly terms, and particularly of Syria, which uses the water issue as an excuse for lending support to terrorism, is an obstacle to cooperation and solidarity between the Islamic countries. Those who take such a hostile stance towards Turkey are sabotaging cooperation between the Islamic countries. The latest example of this was the resolution taken at the Arab League Council of Ministers held in Cairo on 14-15 March 1996, which demanded that Turkey sit down to negotiations with Iraq and Syria and halt the GAP irrigation project in southeast Turkey.*

*Syria is on the one hand using the PKK to put a stop to the GAP project, and on the other seeking to reinstate itself among the Arab countries of the Middle East, from which this country had been alienated. Turkey naturally will and can not allow such conspiracies and aggressive attitudes to force concessions on its national interests.*

*We thank the esteemed writers and researchers who have sent us their papers for publication in this booklet. We are delighted to be able to draw public attention to an issue which seems set to occupy Turkey's agenda for a considerable time to come.*

**Prof.Dr.Mustafa E. Erkal**  
**General Secretary Association**  
**of Intellectuals**





# TURKEY'S WATER POLICY

by

Prof.Dr.Nevzat YALÇINTAŞ

Water is becoming an increasingly scarce and strategic resource. Already problems relating to water are multiplying and becoming more severe, and attracting international concern. Just as oil emerged as the critical resource of the twentieth century, so it is claimed that water will preoccupy nations, governments and international organizations in the twenty-first century. Indeed, some people go so far as to claim that it will be the "century of water".

As the subject of water has gained urgency, so activities in this field and efforts to inform the general public have been stepped up. Only if scientific research is reliable and accurate can we expect water policies to be effective. Failure in this respect could lead to the wrong decisions, with disastrous consequences. The critical nature of the problem means that Turkey must conduct adequate studies on the subject of water resources, so obtaining the information required to plan the most effective policies. If the necessary care and concern is not shown, irreversible damage could result in depriving future generations in Turkey of a vital resource, and leaving them to face extremely difficult and complex problems. Lack of information or neglect of this problem could put us in the position of the crow in La Fontaine's fable who lets the fox trick him into letting go of the cheese. Unfortunately, the actions and statements of some officials in the recent past give just this impression.

Particularly in democratic countries it is essential that the general public be adequately informed about such strategic dishes. The most reliable way of ensuring that governments do not adopt policies which put national interests at risk for the sake of short term political interests is a well informed and active public. The subject of water is one that concerns everyone, from the newborn child to the elderly, today and for all generations into the foreseeable future. Therefore we are obliged to concern ourselves closely with this matter and develop viable policies.

The Association of Intellectuals, a think-tank which focuses on important and pressing problems concerning our country, has realized the crucial importance of this issue. We organized a scientific convention in Istanbul at which experts presented papers on various aspects of water resources, and ideas concerning the application of their findings were discussed. This meeting, to which the Foreign Ministry sent a representative, aroused widespread interest and was followed by extensive press and television coverage of the issue. Through the mass media the general public obtained a better understanding.

I presented papers to both this meeting and a symposium on the same subject at Firat University, explaining my thoughts and conclusions. In addition, I have tried to inform a broader public through newspapers and television, and have observed the considerable interest shown in discussion panels.

However, just as the water issue itself is a permanent one, so research and public information activities must be kept up on a continuous basis. One of the foremost aims of these activities is to enable appropriate policies to be formulated. For my own part, I wish to describe and open to discussion certain policies with priority which I have identified in the light of my own studies and other sources of information. I will briefly mention the principles which I consider to have priority in Turkey's water policy, and you will find the details in the articles by my colleagues.

The key policies which Turkey must follow in the area of water resources may be listed as follows:

- 1. Turkey must protect her existing water resources, and continuously seek to develop others.**

Water is a vital resource which we can never dismiss. Where there is water there is life, human beings and civilization. This truth is stated in the Koran, where we find the words, "We sent down out of heaven water, and caused to grow in it of every goodly kind". As a result of mistakes and neglect we have already dried up or polluted some of our water sources. Yet Turkey's water needs will increase still further over the coming years. So it is essential that we preserve our water resources to the best of our ability, so that we ensure more plentiful and cleaner water supplies in future.

**2. Turkey does not have surplus water, as some are claiming.**

It is true that the Middle East does not have sufficient water and faces serious problems, but the view that Turkey has the water resources to solve these problems does not accord with the facts. For a country to be described as rich in water it should have 10,000 cubic metres or more per person per year, and Turkey has only 3000 cubic metres. When in view of population growth and increasing water needs Turkey itself faces a water problem both today and into the future, the suggestion that Turkey should spare some of its existing resources for other countries cannot be endorsed. There can be no question of "regionalizing" Turkey's waters.

**3. The water of one country is not the common property of others.**

Due to the water shortage in the Middle East region of which Turkey is a part, some western countries are trying to impose the view that water is a common resource. This is a politically motivated concept contrary to international law and rational thought. Such a concept would have to be extended to cover all other resources such as oil, iron, and coal, and would lead to unacceptable consequences and a new form of colonialism.

**4. Turkey currently releases sufficient water to its neighbours.**

The Tigris River crosses the border from Turkey into Iraq and poses no problems regarding water supply. The controversy surrounds the water of the Euphrates, in connection with which Israel's water needs are a factor. Israel and its allies want Syria to receive more water from Turkey, so that they can obtain more water via Syria. In other words Israel will indirectly obtain more water from Turkey. Yet Turkey already allows sufficient water to flow into Syria.

**5. Turkish water resources cannot be exploited as a pawn in resolving the Israeli-Arab conflict.**

There are diverse points of disagreement between Israel and neighbouring Arab countries, particularly Syria. One of the foremost among these, the occupation of the Golan Heights, is inextricably tied up with the water issue, and Israel is seeking to resolve these complex problems to its own advantage by presenting Turkey's water resources as a similar controversial issue to be brought to the negotiating table along with the rest. Yet Turkey's water resources have no connection with the Middle East peace talks and are not a subject for negotiation.

**6. Turkey could market some of her water on a commercial basis.**

Piping Turkish water to the Middle East has serious implications. Such a system could always be used against Turkey, giving rise to claims on this water by its recipients, and thereby weakening Turkey's stance on the international platform. In place of a scheme with so many pitfalls, Turkey could market the water of the Seyhan, Ceyhan and Manavgat rivers through terminals on the Mediterranean coast by sea tanker or other form of transport.

Of course these are not the only principles to be followed in policy on such a crucial issue as water resources. Scientific and pragmatic studies and discussion will throw further light on the matter and strengthen related policies still further.

# THE CONTROVERSY OVER WATER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WORLD

by

**Bahattin KARAKAYA\***

## INTRODUCTION

Since the cold war drew to an end the question of water resources in the Near East has received increasing attention as efforts to engage Turkey in this dispute have risen, and indeed as efforts have been made to link this issue to separatist movements. Institutes and university departments concerned with various aspects of the Near East or Middle East regions in the United States, Europe and elsewhere have been taking a closer interest in the region than we ourselves. Apart from conducting research, they have gone further and become involved in formulating policies and strategies, and endeavours to influence public opinion in line with their own objectives.

There are various grounds for classifying a region as being of geopolitical importance. Foremost among these is the existence of natural resources, whether existing or potential, which can improve the welfare of human beings; natural boundaries which facilitate defence; natural communications routes with other regions, developed human resources and similar factors. In these respects Anatolia has always been of geopolitical importance, and furthermore is surrounded by three critical and often unstable regions, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Near East, which in geostrategic terms it both protects and controls. Lying in a key central position between these regions, Turkey is an island of stability. For this reason Turkey has always been a focal point for the

\* Retired general.

peoples and political powers with interests here. Visions centred around this focal point range from Mount Sion to Mount Ararat, from the Megalo Idea to Assyria and Babylon, and from Greater Bulgaria to Greater Syria. In addition, efforts are being made to include the dream of a Greater Serbia, which has been emerging in recent times, and linked to this the Slavic-Orthodox alliance or the Byzantine Commonwealth. In many cases we observe these ambitions being activated to exert an influence on international platforms, and attempts to find allies from among the major powers.

In this study I will look at the true dimensions of the water question for Turkey and its neighbours, and analyze the politics which are directly linked to this subject.

### **Growing Population, Shrinking Water Resources and Environmental Problems**

While the world's population grows apace, the water and agricultural food resources available are failing to keep up with demand. Increased water consumption related to demographic growth is becoming a matter for consternation among scientists. We continue to use up and pollute our water resources at a dangerous rate without thought for the consequences. Rapid population growth, uncontrolled and unplanned urban growth, the resulting increase in waste water output, expansion of the hole in the ozone layer, increasing levels of carbon gases in the atmosphere and the greenhouse effect these are producing, are further speeding up the rate at which we are exhausting our finite water resources.

As a result we face the risk of epidemics and other serious damage to human health, and likewise falling production of food, which with water and oxygen is a necessity for preserving life on our planet. In times of drought the flow in Anatolia's rivers can drop by 74% on average, according to studies. Therefore we cannot view the situation in Turkey in isolation from environmental problems affecting the world as a whole, or from local hydrographic statistics. Turkey may well face water shortages in the near future.

## **Population Explosion and Water**

The world population has risen from 2 billion in the 1930s to over 5 billion according to the latest figures for the 1990s, and it is estimated that the population will rise to around 10 billion during the first quarter of the 21st century. Of this total increase, the developing and under-developed countries account for 95%. Turkey numbers around these countries, and it is estimated that our population will be 95 million in the year 2025. Statistics show that average water consumption per capita is seven times more in North America and in Africa or the Middle East for example. When we consider that the population increase in the latter regions is much higher than in North America, then it is clear that the water shortfall will increase rapidly.

### **Middle Eastern Questions**

Scientists' warnings that the world will face serious water shortages within the next fifteen to twenty years have received extensive coverage in the media recently. Significantly, this campaign to arouse public awareness of the problem has coincided with the escalation in PKK terror and likewise with the peace talks to resolve the differences between Israel and the Arab countries. Among the world's environmental and political problems which have reached immense proportions are:

- \* Sharing oil resources,
- \* Problems deriving from the artificial boundaries of the Arab states drawn after World War I, and the establishment of the state of Israel,
- \* Other complex problems of the Middle East deriving from differences between the tribes and religious groups which have roots in the distant past.

Despite oil wealth, excessive population growth and imbalances in income distribution continue to generate social and political instability in the region.

### **Turkey's Environmental and Water Problems**

This subject will be considered in detail at the end of this study, along with Turkey's current and future position. The existing water problems in the Middle East also apply to Turkey, despite the apparent abundance of water.

Research into water resources has stressed above all that although 75% of the world is covered by water, fresh water accounts for only 2.6% of this, and we must remember that water has no alternative.

Studies of the world's hydrographic structure shows that North America and Western Europe are comparatively well off for fresh water resources compared to most other regions. (Although there are striking discrepancies between the water resources of different US states, it is interesting to note that the water rich states are careful to keep their water to themselves so that other states cannot lay claim to this water at a future time). Areas of severe water shortage include the Middle East, where the main shared rivers are the Euphrates, Tigris, Jordan and Asi; the Indochinese peninsula (the Mekong); Brazil and Argentina (the Parana); Bolivia and Chile (the Lauca); and Tunisia and Libya (the Med-jerda). Oil rich Libya solves its water shortage with money. Water from a fresh water lake in southern Libya will be carried via underground pipes 4 metres in diameter, and used to increase the area of cultivated land (currently 2% of the total land area), at a cost of 27 billion US dollars. Each pipe section will be 7.5 metres long and weigh 80 tons. Known as the Sun'i Nehir Project, this is President Khadafy's great dream.

### **Syria's Claims Concerning the Euphrates and the Tigris**

Both in bilateral talks with Turkey and on diplomatic platforms, Syria claims that a water problem exists with Turkey, which it claims to be violating Syria's rights. What is worse, Syria is conducting a propaganda campaign against Turkey, bringing up the subject frequently on international platforms, particularly the Arab League. Most of the time the Arab League takes Syria's part and releases statements levelling accusations against Turkey. In fact Syria's principal motive is believed to be not so much water as inadequate electrical energy. Apparently, apart from the capital Damascus, electricity supplies are cut for eight hours a day throughout the country, resulting in widespread discontent. According to information published in the press Syria is not in need of water at present, and uses only 10 % of the water crossing the frontier from Turkey for agriculture.



The actual reason for Syria's demand for more water is for the hydroelectric power station built by the former Soviet Union on the Euphrates. Known as the Tabga or Esad, this hydroelectric dam is apparently the sole source of electricity, and is said to have a high dam wall of the type used on rivers in Siberia, and hence can only produce electricity when the water level is high. It is claimed that while average hydroelectricity production is one kilowatt for every five cubic metres of water, this Syrian dam requires eight cubic metres. According to press reports, Turkey has for this reason refused to comply with Syria's demands for additional water, and made more reasonable alternative proposals. However, Syria has not agreed to any of these so far.

These proposals include constructing a new dam with more suitable technology; using natural gas to produce electricity in the area close to the border; supplying Syria with electricity via Gaziantep, and the construction of a joint Turkish-Syrian hydroelectric dam on the Tigris. Syria does not view any of these proposals favourably.

Meanwhile, Syria adjusts the water flows in the Asi and Afrin rivers which flow from Syria into the Turkish province of Hatay at will, leaving Haty's Amik Plain cracking for want of water. Syria has constructed canals and irrigation ditches all along the Asi river from the point where it leaves Lebanon until it enters Turkey, diverting almost all the water for agriculture on the plains between Hama and Latakia. Syria and Lebanon use 90% of this river's water. Similar policies are pursued by Bulgaria and Greece on the Maritza and Tundzha rivers. Indeed, in times of summer drought, Bulgaria actually charges Turkey for water.

### **Oil Rich Iraq Solves its Water Problem**

Disputes over water between Turkey and Syria and Iraq began to emerge in the 1960s when construction of the Keban Dam commenced. The Keban, followed by the Karakaya and Atatürk dams, and more recently by the Birecik, have alarmed Syria and Iraq. However, the oil rich Iraq has used its wealth to make the best use of existing water by constructing canals between the two rivers. A third artificial river known as the Saddam provides plenty of water for irrigation.

## **Scenarios for a Water War, Political Speculation, Israel's Calculations and Western Intervention**

Recently scenarios concerning wars over water have begun to appear with such frequency in the press, that one suspects some ulterior motive. It is as if public opinion were being manipulated. As one might expect, this campaign derives largely from western news agencies and the written and electronic media. Such news items and speculation, which now appear regularly in our own media, combine both true facts and misinformation.

In response, some quarters in Turkey have begun to devise some emergency measures for dealing with the water problems of the Middle East. Opportunistic ideas supposedly beneficial for Turkey's economy such as the Peace Water Project, the Middle East Water League, the Water Bank and so on are being generated. When these seemingly harmless ideas are scrutinized in any depth, the way in which they view water as an economic commodity to be traded with neighbours becomes apparent. Although I do not doubt the good intentions of those who have voiced these ideas, I would like to remind them of the way in which from the mid-19th century onwards the Jews attempted to purchase land for the future Israel from the Ottoman Empire, and how firmly they were refused by the Ottoman sultans.

It is interesting to see how these ideas tend to be voiced after visits to the United States by Turkish politicians, during which problems facing Turkey have been discussed at US-Turkish talks, or when negotiations between Israel and the Arabs are stepped up. The foreign countries which appear most concerned about the subject of water are Israel, the United States, Germany and Britain. Indeed, these countries display at least as much concern as Syria and Iraq themselves. Another interesting observation is the American preference for viewing the waters of the Middle East as a whole.

### **Excessive British and German Involvement in the Water Issue**

Recently a Turkish newspaper reported that Britain was setting new standards for water, that the British government had initiated a meeting between scientists on the subject in September 1993, and that various experts from foreign countries, including Israel and Greece but not Turkey, had been invited. Britain announced that experts on the subject

of water had been informed about the new water standards which they had laid down. On 5-7 October 1993, shortly after that meeting, the German Friedrich Nauman Foundation and Hacettepe University jointly organized an international water conference in Ankara. Many experts from various countries, including Israel, Britain, Germany, Syria and Jordan, attended this meeting, as did foreign diplomats. European Union representative, Michael Lake of Britain, played a leading role at this meeting and delivered a speech in which he laid down the law, proposing the establishment of a Joint Water Assistance Union for the Middle East countries. He implied that Turkey was under obligation to provide water assistance, and even that this was a condition for Turkey's membership of the European Union. Again from the press we learned that the British ambassador had announced that the European Union had prepared a project for water sharing and allocated six billion dollars for the purpose. The Palestinian delegate proposed the establishment of a Water Bank for Turkey's waters. All these demonstrate how the West assumes the right to intervene in Turkey's water policy.

### **Jewish Scientists**

An Israeli delegate, Hillel Shuval of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was reported in the press as saying, "Journalists expected me to declare that war would break out on account of water, but I refused to make any such claim. However, there is a serious water problem in Palestine, Jordan and Israel, in particular." The same professor -- ignoring the fact that Israel has occupied the basins of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers, and seized the water of the region -- said in an interview with the Turkish *Hürriyet* newspaper that, "If Turkey gives more water to Syria, then Syria will be able to let more water flow into Jordan via the Yarmuk. When Jordan's irrigation capacity increases, then it will be able to transfer an annual hundred million cubic metres of water to the Palestinians via the Ghor canal. This is Turkey's indirect role in the process... Turkey should show paternal generosity by unilaterally giving water to Syria."

In an article entitled "A New Rogers Plan for Turkey in the Middle East?" written some time after that conference it was rightly claimed that the Israelis were attempting to bring the issue into the international

arena, that the existing international conjuncture could develop against Turkey, that in international law those countries which control the water tap are branded as aggressors, and those who receive the water as victims to be protected. It remarks that the Jewish professor attended the conference in Ankara on his way back from the United States, and that the Syrians at first were unwilling to attend, but later participated on an unofficial basis as observers. Probably the fact that the conference was in Turkey, and that delegates from Israel and the West were to be present worried Syria.

It is only to be expected that the activities of the West with respect to water which have been stepped up recently should arouse the suspicions not only of regional states but of their ordinary citizens. For instance, people are curious to know why the International Water Utilization Institute should be located in Britain, and why it should focus particularly on water issues in the Middle East.

### **The Water War Scenario**

America, too, is intensely interested in water related affairs in the Middle East. Another striking news item in Zaman newspaper around the same time demonstrated the high level of interest shown by the West in the Middle East's water question. On 10 October 1993, this newspaper reported Prof. Dr. John Kolars of the Near Eastern Studies Department at Michigan University, author of *A Brief History of Water in the Modern Middle East* and *Will GAP Make Turkey the Main Grain Provider in the Middle East* as saying, "Peace might be secured over water in the Middle East, but equally conflict is possible. If war were to break out, investments of thirty billion dollars [Kolars means the Southeast Anatolia Project] would be destroyed in a couple of days. The same amount would be spent on bombs and go up in smoke. In other words, a war for water would be foolhardy." He went on to discuss the sharing of Turkey's waters, declaring "If a good job is done, this project, which is one of the largest in the world, can be successfully completed. True success will only be evident in twenty or thirty years time... Turkey's major cities face water shortages, and only once these are overcome can Turkey perhaps sell water. Even so the situation is awkward, because eight or nine countries including Turkey, Syria and Jordan are involved in this project. If it were just a couple, success would be more likely."

The same article referred to a book published in 1992 by Prof. Dr. Georg E. Gruen of the Middle East Institute at Columbia University entitled *Future Conflict in the Middle East: The Water Crisis*, which claims that it will be difficult to realize the Middle East water project in entirety, and that it would therefore be more realistic to carry out Peace Water in the form of small projects.

### **The Concern of Certain Quarters in Turkey with Water**

Another paradoxical situation similar to this high-handed attitude of the western countries over an issue concerning the Arab countries is seen in Turkey's socialist political wing. In mid-September 1993 a newspaper published the views of an advisor to the prime minister on the subject of a Middle East water league. His views were published once again in the same newspaper two months later with a fanfare of publicity for a Middle East Water League similar to the European Union. At the same time the view was put forward that, "the 21st century will be the age of water".

It was claimed that Turkey was a source of water for the Middle East, and that therefore Turkey should take the initiative where water was concerned, and that if the Middle East Water League was founded it would make significant contributions to the development of the region, and prevent conflict breaking out over water sources. The same person justified this view by remarking that the European Union began life as the European Coal and Steel Community, and that this community was transformed first into an economic and then political league, and proposed the establishment of a similar community in the Middle East. He concluded by asserting that this community could be a serious rival to the European Union, and that at a future stage a Common Security Organization could be formed under its auspices, and that thereby "many of the elements at the root of terrorism would be eliminated". It was reported that this project aroused considerable interest in government circles. But what were these "many elements at the root of terrorism" wondered many people.

Of course it is highly beneficial to express and debate ideas freely, and truths can be discovered in this way. However, turning a nation's geographical features into commercial currency is a matter which must be approached with great care. I will return to this question later.

## **Annual Water Consumption Per Capita in the Middle East**

All studies of the water problem which is being generated in the Middle East refer to the inadequacy of water resources in these countries, and quote figures concerning per capita water consumption. The reliability of these figures, and by whom and how they were compiled, is uncertain. Having given the figures, the authors go on to predict that the next war in the Middle East will be waged for water. News items on this subject in October 1993 gave annual water consumption figures per capita for the region as 165 cubic metres for the West Bank and Gaza, 300 for Jordan and Israel, 1200 for Egypt, 1300 for Syria, 3000 for Lebanon, 4400 for Iraq and 4500 for Turkey. The same study classified countries with a consumption of less than 500 cubic metres as water poor, those with 500-2000 as average, and those with above 2000 cubic metres as water rich. These figures were provided by a Jewish scientist who attended the water conference in Ankara early in October 1993. The New York Times newspaper quoted slightly lower figures for the Arabs, giving 380 cubic metres for Israel, 140 cubic metres for Jordan, 130 cubic metres for Gaza and 90 cubic metres for the West Bank.

### **Israel: Water Basins Tyrant**

Following the Arab-Israeli wars, the Jordan, which was supposed to be shared between Lebanon, Israel, Syria and Jordan, has been effectually under Israel's control. Previously Israel controlled only one section of the river, but by occupying the Golan Heights and the West Bank gained control of the entire drainage basin of the Jordan and its tributaries, and turned Lake Tiberias into a natural dam where most of the plentiful water brought down from the north by the Jordan collects. The famous Tiberias-Negev Canal carries irrigation water from this lake right down the length of Israel to the Negev desert in the south. By this means land which was once arid desert has been transformed into oases where several crops are harvested each year. Land which will be transferred to the Palestinians according to the last peace treaty is now being left without water. Since the West Bank and region around Eriha are short of water, they have become virtually desert. Equipped with sufficient money and technology, Israel is able to tap all ground water resources, as well as the water of the Jordan, its tributaries and Lake Tiberias. In addition, desalinated sea water is also used.

## **Key Issue at the Peace Talks: Water**

Naturally the people of the region are complaining vigorously about the lack of water. According to an article in Cumhuriyet newspaper (14 October 1993) which was originally published in the New York Times, Dr. Ilyan Selami of Jordan University in Amman declared that, "Without an agreement on water, no peace treaty will be signed."

The water shortage in the region began when the state of Israel was established in 1948. As early as the 1950s the Americans, as mediator between Israel and the Arabs, began to discuss the peaceful sharing out of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers. The water problem remained unresolved for years, however, until finally Israel resolved the issue by force during the Six Day War in 1967, much as Alexander the Great sliced through the Gordian Knot with his sword. When Israel occupied the Golan Heights and the West Bank in 1967, it secured control of the Jordan Basin, and for the past three decades has left the local people waterless while constructing irrigation systems consisting of canals, pumping stations and artesian wells. Syria has been deprived of the water from both rivers which used to irrigate the southwest region, while Jordan can no longer use the same rivers to irrigate its northwest region and the West Bank. With the two million or so Jews expected to emigrate from Russia, Israel's population will rise to ten million in the next century, raising its water requirement still further. So Israel is determined not to lose the water resources it has seized, thereby guaranteeing its future. Therefore, the water problem continues to be the main subject of peace talks between Israel and the other countries of the region.

With the backing of the western powers over this issue, Israel is attempting to make Turkey the scapegoat for the water problem it has created in the region over the past 45 years. It is Turkey's waters, particularly those of the Euphrates, which have become pawns in the game now being played on the international platform.

## **Potential New Alliances Against Turkey over Water**

A book published in Britain has become the latest element in the war over water scenario which has received such wide press coverage over recent years. News agencies report that this book entitled Water

Wars written by John Bullock, a well known journalist and expert on Turkey and the Middle East, and Adil Dervish, an Egyptian journalist, claims that not oil but water is the factor which poses the greatest threat to peace in the Middle East. According to this book British and American intelligence agencies believe that a war between Turkey and Syria is a possibility, and that UN Secretary General Butros Gali expects a new and serious dispute to break out over water in the Middle East. This news item, which appeared in every newspaper simultaneously, also included a significant speculation. As if trying to scare Turkey, it was claimed that new alliances could arise in the region based on the major rivers, and that one of these might be Iraq and Syria joining forces against Turkey, which controls the Tigris and Euphrates.

According to an article by John Bullock in the Independent on Sunday, which was published in Turkey's Cumhuriyet newspaper on 18 November 1993, the increased water needs in future might prompt a leader of one of the regional countries to consider whether a small scale war might not be more advantageous in economic terms than trying to manage with the water resources remaining to them. Such speculation is aimed at putting pressure on the Turkish government and Turkish public opinion.

## **Water Projects Proposed by the West**

### **Israel's National Strategy**

Numerous projects are being proposed by Israel itself as part of its national strategy, by western nations under international Jewish influence, and by certain quarters in Turkey motivated solely by commercial interests. Foremost among these are:

- \* Turkey should allow more water to flow via the Euphrates and Tigris, so placating Syria, which has been deprived of use of the Jordan and its tributaries by the Israeli occupation;

- \* Transporting excess water from Turkey's Ceyhan, Seyhan and Manavgat rivers to the Middle East;

- \* Transferring excess water from Iran's Karun river and Egypt's Nile to the region (the Nile-Gaza pipeline project);

- \* Towing icebergs from the polar regions;



\* Desalination of sea water (by building a canal from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea, desalination of the water of the Dead Sea, using the difference in altitude between the Red Sea and the Dead Sea to generate electricity), and

\* Harnessing ground water.

Pro-Israeli quarters which seek the cheapest solution constantly stress the abundance of water in Turkey. In his lecture entitled "Turkey: A Major Water Source", John Kolars of Michigan University claimed that in the year 2020 Turkey would have a per capita water supply of 1245 cubic metres, and that when Turkey's irrigation, industrial and domestic needs were calculated, this means a surplus of 43 billion cubic metres. These estimates based on personal opinion appeared in the press.

It is essential that Turkey carry out its own scientific studies, and publish its own findings and estimates concerning its water resources. These should be given coverage both in Turkey and the international arena. Those among the above projects which concern Turkey have been examined below, and at the end of each section the geostrategic policies which are in our best interests are outlined.

The Peace Water Project is said to have been proposed by Turkey in 1986 at the instigation of the West. The feasibility study was carried out by the US company Brown and Root. This project envisages the transportation of water from the Ceyhan and Seyhan rivers via a pipeline to the Middle East. A single line would carry water from Çukurova to Hama in Syria, and then divide into two lines, the West Line running south, and the Gulf Line veering southeast, so supplying Syria, Jordan, Israel, Saudi Arabia and all the Gulf states with water. The total length of this pipeline would be 6550 km, and the cost according to 1991 estimates would be 30 billion US dollars. If the project for carrying six million cubic metres of water per day to the Middle East via the first pipeline is realized, Israel and the Arab countries would, it is estimated, be getting water at a third of the price of desalinated water. Israel uses oil as a fuel in the process of desalinating sea water, a process which costs 2.6 US dollars per cubic metre, whereas water piped from Turkish rivers would cost only 0.87 US dollars per cubic metre. With the start of the latest peace talks, this project is being debated once more.

Such a project would place Turkey's geography under an irreversible commitment. Vested interests would arise, which in future could lead

to disputes and even war. Lebanon is said to have rejected extremely attractive proposals from Israel to purchase surplus water from the Litani river, which flows largely unused into the sea, on the grounds that Israel could then lay claim to the water in future.

Turkey will send water by tanker or balloon to the Middle East once the Manavgat River Water Project currently being conducted by the Public Participation Administration is completed, and apparently Israel and other Middle East countries are relying on this prospect of an additional water supply. Under this project water from the Manavgat river will be treated, then transferred by two pipelines to two floating platforms 1300 metres offshore, and from here carried by tanker or plastic balloons to the Middle East. Estimates put the cost of water carried by tanker at 1 dollar per cubic metre at that by balloon at one fifth of the price.

It is thought that this will be an attractive proposition for ensuring adequate water supplies to Turkey's Aegean holiday resorts and to the metropolises of Istanbul and İzmir, as well as Israel and Cyprus. It is claimed that a feasibility study for a similar project was undertaken by an Israeli company, and according to press reports Israel was most eager that the project be realized. Since partially meeting the Middle East's requirements for water in this way will not give rise to future claims on the water, while at the same time being in Turkey's commercial interests, this project does not carry any political drawbacks.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi government has realized a large scale project for using the surplus water from the Tigris and Euphrates which empty into the Shatt-al-Arab to irrigate Iraq, and via the artificial waterway known as the Saddam River and a system of canals provides water to both Iraq and the other Arab countries.

Following the Middle East Peace Water project, a Joint Electricity Project was launched. This is described as an interconnected electricity supply project linking Turkey to Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and Iraq. The estimated cost of this project is 790 million dollars, which will be met by the Arab Economic and Social Development Fund and the Islamic Development Bank. Once Turkey's own hydroelectric dams are working at full capacity, the commercial benefits of this project are indisputable. Again this is a project which will not give rise to vested interests or place Turkey under political obligation.

## Turkey's Situation and Still Unresolved Aridity

As I have said already, Turkey's population is expected to be 95 million by the year 2025. Providing food and water for this population depends on harnessing our own potential resources. When we look at the water resources and irrigation levels in Turkey today, the outlook is not bright, and there is a pressing need for the new projects now under construction such as the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) to get underway as soon as possible. Most of Anatolia is insufficiently watered, and on the plateaus of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia irrigation remains at a low level. Rivers with a high flow such as the Kura, Kars, Aras, Murat, Tigris, Karasu and Euphrates have not yet been harnessed to water our potentially fertile plains, although for generations local people have lived in hope of action being taken. The same situation obtains in Central Anatolia, despite the three great rivers here, the Kızılırmak, Yeşilirmak and Sakarya. Nor is irrigation adequate in the area around the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers. The situation is only somewhat better in the interior areas of Western Anatolia watered by the Büyük Menderes, Küçük Menderes, Gediz and Bakır.

In Turkish Thrace meanwhile, water from Greece and Bulgaria via the Tunca, Meriç and Arda rivers is cut off arbitrarily by those two countries, and for the past few years the Meriç has begun to dry up completely, leaving just a few small pools. The rice fields are entirely dependent on the whims of Bulgaria, which releases surplus water from its dams only upon payment of money, and sometimes not even then. To the south Syria also cuts off the Asi river as it pleases, leaving the Amik Plain to dry up and its crops to scorch.

The water needs of many Turkish towns and cities, including the resorts along the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, are not sufficiently met. Istanbul, Izmir, Bodrum, Çeşme, Kuşadası and other tourist centres are eager to purchase the surplus water from the Manavgat, and even from the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers, which can be transported by sea. In particular, the drainage basins of Turkey's major cities face serious pollution problems, and their reservoirs are in danger of becoming unviable. Moreover, these reservoirs no longer meet demand, and water cuts are frequent in summer. Istanbul's

water company is planning to harness water sources as far away as the rivers around Bolu, the Sakarya river, and in the Istranca Mountains of Thrace, ignoring local needs. To conclude, we are still not sufficiently organized in this area.

### **Southeast Anatolia Water Project**

The Southeast Anatolia Project, known as GAP for short, is one of the largest projects Turkey has ever undertaken, and indeed one of the largest of the century. Covering an area of 74,000 square kilometres, it consists of twelve sub-projects in the drainage basins of the Tigris and Euphrates. Foremost among these are:

#### **Atatürk Dam:**

Construction of this dam commenced in 1983 and went partially into operation on 26 July 1992. It is the second largest in the world where irrigation area is concerned, sixth largest in volume, has the third largest hydroelectric plant of any under construction in the world today, and the fifth largest hydroelectric plant of any in operation in the world. Financed entirely by Turkey, Atatürk Dam has the potential to irrigate over half of the 1,700,000 hectares of land which will become usable under the GAP project.

**Adıyaman-Kahta Project:** This will irrigate 160,000 hectares of the Kahta and Besni-Keysun plains in Adıyaman.

**Batman Dam Project:** This dam will water 37,750 hectares.

#### **Silvan Project:**

This project will water 213,000 hectares.

**Cizre Sub-project:** The Cizre Dam on the Tigris will have a hydroelectric power plant and water the Cizre, İdil and Silopi plains and part of Nusaybin Plain.

**Dicle Kıralkızı Project:** This will water 126,000 hectares of land in the upper section of the Tigris basin, and provide electricity from the Kıralkızı and Dicle hydroelectric power stations. Areas irrigated will be the Ergani, Gölovası-Çınar, Seyhan and Savur plains, and the plains around Diyarbakır.

### **Gaziantep-Arban Project:**

This encompasses land north of Gaziantep as far as Adıyaman, and waters 23,350 hectares of Arban Plain.

### **Gaziantep Project:**

A series of pumping stations will transfer water from Birecik Dam on the Euphrates to irrigate 89,000 hectares of land on the plains of Gaziantep.

The Southeast Anatolia Project encompasses not only dams, hydroelectric power stations and irrigation systems on the Euphrates and Tigris, but also a development scheme covering infrastructure, agricultural, communications, industry, education, health and other areas.

Irrigation and energy production plants designed to develop the region's water and soil resources include those for which construction is now underway such as the Karakaya Dam and the Şanlıurfa, Tunceli, Akçakale and Ceylanpınar ground water systems, and others still in the planning stages. GAP will give shape to Turkey's future, enabling the economy to expand, providing jobs for a large number of people, creating high capacity transportation networks linking this region to other parts of the country, and bringing progress to this underdeveloped region of the country in both economic and social terms, and so improving the level of integration with other regions. The most important objective of the project, however, is political unity, which will result from raising the standard of living in Southeast Turkey, and achieving economic and social integration.

### **Has the GAP Project Halted?**

In 1987, a year after the Water for Peace proposal, a Water Protocol was signed in Damascus between the prime ministers of Turkey and Syria. According to this protocol, Turkey agreed to release 500 cubic metres of water per second along the Euphrates. But for some unknown reason, in mid-1992, Syria, Iraq and the other Arab countries lodged protests about the GAP project with the European Union and international financing organizations, requesting that Turkey be denied financial support. Although Syria had signed the 1987 protocol it later decided that 500 cubic metres of water per second was inadequate. Over the past six years Syria's complaints and the campaign of water

scenarios have continued. This has coincided with the escalation of terrorist activity, and for the past two years construction of GAP projects has halted due to lack of funds. This has, it is claimed, led to public disillusionment. How far is this true?

### **The Historic "Fertile Crescent" Vision**

The area with the Syrian desert in the centre, the Çukurova, Gaziantep and Harran plains to the north, the ancient Mesopotamian Plain to the east, and the plains of Hatay, Aleppo, Hama, Humus, Damascus, Lebanon and Palestine to the west is described as the "Fertile Crescent" in reference to both the oil resources and agricultural land of this area. From the outset of the First World War, and particularly in its aftermath, this region was the subject of secret negotiations between Britain and France, which even signed agreements between themselves. In March 1990, the United States also entered the Middle East picture.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the capitalist imperialism of the western powers had gained a grip on most of the world. It is essential today to understand the New World Order which emerged before and after the two world wars, and now following the cold war. And this entails looking at the Middle East water issue in a historical perspective.

### **Historical Perspective**

#### **The Smell of Oil and Entrance of the Germans on the Middle East Scene**

Western interest in the Middle East rose significantly in the late 19th century due to the region's oil resources. Germany led the way. Envious of the colonial empires of such nations as Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, and having united Germany, the Germans under Bismarck and Wilhelm II set about acquiring their own empire in the 1870s. Having begun with Africa and elsewhere, German attention gradually turned to the Caucasus and Middle East, as the significance of their oil reserves became apparent. Prior to 1900 came the renowned Baghdad Railway and the Hejaz Railway projects, the opening of German consulate-general in Tiflis, establishment of German libraries and cul-

tural centres in Konya, Baghdad, Aleppo and Jerusalem, and state visits by Wilhelm II to Istanbul and Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the British and French also became increasingly interested in the region, leading to the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

The overt and underlying causes of the First World War are familiar to everyone. In 1914 the British began inciting the Arabs against Ottoman Turkey. All the evidence points to a deliberate strategy against the Ottoman Empire, and an organized programme of provocation. The Arab Rebellion broke out on 10 June 1916, and on 31 October 1916 Sheriff Hussein proclaimed himself king of the Arabs. Secret negotiations between Britain and the Arabs were arranged by the British agent MacMahon, and at the final talks in London agreement was reached to the effect that the Ottoman provinces of Basra and Baghdad in the East, and Mersin, İskenderun, Aleppo, Hama, Humus, Lebanon, Damascus and Palestine in the west were Arab regions. This was followed up by the Sykes-Picot Agreement. According to the map illustrating this agreement, we find that the British did not make any mention of Egypt which was then under their control, while as the two greatest colonial empires in the world Britain and France shared out the region bounded by the Taurus mountains, the Zagros mountains, the Gulf of Basra, the Arabian Desert, the Sinai Desert and the Mediterranean. Arabia was to be ruled by Hussein, Sheriff of Mecca, and Eastern Anatolia ceded to the Russians.

#### **The Balfour Declaration: the Americans Enter the Middle East Picture**

The birth of the state of Israel came about during the same period in secret negotiations between the western powers, which first recognized Palestine's international status, and then conducted negotiations with the Zionist Committee. They went on to agree to a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, and later to the establishment of a Jewish state. The British administration began to nationalize land belonging to local inhabitants, thereby obliging them to emigrate. Negotiations were concluded by the Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917. On 8 January 1918 President Wilson announced his famous Fourteen Points, and in March 1919 the United States took up its part in the Middle East when it conducted a survey and research study in the region.

Bargaining over the Middle East continued at the San Remo Conference on 16-26 April 1920, and on 10 August of the same year the Sevres Treaty concerning the sharing out of the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East among the western powers was signed. The Turkish withdrawal from the Middle East and the Turkish War of Independence followed. Since the Ottomans withdrew from the Middle East the region has never achieved stability. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 has led to further instability. Moreover, Israel policy of settling the Jews of the world here has caused a water shortage as the population has increased. Having seized control of all the water basins, the Jews have begun to deprive the Arabs of their water sources.

### **Dreams of Greater Syria and Greater Israel**

The Israeli and Syrian dreams of a Greater Israel and Greater Syria respectively are another important aspect. It is said that over the door of the Israeli parliament building is an inscription declaring that the Promised Land stretches from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris in the north to the Nile in the south. Likewise, Israel's first prime minister, Ben Gurion, declared, "The map of Palestine which we now hold was drawn by the British. But the Jewish nation has another map, on which our frontiers stretch from the Nile to the source of the Euphrates. This goal will be realized by future generations."

In Syria, maps showing the Turkish province of Hatay as part of Syria are to be seen on the walls of every school and every government office. Everyone travelling in Syria comes across these maps. Diplomacy is supposed to act according to the principle that, "States have neither eternal enemies nor eternal friends, but only interests." However, we should not ignore all these historic incidents when discussing the Middle East peace initiated by the United States, when negotiating over water, and when making promises.

### **Conclusion**

The Water for Peace Project suddenly emerged in the mid-1980s, and recently insistence that Turkey sell water to the Middle East via pipelines has been stepped up. The US-Turkey Joint Economic Committee has decided to raise the credit limit for this project from two billion to five billion dollars.



Among the latest efforts to place the issue on the international platform is the activities of World Watch, which in order to realize its declared principle of Equitable Apportionment is seeking to place all the water reserves, water pipelines and dams in the Middle East under a single administration. To this end it is organizing and financing water projects in the region on humanitarian grounds.

### **Hope in Maintaining Reason**

Despite these storms over water created on the international platform and in certain quarters in Turkey, it is consoling to see some signs of reason. Speaking at the conference on water resources held in Ankara on 5-7 October 1993, Minister of State Mehmet Gölhan declared that Turkey might be facing serious water shortages within the next twenty years, and that Turkey was not obliged to meet the water needs of its neighbours. He pointed out that water is one of the underlying causes of disagreements between countries, as well as a vehicle of international cooperation and peace. He said that for a country to be regarded as water-rich, the annual water supply per capita had to be over 10,000 cubic metres, whereas in Turkey this figure was 3000 cubic metres, and would fall to 2000 cubic metres in the year 2010.

Another incident took place in Israel in November 1993, when the first visit by a Turkish foreign minister to that country received wide coverage. When Simon Peres said, "Turkey has everything, and what is most important, it has plenty of water," Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin responded that Turkey wished to contribute to peace and stability in the Middle East, but that its water resources were not inexhaustible.

### **The Geographic Aspect of National Power**

The national power of a country consists of various aspects, including its geographical, sociocultural, economic and military power, yet geographical factors are fundamental to all of them. Every concession on the subject of water is a geographical concession. No one can guarantee that even the best intentioned commercial water projects will not give rise to claims of vested interests in the future, or that Turkey will not be confronted by an Israeli-Jewish alliance. We are obliged to act with extreme caution where our water resources are concerned. Henry Kis-

singer, architect of the Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel, in 1979 persuaded President Sedat of Egypt to allow 1% of the waters of the Nile to be piped into the Negev desert in Israel (the Nile-Gaza Project). This sparked off protests in Egypt, forcing the government to back down over the issue. Suspicions still remain that Camp David was at the root of the assassination of Sedat.

It is to be hoped that our politicians maintain a sensible course and keep their distance from "visionary" schemes. This is not an issue of day-to-day policy but a state matter. We must recognize the necessity of examining every feasibility study presented to us not only in technical, economic and financial terms, but also in their political and strategic implications. In addition Turkey needs to appoint a single authority responsible for water and coordinating water related activities. The existence of several different authorities rather than a single united voice is a serious obstacle.

The West, which for centuries denied the Jews access to its cities, condemning them to living in walled ghettos, has given Israel land and is now attempting to protect its protege. Its motivation is to control the Middle East, which possesses 66% of the world's oil reserves, through Israel. So as to secure the water resources which Israel has seized, and to win the good will of the Arabs for the sake of their oil, the West has set its sights on Turkey's geography.

Although Syria bears a grudge against Israel, it nonetheless sees this as an opportunity to sign an agreement with Turkey on the subject of water, and gain international endorsement. In short, it wishes to confirm its claim to Turkey's water. Iraq is sure to follow suit. Turkey's existing and future water and electricity needs, and expectations regarding future agricultural production are the foremost factor in determining our policies and strategies. At the same time we must look objectively and rationally at the difficulties facing our neighbours, carefully examine the new balances forming in the world and the Middle East, and devise effective policies to prevent the formation of opposition fronts against Turkey.

# WATER DISPUTES IN MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES

by

M. Recai KUTAN\*

Countries of the Middle East-particularly, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Palestine, Israel and the United Arab Emirates are suffering a severe shortage of water. This shortage has led to disputes over water among the countries in this region. In the near future, these disputes may assume an even larger scale.

Less troubled by the water question in the Middle East are Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. One consequence is that those countries lacking a sufficient supply of water are eyeing the other four whose water needs are satisfied by their own resources.

The country whose position is best vis-à-vis water is Turkey. Very high mountains extend over the eastern, northeastern and southeastern portions of Turkey. These mountainous regions pose a number of serious difficulties for Turkey in terms of communications, transport, settlement and other infrastructural services and land usage. On the positive side, they furnish a supply of water. The troublesome nature of the mountainous region is fairly offset by this gift of water.

Some countries of the Middle East are requesting water from Turkey. Correct evaluation by Turkey of these demands depends, first of all, on determining through study of its water resources whether the country is rich or poor in terms of water.

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## How Water Rich is Turkey?

Turkey has an average annual precipitation composed of 501 billion cubic meters of rain, snow and hail. When this amount is divided by the area of Turkey -779, 500 square kilometers- the annual average comes to 643 mm.

Extreme fluctuation is exhibited from year to year and from region to region. In times of drought, precipitation may drop to half this amount. Extremes are also exhibited; for instance, the Eastern Black sea region has an average annual precipitation of 2.000 mm per year while that of Southeastern Anatolia totals less than 300 mm.

Of the total amount of precipitation, 186 billion cubic meters joins the flow of rivers and streams, leaving only 95 billion cubic meters available for use. This accessible water is exploited for drinking, both residential and industrial purposes, irrigation and hydroelectric energy production.

## Land Resources in Turkey

The total amount of arable land in Turkey comes to 28 million hectares, of which 25 million hectares is suitable for irrigation. Under today's economic conditions, the currently accessible portion of this irrigable land is 8.5 million hectares. Of this total area, 4.1 million hectares are under irrigation, either privately by local inhabitants or by irrigation systems constructed by the state.

The water needs of land whose irrigation is economically feasible can be calculated as follows:  $8.5 \text{ million hectares} \times 10.000 \text{ m}^3/\text{ha} = 8.5 \text{ billion m}^3 \text{ hectares}$ .

The 8.5 million hectares of land irrigable under today's economic conditions may be augmented by at least 20 % more land through advances in technological and economic conditions in the near future. Moreover, the prices of agricultural products for a growing population may increase by at least 30-40 %. In that case, land which today is uneconomical to irrigate may become economical tomorrow.

The increase in the number of irrigable hectares can be demonstrated, thus:  $8.5 \text{ million hectares} \times 1.20 = 10.2 \text{ million hectares}$ . The water needed for this amount of land may be represented in this way:  $10.2 \text{ million hectares} \times 10.000 \text{ m}^3/\text{ha} = 102 \text{ billion m}^3 \text{ water}$ .

The population of Turkey is projected to rise to 80 million in the near future. Water use by a population of that size under normal living standards would add up to 300/lt/day/per capita; whereas the annual need for potable and residential use water can be shown, thus; 80 million  $\times$  0.300 m<sup>3</sup>/day  $\times$  365=8.8 billion m<sup>3</sup> water.

If we estimate the growing need for water by industry as 2 billion m<sup>3</sup>/year, we have a grand annual total of water need calculated, thus:

Irrigation.....	102.0 billion m <sup>3</sup>
Drinking and normal water use...	8.8 billion m <sup>3</sup>
Industrial use.....	2.0 billion m <sup>3</sup>
	112.8 billion m <sup>3</sup> water

Though normal annual precipitation supplies 95 billion cubic meters of water, the demand for water far exceeds the existing water supply. The river regime in Turkey is unregulated, and in periods of drought rivers are unable to supply even half the demand.

In consequence, this forces us to conclude that  
**Turkey is a water-poor country.**

Comparing the total annual average water potential of Turkey (186 cubic meters) with the flow of the Danube river alone (206 billion cubic meters) into the Black sea, we find a difference of 20 billion cubic meters.

Demand for water from Turkey comes from two different sources:

**Request for Water from the Euphrates River by Syria and Iraq**

The Euphrates river, which originates in Eastern Anatolia, flows through Syria and Iraq and, after joining with the Tigris river, empties into the Persian gulf. Turkey has several other rivers that are of interest to other countries: The Tigris, Asi, Maras, Meritsa and Arda rivers. The Aras river forms a frontier with the Federation of Russia. According to international law, waters that constitute borders between two countries are to be divided equally between the two parties. As a result, rivers possessing this status give no occasion for dispute.

The remaining rivers on the list, however, originate in one country, cross one or more boundaries and, finally, empty into the sea. Rivers that involve our southern neighbors are the Euphrates, Tigris and Asi.

The Asi river originates in Syria, crosses the Syro-Turkish frontier and after entering Turkey flows into the Mediterranean. Because the Asi river originates in Syria, its water is used by Syria for its own needs; and in summer the Asi river bed in Turkish territory is nearly dry.

This means that Syria and Iraq should negotiate not only the Euphrates and Tigris rivers but also the Asi river.

The Euphrates, an unpredictable river, exhibits great variation from year to year and season to season in its water volume.

In times of flood, it expends up to 7,000 cubic meters per second, but in some years it falls to as low as 120 cubic meters per second.

The Keban, Karakaya and Atatürk dams were constructed in an attempt to control the water regime of the Euphrates and billions of dollars were invested. None of the neighboring countries have contributed anything towards this investment.

Thanks to these investments, both Syria and, particularly, Iraq are relieved from the danger of flooding and may obtain a regulated water supply available in years of drought.

The average annual water potential of the Euphrates river in the vicinity of Baghdad is 32 billion cubic meters. Ninety per cent of this potential is supplied by Turkey.

The Tigris river originates in Turkey and enters Iraqi territory after forming a frontier in the provincial district of Silopi for Turkey, Syria and Iraq. After the waters of the Great Zap and Little Zap and Little Zap rivers. Both originating in Turkey, enter Iraq, they follow the main bed of the Tigris. Coming from Iran, the Diyala river also joins the main arm of the Tigris within Iraqi borders.

The yearly water potential of the Tigris river in the environs of Baghdad is 42.2 billion cubic meters, fortyfive per cent of which comes from Turkey.

The possibility of Turkey benefitting from the Tigris river is quite restricted, because the land to be irrigated by this catchment area is in the upper basin. The size of the Tigris river in the upper basin, however,

is quite small. The main tributaries that feed the Tigris are the Batman, Botan and Garzan rivers in the lower basin. Syria also benefits very little from the Tigris river. Eighty per cent of the Tigris river water is used by Iraq.

The amount of land to be irrigated in the Euphrates and Tigris river basins is as follows (in hectares):

Iraq.....	4 million
Turkey .....	1.662.000
Syria.....	397.000
Total Hectares of Land :.....	6.059.000

Available Water Supply (in cubic meters) :

Euphrates river.....	32 billion
Tigris river .....	42.2 billion
Total Cubic Meters : .....	74.2 billion

The amount of water available per hectare can be calculated, thus: 74.2 billion cubic meters divided by 6.059 million hectares=12.200 cubic meters per hectare. This means that sufficient water savings produced by the use of modern irrigation methods will enable all three countries to benefit from the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers.

At present, Turkey provides water by the Euphrates river to its southern neighbors at a rate of 500 cubic meters per second. In other words, Turkey supplies to its neighbors more than half of the potential of the Euphrates in Turkey. By contrast, Syria provides less than 30 % of the water of the Asi river to Turkey.

*International law on water rights* contains no clear ruling concerning the division of water that enters the territory of another country by crossing a frontier. It merely instructs that "water will be divided according to the principles of equity and justice", which leaves room for subjective interpretation.

The principles of equity and justice vary according to the power of the country; looking at the U.S. and Mexico, for example, Mexico receives only a very small share in the division of the waters of the Colorado and Rio Grande rivers, which originate in the U.S.

## **Diversion of Turkey's Water Supply to Her Southern Neighbors**

In the course of peace talks on the Middle East, the issue of water resources in the region was as much a source of dispute as the Muslim land occupied by Israel.

When Muslim countries outside of Palestine were included in the Middle East peace negotiations that began in 1991, contentions over water resources composed the greatest obstacle to reaching a positive conclusion. Israel was charged with using more than its fair share of the scarce water resources, which it had obtained by occupying territories with both surface and subterranean water resources. For this reason, the general consensus was that so long as no agreement could be reached regarding water, no peace treaty would be signed.

The first negotiations over water resources among Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria go back to the 1950's. U.S. President Eisenhower had the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) make a feasibility study in 1953 for the sharing of water from the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers. No agreement was reached among these countries, however.

As will be recollected, Israel occupied Golan Heights in Syria and the West Bank in Jordan in 1967. The main reason for this occupation was not simply to gain possession of the land, but also their water resources.

Similarly, following this occupation Israel obtained control of the Jordan river basin and the subterranean waters of the West Bank.

Israel thus secures two-thirds of its water supply from the Jordan river and its tributary the Yarmuk river and one third from underground water supplies.

Nevertheless, Israel is experiencing a drastic shortage of water. Currently, Israel uses annually 1.750 billion cubic meters of water.

Its population is now 5.4 million; by the year 2000 around two million Jews from Russia will have also settled in Israel.

Dividing the water consumed by the population at present, we have a per capita water use of 888 liters per day.

The per capita consumption of water in Israel is roughly five times that of its neighbors.



Because of Israel's approximately 15-20 % rate of excessive pumping of the water wells, the underground water table has dropped to an abnormal level, and a significant proportion of the shallow wells have dried up. The deeper wells have acquired a dangerous level of salinity.

The sea of Galilee which meets one-third of Israel's water needs is at its lowest level in 60 years.

Despite this degree of water shortage, Israel still intends to provide a homeland for Jews from Russia and other countries.

Seventy-five per cent of the 1.750 billion cubic meters of water used annually in Israel is allocated to agriculture. The agricultural sector represents only 5 % of the GNP. Moreover, to what extent, based on world standards, these agricultural projects are economic is a debatable question.

The reply received by a Turkish engineer from an Israeli minister when asked whether or not irrigation made possible by hundreds of kilometers of pipeline and pumps was economic was, "We are establishing a home state. The economy of establishing a state is closed to debate."

The following conclusion may be derived on the basis of the information given above: No valid reason exists for the inhabitants of Israel to be suffering any shortage of water for drinking and normal use. If the portion of water set aside for agriculture were reduced from % 75 to 40 %, no difficulties would be encountered in supplying sufficient potable and ordinary-use water.

Annual water consumption in Jordan is around 500 million cubic meters. The current water shortage comes from intervention by Israel in the Jordan river and its tributary the Yarmuk river.

An increase in population will correspondingly increase the level of water shortage. After the Persian Gulf War, due to the exile of the Palestinians from Kuwait and the Gulf Emirates to Jordan, the population of Jordan exhibited a sudden spurt of nearly 12 %.

In the negotiations, Syrian made peace conditional on the return of the Golan Heights to Syria; the Palestinians also made the return of the West Bank a condition. Israel, however, felt it was impossible to accord with these demands.

A report by an Israeli research center states its views on this matter. "Israel is compelled to protect at any cost the water resources in its current possession. Concession might be granted only in exchange for a definite political advantage. Moreover, water supplied to the country by a foreign source must under guarantee for its delivery."

Prof. Shuval from Jerusalem Hebrew University, who participated a few months ago in three-day conference in Ankara organized under the auspices of Hacettepe University and the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which Bülent Ecevit characterized a few months ago as an "agent organization", made the following statement:

"Countries in the region that in terms of water are the most untrobbled are Turkey, Syria and Lebanon. Accordingly, these three countries should provide assistance to countries that are face to face with the problem of water shortage."

Six alternative projects prepared by Israeli water experts with the goal of eliminating the water shortage in Israel and the region are summarized below:

1) Diversion of much more surplus water from the Yarmuk river in Syria to Jordan, Palestine and Israel.

The Yarmuk river forms a border between Jordan and Syria and between Israel and Jordan. But Syria, which is the source country of the Yarmuk river and its tributaries, is constructing 22 small dams. Sixty per cent of the drinking water of Israel and 75 % of that of Jordan are met by this river. Yet, Syria avoids debating the water problem on international platforms and rejects mutual conciliation.

2) Purchasing Water from the Litani River of Lebanon

Over the next 25-30 years, Lebanon is not expected to be subject to a water crisis. Lebanon, however, declines to sell its water to Israel in exchange for hard currency. Underlying this unwillingness is Lebanon's fear that in 25-30 years time when it experiences a water shortage Israel will, by various ploys, seize control of the Litani river.

3) Turkey as a Supplier of Water Overland to the Region

Two different alternatives have been put forward for this proposal. The first and smaller in scale is the "Peace Water project", which would provide water to Israel and Palestine overland through Syria.

The second is a water exchange project. Turkey would give Syria excess water from the Euphrates, and in exchange Syria would supply Israel with more water from the Yarmuk river. Israel prefers the second project. Pressure is expected to be exerted on Turkey in this regard. One indication is that at the Ankara Water Conference, the Englishman Michael Lake, European Community Ambassador to Turkey, reminded Turkey that the EC would give six billion dollars for the water project and stressed the necessity of Turkey's assistance in resolving the water problem as a prerequisite for our membership in the EC.

4) A pipeline from the Nile river to Gaza Strip to deliver 100 million cubic meters of water. Egypt is not in favor of this project.

5) Transport of water from the Manavgat river by tanker or small plastic balloons across the Mediterranean to Israel.

The cost to Israel of such a project would be 60-70 cents per cubic meter of water.

6) Desalination of Sea Water

The cost of desalinization would come to \$1-\$1.5 cubic meter of water.

One portion of these alternatives are related to Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. But these three countries are very determined in their unwillingness to enter any negotiations concerning water resources.

By contrast, Turkey is extraordinarily open to negotiation about its own water resources on international platforms and even defends certain projects inspired from abroad. On the present agenda are two such projects, the Peace Water project to supply more water to Syria from the Euphrates and the other, the Water Export Project from the Manavgat River. Description of these projects is summarized below:

### **The Peace Water Project**

On a visit to the U.S. in February 1987, the late Turguz Özal, then prime minister, unveiled the Peace Water project, revealing that Turkey itself had prepared the project he was now proposing.

This project had, however, already been scrutinized by the American firm of Brown and Root in 1980. As projected by this scheme, some surplus portion of the water of the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers used in irrigation and hydroelectric energy production was to be transported by concrete pipeline to countries with a water shortage in the Middle East.

The average annual water potential of the Seyhan river is 8.01 billion cubic meters; that of the Ceyhan river is 7.18 billion cubic meters for a total of 15.19 billion cubic meters.

At present, a portion of the river waters of the Seyhan and Ceyhan flow into the Mediterranean, except in years of drought.

After 1987, the firm of Brown and Root was commissioned to prepare a technical and economic feasibility report on the project. Since all pertinent decisions were made behind closed doors, it has somehow been impossible to learn which public agency originated this project and which agency gave the contract to the firm of Brown and Root. Neither the State Water Works (SWW) nor the State Planning Organization (SPO), which are responsible for all studies, projects, construction and administrative services concerning water resources in Turkey, possess any other than general information about the project.

Two pipelines are to be built in conjunction with this project.

### **The Western Pipeline**

Three and a half million cubic meters of water per day will be pumped to Turkey's southern neighbors by a concrete pipeline, measuring 3-4 meters in diameter, over a distance of 2,700 kilometers. The project will be carried out in two stages.

Stage 1: Water to be supplied to Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus and Amman and vicinity.

Stage 2: Water to be delivered to Tebuk, Medine, Yanbu, Mecca and Jidda.

A total population of 8-9 million will be served by this pipeline. The cost of the project is estimated at 8.5 billion dollars. One cubic meter of water will cost \$ . 84.

### **The Persian Gulf Pipeline**

Water to be given to Kuwait; Damman?; Kubar?; Hofuf, Saudi Arabia; Manamah, Bahrain; Qatar, and Abu Dhabi and Dubai of the United Arab Emirates.

Two and a half million cubic meters of water per day will be pumped through a concrete pipeline over a distance of 3,900 kilometers; this will supply water to a population of 5.5-6 million.

The cost of the project is set a 12.5 billion dollars. One cubic meter of water is to cost \$ 1.07.

We would like to highlight a few aspects regarding this project.

1) Though no information has been provided to the Turkish Parliament or the public; most likely the project is being executed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2) Israel is noticeably absent among the countries listed to benefit from this project. Yet, records of the American institutes and universities associated with the project indicate Israel as the primary recipient. Moreover, negotiations have been under way in recent months to provide water to Israel, along with the construction of scale models of the Peace Water project.

3) Not all Islamic countries are in favor of this project. The Middle East Summit on Water that was to have been held in Istanbul in November 1991 had to be canceled because of a boycott by Islamic countries. Similarly, not one Islamic country-including Syria and Iraq-participated in a conference held in Ankara a few months ago titled "Water as a Component of Economic Development and Cooperation in the Middle East."

4) In preparing this project, Turkey's future needs were not taken into consideration. In fact, insufficient research has been conducted to learn whether or not the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers can even furnish water in excess of our current needs.

The total water potential attributed to the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers of 15.2 billion cubic meters per year is an average of the water flow over 50-60 years. The annual water potential, however, displays vast fluctuation from year to year, and in periods of drought falls to less than half this potential. For instance, the average annual water potential of the Ceyhan river is 7.18 billion cubic meters. Records of the Aslantaş flow observation station indicate that 2.6 billion cubic meters in 1973 and 3.3 billion cubic meters in 1974 issued from the Ceyhan river, whereas in 1990 the flow totaled 4.0 billion cubic meters. These figures demonstrate that in drought years it is quite difficult to find water to satisfy even the demands of Çukurova. Dam reservoirs that would supply a constant average flow by regulation of the water from the rainy and drought years on the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers are also inadequate.

## **The Manavgat Project**

In a rather old report by Joyce R. Star, one of the administrators of Jewish extraction of the U.S. Strategic Studies Institute, mention is made of the fact that Israel was negotiating with private Turkish firms to import water from Turkey by flexible balloons or tankers.

Sometime later it was announced that a contract for a project relating to Manavgat was let for bidding by the SWW.

As we know, the Oymapınar and Manavgat dams are on the Manavgat river.

According to the project contract that was let, water would be pumped to Yamaç by a pumping station to be constructed at the entrance to the Manavgat dam.

Of the amount of water pumped every day, 250,000 cubic meters of water would be made potable at the Yamaç purification station, and 500,000 cubic meters of unprocessed water per day would be stored at Yamaç. Both the purified and unprocessed water totaling 750,000 cubic meters per day would be conveyed to terminal facilities constructed by the seaside; at that point, tankers or plastic balloons would be filled. This water would satisfy the water needs for both drinking and normal use of population of about two million.

The contract for the project was 90 million dollars. According to a preliminary study, the cost of one cubic meter of water for Israel would be 60-70 cents.

No information could be obtained regarding who conducted the feasibility study. The main specifications of the project were given to SWW, which drew up a project based on the study and let the contract for bidding. The financing of the project was provided by the Public Participation Administration (PPA).

Normally, prior to making an investment of the magnitude of 90 million dollars, the following points should have been clarified and comprised a stipulation in the contract.

- 1) The contract should have identified to which country and at what price water would be supplied;
- 2) The country or countries that would purchase the needed water should have undertaken the financing of the investment.

No information could be obtained either from SWW or PPA on the subject of whether or not these were part of the contracted project. And, just as with the Peace Water project, neither the Turkish Grand National Assembly nor the public have been informed about the project.

The water shortage in Middle Eastern countries and how and with what formula this shortage will be alleviated is a matter of interest not only to the countries in the region. Those who keep tabs on Turkey's water resources include other countries besides those of the Middle East: The United States, Germany, England, EC and even China are meddling in this affair. In no other region in the world have there been water sources or water disputes of sufficient interest to any state-other than the state or states concerned-to stick their nose in.

Sometime ago, the fourth round of multilateral water negotiations under the Middle East Peace conference was held in Beijing.

### **Why are Middle Eastern Water Resources on the Agendas of the West?**

The Euphrates, the Tigris, Jordan and Nile rivers do not fall into the category of international waters. Further, the Middle is not the only region where water shortages are apparent. Nonetheless, it is a good idea to pause and seriously consider the reasons why these rivers and this region maintain their currency on the international agenda.

For one thing, Western nations want a powerful Israel in the Middle East-one whose weight is sufficient unto itself and a perceptible presence in the Middle East. That is why Israel was founded and fostered by these same nations and with their immense contributions of political, military and financial support. Israel's water problem must therefore be resolved, because two million more Jews are to come from Russia for an even greater reinforcement of Israel's strength.

The Middle East is the possessor of the greatest petroleum reserves in the world. At present, 17 countries world wide have a petroleum reserve of more than 5 billion barrels. According to 1911 figures, the total petroleum reserves in the world are calculated to comprise 964 billion barrels. Of this 64.5 %, or 622 billion barrels, are located in eight Middle Eastern countries. As indicated by the assertion of the former

English prime minister Winston Churchill that "A drop of petroleum has more value than a drop of blood", the Western world assigns critical importance to petroleum resources. Hence, Western imperialist countries are presenting, scene by scene, a real-life scenario they have readied for the Middle East.

The outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war and on its heels the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and the Persian Gulf action were all part and parcel of this scenario. By this means, the U.S. and other Westerners have obtained control of the entire stock of petroleum in the Middle East.

Western countries are currently working to spread the idea that water is a resource of much greater value than that of petroleum. In the U.S., the price of a pound of summer tomatoes ranges between 50 cents and \$ 1.46; that is, a kilogram would come to \$ 10-\$ 3.22. By contrast, gasoline that is, first, taken out of the ground, then refined, transported by ship, distributed by tank and, finally, sold at gas stations in the U.S. for \$1-\$1.25 per gallon or around 27-33 cents per liter. In short, potatoes, onions, tomatoes and bottled water available in supermarkets each cost more petroleum. The price of tomatoes, for instance, is almost four times as high.

We see that very clear evidence exists for exploitation in petroleum. And to permanently sustain this exploitation, securing peace terms satisfactory to both Israel and the Arab countries in the region is imperative. As noted in the first part of our talk, the biggest hindrance in 1991 to concluding the peace talks that included Palestine and the other Islamic countries in the region, which had been initiated under Western pressure, was the dispute over water. The reason was that Israel, which essentially has scarce water resources, had become a consumer of water five times as great per capita as its neighbors; this was achieved through seizure of water resources by military occupation of the land that contains the resources. That is why, until agreement is attained on the subject of water, no positive effect can ensue from the peace treaty.

As a result, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are contemplating the importation of water to meet their needs. Since Israel is in the position of being an invader in regard to land and water, Turkey's water resources are being considered as an instrument to appease those parties dissatisfied with the Middle East Peace treaty.



This explains why U.S. universities and institutes schedule at least four or five conferences a year on the water resources of Turkey and the water shortage in the Middle East. The driving force behind these meetings is usually individuals who are either Jews themselves or who lobby for Israel.

### Conclusion

Turkey, in the course of the search for a resolution for the water shortage in the Middle East by means of Turkish water resources, is compelled to bear these points in mind:

1) Turkey is a country whose population is rapidly growing. As its population, agriculture and industry increase, the need for water also increases. This means that calculations should not be made on the basis of today's needs, but on the basis of projected needs for 50-60 years from now.

2) Turkey is not a rich country in terms of water potential. A water deficit exists in relation to the present land potential in Central and Western Anatolia. It would undoubtedly be more appropriate to allocate a portion of our water to our drought stricken regions than to other countries.

3) Examining feasibility and utilization studies of projects based on today's technology and economic position means ignoring future conditions. Technical and economic conditions subject to change in the near future may thrust a great many projects that today seem impossible into the implementation stage.

4) Today all countries are attempting to protect their water resources in the most fastidious manner. Tremendous water scarcity and shortfalls may arise due to the earth's warming trend and resulting droughts and pollution. In this context, it becomes a question not of whether one ought to give water to another country but whether one can even supply different areas contained within the domestic borders. In the U.S., even though according to current conditions more water exists than is needed, water from the Columbia river in the states of Washington and Oregon is not transferred to the nearby states of California and Arizona which are suffering water shortages. No sensible reason can be found to explain why, when the administration of the U.S. is

incapable of having water supplied by one of its own states to another one, the U.S. should be so interested in the disposition of Turkey's water resources.

5) Our national interest is not served by involving ourselves in negotiations with Israel, the U.S. and other Western countries on one valuable resources like water; recognizing their right to an opinion on this topic; and even Turkey's undertaking itself the organization of international conferences. Alongstanding dispute continues between the United States and Mexico over the waters of the Colorado and Rio de Grande rivers. Would the U.S. give its permission for any other nation to air this dispute on an international platform?

6) Humanitarian aims fail to account for the excessive interest shown by the U.S. and Western countries in this subject. The stance taken by these same countries in the face of the inhuman cruelties being executed today in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Azerbaijan, Palestine and Kashmir clearly exposes that what makes them act is not human concern but their own interest.

7) No one can claim that the people of Israel are suffering a shortage of drinking water. If Israel would reduce by half the roughly 70 % of the water allocated for agriculture, which represents only 5 % of the GNP, Israel citizens would suffer no water shortage at all.

8) The position that we should supply water to Israel with the stipulation that the agreement be null and void in case our need arises, so as to procure a good deal of income in exchange is in error. As we have already alluded, Lebanon which will experience no need of the water of Litani river for some 25-30 years hence is unwilling to provide water to Israel. It fears to possibility of Israel's seizing control of the Litani river by various subterfuges.

Syria and Egypt also fail to respond to any proposal for negotiations concerning water resources.

This situation makes it impossible to reconcile Turkey's national interest with its submitting its own water resources to negotiation on the international platform. The occasional water summits and conferences relating to the Middle East are essentially aimed at the provision of Israel's short and long-term water needs.

Turkey has developed no "national strategy" or "national target" on any subject, including water. Turkey has no national policy or strategy developed through discussion and debate by the Grand National Assembly and the public and based on thorough studies of the water problem. Unfortunately, the authorities are keeping the public in the dark about these very important subjects from the public and disguising the reality of the situation.

When one recalls that years ago, one Israel prime minister stated that "Turkey lies within Israel's sphere of interest"; that on the entrance to the Israeli parliament building, it says "From the Nile to the Euphrates"; and that Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Shimon Perez remarked at meetings held in Turkey that "water is a common good of humanity" and "water-rich Turkey is obliged to give water to Israel" and "if necessary we'll go to war over water", one wishes to urge great caution in the conduct of Turkey's relations with Israel, so as not to harm our national interest.



# THE WATER PROBLEM AND WATER PROJECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

by

Dr. İ Ertan YÜLEK\*

Though water covers three-quarters of the earth, available water resources represent only 2.6 % of the total water resources. Twenty per cent of all the sweet water resources on the earth is contained in Lake Baykal in Siberia.

An alternative can be found for every natural product with the exception of water. Currently, a shortage is in effect for the drinking water of 1.3 billion people and the water for ordinary use of 1.7 billion people. The rapid exhaustion of water resources, which are in any case in short supply, is caused by rapid population growth, unchecked and unplanned urbanization, our wasteful use of water and the greenhouse effect produced by the widening of the hole in the ozone layer and a rise in the temperature.

A glance at the water map shows that certain regions are more fortunate than others. For instance, someone living in North America, the greater portion of Europe and Northern Asia uses seven times as much water as someone living in the Middle East, Africa and South America.

Two hundred fourteen main water sources exist on the surface of the earth. The use of one hundred fifty-five is shared by two countries, and that of 59 others is divided among three or more countries. In many parts of the world disputes and crises have arisen over the sharing of river water, including Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam over the Mekong river; Brazil and Argentina over the Panama river; and Tunisia and Libya over the Medyarda river.

The Middle East, of course, must not be overlooked in this context. A number of people have predicted that war break out over water in the Middle East in the future; or opportunists intimate that war is in

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\* Engineer.

the offering to maintain the status quo by the West in its division of the petroleum-rich spoils of the Middle East. Water has become an instrument to gain this end.

### **The Main Water Basins in the Middle East**

Four main water arteries nourish the Middle East:

- 1) The Nile river, whose use is shared by Egypt and other neighboring North African countries;
- 2) The Jordan divided among Israel, Jordan and Syria;
- 3) The Asi river shared by Lebanon, Syria and Turkey;
- 4) The Euphrates and Tigris rivers, which have been the cause of disputes among Turkey, Syria and Iraq.

Let me first immediately point out that a blatant double standard is in effect concerning the Asi river of Syria. Syria continually demands a share of the Euphrates river, yet it never opens to discussion the subject of the Asi river. In fact, Syria never permits debate over the fact that in summer the water of the Asi river is completely cut off.

A genuine water shortage exists in the Middle East. Alternative sources to alleviate this scarcity are the following:

- Transport icebergs;
- Desalinate sea water;
- Utilize subterranean water;
- Expand the use area of the Nile river (transport water by pipeline to the Gaza Strip and Negev desert);
- Run surplus water from the Karun river of Iran under the Persian gulf to the Saudi Arabian peninsula;
- Transport surplus water from Tigris to other Arab countries;
- Transport water from Turkey by tankers or plastic balloons; and, finally,
- Deliver by pipeline a portion of the water-called Peace Water-from the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers to the Middle East.

First, I would like to talk about the Manavgat river project. Israel, in particular, and a number of other Middle Eastern countries are waiting for the completion of the Manavgat river water project, which

was not even part of the State Water Works (SWW) program and which is being conducted under the direction of the Public Participation Administration (PPA). This project is being financed by PPA and actually began in August 1992. Completion is expected in 1994.

Two hundred fifty cubic meters per day of water from the Manavgat river will undergo purification; in addition, 500 cubic meters per day of unprocessed water, both of which will be forwarded by two separate pipelines ten kilometers in length. From the seashore the water will be run to two floating platforms, 1,300 square meters in area, where the water will be sold and taken away by tankers of giant plastic balloons. The project will cost 50 million dollars. Mr. Gidon Zari, the permanent undersecretary for water of Israel, has indicated that the cost of transporting the water by balloon will be 30 cents and that by tanker will be \$1.

In my opinion, a need for this water exists in Istanbul, the touristic facilities in the Mediterranean and the Aegean, Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic and the water-deficient Aegean Islands as much as in the Middle East.

Now, let us look at the Peace Water project. When I was assistant permanent undersecretary in the State Planning Organization (SPO) in 1986, Sait Turan Güngen, my close friend and "older brother," telephoned and recommended that I meet with an American friend of his named Dr. Ahmed Aly Asadt (Erzurumî). I met with Dr. Asadt, who at that time was 65-70 years old, the son of a man who had been sent to Sarajevo from Erzurum as a soldier 150 years ago. He had been born in Bosnia and completed several master degrees; after World War II and the communist oppression, he fled to the U.S. Suffering the painful loss of his wife and daughter in a traffic accident, he felt a desire to be of service to Turkey, the land of his forefathers. He had now come to Turkey to request Turkish citizenship. He was a person who had devoted much work to water projects around the world and in the Middle East.

He was the first person to mention to me the name of the project "Peace Water", which would deliver water by pipeline from Seyhan and Seyhan rivers to the Middle East. At that time I explained the matter to Yusuf Özal, who was a permanent undersecretary. Making a rough and ready calculation, it appeared to be an uneconomical venture

since the cost would be more than \$1 per cubic meter of water. I sent this person afterwards to meet with the late Adnan Kahveci. Kahveci was at that time the chief advisor to the late president Turgut Özal. He became interested in the project and informed Özal. This clears up the background of the project, which became known to the public as the Peace Water project. For this, I wish to thank the Intellectual Corps (*Aydınlar Ocağı*).

Before I go on, I should like to clarify one point. Recai Kutan has personally told me that the preliminary studies for this project were conducted in secret at the beginning of the 1980's by the U.S. firm of Brown and Root Engineering and Construction International. He himself is present. The subsequent feasibility study for the Peace Water project was also executed by this firm.

One portion of the 39 million cubic meter daily flow of the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers is used domestically and one part empties into the Mediterranean sea. The Peace Water project originated with the President, who was serving as prime minister at the time, with the thought of utilizing this surplus water capacity by supplying the Saudi Arabian peninsula. It was projected that 23 million cubic meters of the 39 million cubic meters of the water would be used domestically and that through the Peace Water project six million cubic meters daily could be piped to other countries.

### **Preliminary Feasibility Studies of the Project**

Preliminary feasibility studies for the project began in 1986. Brown and Root Engineering and Construction international firm, which is experienced in the international field of preliminary feasibility studies, carried out the studies with the contribution of our related agencies.

In these studies, the routing, topographical conditions, pumping stations, energy powerhouses, the technological and economic factors and the construction specifications were indicated, and the conclusion was reached that it was a workable project. Moreover, it was evident that the water from the dam was of a size and volume that could be completely regulated by dams in the basin of both the rivers, which were in various stages-in operation, under construction and medium-term construction plan; that the water to be taken from near the source



was of good quality; that this region was generally covered with forest and that the density of the residential area was 6 per 1.000, making environmental pollution nearly nonexistent.

### **The Route of the Water Pipeline**

On the basis of the results of the preliminary feasibility studies carried out by Brown and Root with the participation of our agencies, the Peace Water pipelines were to follow two main routes:

a) The water in the western pipeline would total 3.5 million cubic meters per day in the lower Seyhan river basin: It was projected to start in the vicinity of Adana and pass through Islahiye and Kilis, from where it would extend to Syria; it would continue over Jordan to Yanbu, Medine, Mecca and Jidda in Saudia Arabia. The distance covered by this pipeline would be approximately 2.700 kilometers. All along the pipeline would be located pumping and powerhoues stations.

b) The Persian Gulf pipeline would transport the waters of the Ceyhan river from the Aslantaş dam lower basin, again flow through Kilis and, after crossing Syria and Jordan, one branch would head east by the way of the former petroleum pipeline (Transarabian pipeline), continue to Kuwait and then to Bahreyn, Qatar and United Arab Emirates. The length of this line would be 3,900 kilometers, through which 2.5 million cubic meters of water would flow per day.

In the early planning stages of the Peace Water project, it was projected that the pipeline would cross occupied Arab territory. But the reaction expressed by Arab countries by which they informed Turkey that they would not accept the project if it would pass through the aforementioned lands, so that that part of the route of the pipeline was eliminated from the plan. The present situation in the region is not conducive to the joint participation of Arab countries and Irael in this kind of project. In case conditions change in the future, possibl, Israel could benefit from this project.

### **Cost of the Project**

The cost was estimated to cost about 21 billion dollars with 8.5 (now 10 billion) dollars for the West pipeline and 12 (now 15) billion dollars for the Persian Gulf pipeline. On this basis, the average cost of one

cubic meter of water for the West Pipeline was calculated to be \$.84 and for the Persian Gulf pipeline \$1.07.

The technical data in the preliminary feasibility study was obtained by an hypothetical estimate of amount of water to be distributed to the residential centers on route, the current usage and the population factor. Definite figures will have to wait for the results of a feasibility study.

A great portion of the pipelines will be constructed of concrete pipes 4 meters in diameter, each 7.5 meters long.

Firm data can only be obtained by a detailed feasibility study. It is estimated that the feasibility study will take a year and the construction ten years.

### **Identification of the Countries Involved in the Project**

The Study Group founded to introduce the Peace Water Pipeline project to the countries involved visited Syria and Jordan on 25-27 February 1988 and Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman on 18-27 March 1988 and furnished comprehensive information about the project. Interest was shown in the project by the respective countries. The presentation was made to Saudi Arabian officials at the Joint Economic Commission meeting held in Antalya in December 1988.

Most of the countries involved in the project expressed general interest; some countries-Saudi Arabia in particular, which has likely made very great investments in desalinization facilities-assumed a cold and indifferend stance caused by anxiety at being dependent on outsiders for such a vital element as water.

### **The Political Meaning of the Project**

Turkey holds the view that the project will, above all, contribute to political stability in teh Middle East. This project to benefit nine countries would constitute an element requiring permanent cooperation among the countries involved. It is assumed that once the project it realized, none of te countries involved would adopt a stance that would disrupt a cooperation providing this many multilateral benefits. That is why the name Peace Pipeline was given to the project.

## The Present Situation

Since the Peace Water project has emerged, despite the elapse of time and the interest expressed on occasion by relevant circles, Turkey has been the subject of certain false claims. Turkey has been accused of trying to establish a political hegemony in the region and primarily intending to supply water to Israel. On the other hand, the signs of interest issuing from the countries to which this project is addressed have been unable to attain the level and comprehensiveness that will allow for the possibility of advancing to the stage of realization. In this circumstance, so long as no definite willingness or demand arises, insistence is of no avail, and the policy now being followed consists in letting the concerned bodies know that going forward in this matter depends on their position.

The origins of EC can be discovered in the European Coal Steel Union. The way to construct EC and the West European Union (WEU), which military and statesmen had been unable to build, was investigated by means of several sectoral unions of an infrastructural character and the EEC came into being. Sometime later, these states who had long carried war knives became so dependent on each other that EC and WEU were founded, events which could never have been imagined sixty years earlier. I therefore do not see why these kinds of projects could not also be the foundation of an Islamic Union in the Middle East.



# TURKEY, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEIR WATER PROBLEM

by

Yaşar YAKIŞ\*

Before I begin, I would like to express my thanks to the officers of Intellectual Corps (*Aydınlar Ocağı*) for granting me the privilege of addressing this distinguished group. Second, I would like to congratulate them for having selected such an important current event as the theme of discussion.

Since there are much more authoritative speakers than I who can provide information about the technical aspects of water, the subject of the talk I wish to present has been somewhat narrowed. I wish to particularly dwell on the Euphrates river, because the subject of the Euphrates includes, in one sense, the other rivers.

I would like to begin my remarks by noting an important difference between the perspectives of Syria and Iraq and that of Turkey on the subject of water: When the subject of water in the Middle East is on the agenda-particularly the water of the rivers that originate in Turkey-it is always introduced by emphasizing the disagreements on this issue. In the press of Arab countries, whenever an article, a piece of broadcast news or commentary mentions the name of the Euphrates river, an effort is made to demonstrate that Turkey is trying to shut off the Arab's water off that Turkey is trying to seize control of that water.

Statements that water will be the cause of wars in the future in the Middle East, sometimes imply that, if no solution is found to satisfy the high expectations held by our southern neighbors, this will cause war to break out in the region. In one respect, these articles and news pieces that nearly arouse the reader to declare war awaken the suspicion that the hidden intent was to ask, "I wonder if I can use water as an excuse for this war?"

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First of all, let us examine whether Turkey is seizing water that belongs to others. Let us look at the international legal position and implementation in this area.

As is known three important sources for international law are: Treaties, customary law and the general principles of law.

What is the situation in regard to the Euphrates river?

No treaty exists dealing with the Euphrates river alone between Turkey and the countries of Syria and Iraq who share in the mouth of the Euphrates.

The treaty signed with Iraq in 1946 called Friendship and Good Neighborliness contains an article that indirectly touches on the Euphrates. But this article is not on the quantity of water provided by the river, but directs Turkey to supply timely information to Iraq concerning the danger of flooding.

A statement occurs in a protocol on a variety of subjects signed between Turkey and Syria in 1987 stating that Turkey will provide Syria with 500 cubic meters of water per second.

This sentence occurs in the context of the stage of filling the reservoir of the Ataturk dam; Turkey wished to indicate that this would not deprive Syria and Iraq of a steady flow of water and as a gesture of friendship this was limited to 500 cubic meters. Because of the large size of the reservoirs in Turkey, 500 cubic meters per second could be continued to be supplied even in periods when violent droughts were in force. First of all, if Turkey had not constructed the dams on the Euphrates river, which both Syria and Iraq strongly opposed, it would not have been possible to furnish 500 cubic meters of water per second in periods of drought. Furthermore, vast agricultural lands would be threatened by spring floods with submersion.

Turkey for this reason expects to be appreciated for the benefits it has secured for its neighbors through every dam built on the Euphrates and recognition that these dams are another means of cooperation.

Now, I would like to proceed to the multilateral sources of international law. No international treaty or agreement newly signed or ready to be signed exists concerning this matter. But, quite intense codification work is in the process of being executed within the UN Legal Commission. The Commission has been compiling a series of section articles

titled "Statutes on Non-transport Use of international Water Ways". After their discussion is completed in the mechanism of the UN organization, efforts will be made to regularize them as agreements that will be made binding on those countries who approve them. In other words, Turkey, currently, has no obligation to ward Iraq and Syria based on multilateral agreements.

As for decisions by referees, which are an auxiliary source for international law, no decision has been delivered that is directly related to the Euphrates river or that precisely conforms to the demands of the countries on the Euphrates.

The situation is the same for customary law, a second resource. Customary law, as you know, constitutes the whole body of practices found in a number of countries and instances of their application recognized by law. Since each of the examples were proposed for the resolution of problems that arose in very different circumstances, however, it makes it impossible both to speak of a customary law on this subject that is recognized internationally on this subject and find an example that is identical with the situation on the Euphrates.

According to the legal position as I have outlined it here, no contractual obligation exists for Turkey to furnish a certain amount of water for countries along the banks of the Euphrates river. Charges that Turkey is appropriating water belong to the Arabs must be viewed as a provocation by certain circles to widen the gap between Turkey's relations with her Arab neighbors.

Though the legal situation stands thus-that is, Turkey has no contractual obligation-Turkey on its own initiative, because it believed appropriate, proposed cooperation with Syria and Iraq for the "fair usage of water." A significant difference in approach exists, however, between Turkey and these two countries: Each of the three countries have arrived at different figures for the water usage potential and each of the three countries interprets differently the concept of "fair usage."

Let us first look at the subject of quantity of water that can be used. The use potential of water by countries in the region displays great differences in the figures given by various writers. Calculation methods vary and the lack of sound information in the primary sources accounts for these differences, which is understandable.

The figures on which there is general consensus are the following:

**Water Quantity per person in Selected Countries Water  
Quantity (in annual cubic meters)**

Country	Years	
	1993	2020
Water-rich countries	10,000 +	8,000 +
Turkey*	1,890	980
Iraq*	2,110	950
Syria*	1,420	780
Israel**	300	150
Jordan**	250	90
Palestine**	100	40

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**Source:**

\*SWW

\*\* "Water as an element of cooperation and development in the Middle East." Paper delivered by Israeli Prof. Hillel Shuval at Hacettepe University Naumann Foundation Conference.

One of the important realities put forward by this picture is that Iraq is the richest nation in the region from the perspective of water potential. The second point is that Turkey is the possessor of a little more usable water potential than the other countries in the region, with the exception of Iraq. But, compared with water-rich nations in the world, Turkey's potential is at a ratio of five to one-small.

Third-and perhaps the most important point-is that the region is very deficient in water.

There is no need to explain when using this scarce resource we should try to obtain the maximum benefit from every drop of water. Maximum benefit is possible by such coordinated practices as the utilization of highly productive irrigation techniques; grading of soil quality; and determination of the product fabric that will give the highest return to that soil and in that climate.

Otherwise, we confront the danger of wastage of the water potential, which is essentially scarce in the region, by haphazard usage and the failure to consider whether or not it is productive. This is where the



concept of "fair use" found in customary law appears before us. What, exactly, is fair use? Is there a common definition of fair use applicable to all rivers? Or, is it necessary to clarify, one by one, in every special situation what is "fair use"? Turkey claims that in order for fair usage to bear the same meaning in all three countries it must be based on objective standards. In other words, to be capable of specifying how much water should be assigned to each country, Turkey is of the opinion that common criteria for comparison must be found. Turkey has proposed a plan to Syria and Iraq for the development of such common criteria. This proposal, which is known in the literature rilitin to water as the "Three-Stage Plan" can be summarized, thus:

First, the usable water potential for each of the countries must be determined. A common base for this calculation will have to be sought. It is likely that each country will attack the problem in a different fashion.

Then, each of the countries must indicate the land to be irrigated; in order to form an objective comparative basis, the land must be divided into classes. (Irrigation literature assumes such a classification as a base.) Thus, what must be kept in mind is not simply the surface area of irrigable land, but its category and magnitude.

At the third stage, the existing water potential must be assigned in a "fair" manner among the three countries.

Turkey believes it is imperative that these determinations be carried out to be able to make a "fair" assignment.

In response to the "Three-step Plan" proposed by Turkey, Syria and Iraq are raising objections about the conduct of comparative research on water in the region and contend it is necessary that the figures of need the countries put forward be respected in the same sense as if it were a political decision.

I leave it to you to consider how difficult it will be for Turkey to explain to the public a method this unscientific.

Despite the lack of positive response Turkey has received to its proposal of cooperation to Syria and Iraq, Turkey will continue, unti-rignly, to explain to its neighbors the importance and value of this cooperation.

I may conclude here the comments I wished to make directly concerning the Euphrates river.

Now I would like to turn to the Tigris river for a moment. But rather than present detailed information about the Tigris river, I wish to speak about the Tigris in relation to the Euphrates.

Both the Euphrate and the Tigris naturally form a single water basin. and because the same three states (Turkey Syria and Iraq) share the same rivers, Turkey has repeatedly suggested to its southern neighbors that they might seriously consider the two rivers as a single basin. According to this approach, after the three co-sharers of the rivers indicate their water needs according to objective standards, the total volume of the flow of the rivers of 87 billion cubic meters of water will be divided among the three countries on an equitable basis. If the total flow of one of the rivers is inadequate in meeting their needs, this may be resolved by apportioning more water from the other one.

Unfortunately, Turkey has had no positive response to these constructive approach.

Though Iraq has opposed the view that the two rivers should be thought of as one, by having a canal built itself to join the Euphrates to the Tigris river basin, Iraq has, in fact, put into practice in its own country the approach proposed by Turkey.

A similar proposal was made to Syria. The Tigris river forms a border between Turkey and Syria for a strip of 30-40 kilometers between the city of Cizre and where the Hezil river joins the Tigris. Turkey proposed to Syria that they the building of a dam over this part of the Tigris, so that a portion of the waters from the dam could be used in the irrigation of the Habur catchment area in Syria.

Syria has given no positive reply to this proposal, which represents a sizeable economic advantage for itself.

While waiting for a response to its proposals for cooperation, Turkey has had to remain content with addressing itself to learning the amount of water that would be requested as an allocation to themselves.

The parties who will be hurt by the failure to establish a meaningful dialog over this matter are the other two countries who share the banks of the same rivers with Turkey. Nevertheless, Turkey continues at pre-

sent to consider it a neighborly duty to extend them an open invitation for cooperation.

Before concluding my remarks on the subject of waters that cross national borders, I would like to touch on a few subjects indirectly related to these rivers.

One of these is the Peace Water project.

This project is intended to pump 2.2 billion cubic meters of water annually from the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers to eight countries in the Middle East by two parallel pipelines. These lines would follow the same route from Çukurova to Homs in Syria, but from Homs the western line would go down to Jidda in the western portion of the Arabian peninsula; the eastern line would after it entered Saudi Arabian territory from Jordan head east and deliver water to, in order, Kuwait, Bahrain, Doha the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

Because certain Arab countries look less than favorably on the project, Turkey has shelved it for the time being.

Some segments of the Turkish public support the Peace Water project and some oppose it. In the view of those who are against it because they are of the belief that Turkey is not a water rich country, a reliance must not be created on a vital matter like water by supplying water to these countries. True, they concede, currently the water that would be given is water that would have flowed into the sea. But, in the future, when full use is made by Turkey of its entire water potential and water has become in short supply, it will be difficult to cease giving water.

Those who support Peace Water concur with this view: A pipeline has an economic life of 20-25 years. In other words, it will be necessary in 25 years to renew the project. At that juncture, if water is unavailable, the project would not be renewed; hence, the project would naturally terminate. Moreover, twenty-five years from now, advances achieved in irrigation techniques may perhaps create the possibility of saving as much water as is required by the project. Thus, rather than try to predict what will happen 25 years from now, a more pragmatic approach would be to look at the revenue that Turkey would earn in exchange for this water, which would relieve the water shortage of the eight countries in the region for 25 years.

Turkey is aware of the genuine necessity of both of these two approaches, and if the project comes on the agenda, a decision will be made on the basis of conditions at that time.

When the Peace Water pipeline lost its currency as an issue, this time another project with the name Peace Canal emerged in academic circles outside of Turkey. This was projected to carry by pipeline 1.1 billion cubic meters of water from the Atatürk dam or the Aslantaş dam on the Ceyhan river to Golan Heights. The reason it is called the Peace Canal is as follows:

The water to be carried by pipeline will flow to a canal a total of 750 meters wide, made up of sections each four or five meters in length, starting from a distance of 60 kilometers from Golan Heights. By constructing the canal in such a way that armored vehicles are unable to cross the canal, it will at the same time assume a defensive purpose and increase security between Syria and Israel. The proposal includes provision for a compensation to Turkey in return for the water that it will supply. Turkey may utilize the said compensation to increase the effectiveness of irrigation techniques in the region, which would result in the capacity to irrigate a larger area with the same volume of water.

This project is not Turkey's project, and it has not been officially proposed to Turkey. But, the idea that Turkey would receive compensation in return for the water that furnished from the Euphrates has received expression for the first time in this proposal.

Now I would like to speak briefly about the Manavgat project. This project intends to take annually 180 million cubic meters of water from the Manavgat river and sell this water on the Mediterranean sea by filling large plastic bags or tankers belonging to any interested purchasers. Sixty per cent of the construction work on the mainland was finished at the end of 1993. Completion is expected of the construction work on the mainland by the end of 1994 and that of the work on the sea by the end of 1995. A submarine pipeline of 300 meters is to be laid; feasibility studies for the filling installation at the termination point of this pipe for the tankers or plastic sacks is at the bidding stage. The project is financed by the Public Participation Administration. The technical aspects are the responsibility of State Water Works (SWW).

A special feature of this project is that it is subject to no long-term constraints regarding purchasers. SWW will sell, according to the prevailing market conditions, to whichever customer it chooses. SWW may sell water to Israel and Libia. Or, the customers may be the municipalities Kaş and Bodrum.

I have summarized my views regarding a few current topics related, directly and indirectly, to the Euphrates river in te Middle East region.

Now, we may once again pose the question of whether war will erupt in the Middle East over water.

The soundest answer to such a question is this; If any country in the region decides to make war, it is totally unnecessary to look for an excuse like water.

# ARGUMENTS ON ETHNIC ORIGIN AND ETHNICITY

by

Prof. Dr. Mustafa E. ERKAL\*

In the present issue ethnicity gained widespread importance due to the decline of some ideologies. Intense considerations took place in several countries in regard to ethnicity.

Ethnicity or an ethnic group marks a common heritage sharing culturally and distinctively from the cultural perspective<sup>\*\*</sup>. Ethnic group is a group of people sharing an identity which arises from a collective sense of a distinctive cultural position. Ethnic groups possess their own culture, customs, norms, beliefs and traditions. If we mention an ethnic group that means the style of life (culture) of that ethnic group differs from the rest or from the dominant group totally in every aspect of culture. Ethnicity is often used in relation to groups assumed racial identity in a wrong way. In broad sense ethnic characteristics differ from racial characteristics in that they are learned and transmitted across generations throughout socialization. Racial characteristics on the other hand is indexed biologically and transmitted genetically<sup>\*\*\*</sup>. Even though the two are conceptually different, unfortunately they are often linked. Ethnicity can more easily be changed than the distinctive physical characteristics of race.

Much of sociological interest in ethnicity has derived from the study of processes associated with immigration and the persistence of cultural distinctiveness among immigrants and ethnic groups. Turkish workers abroad or the Turkish oriented population in the host European Countries are accepted as ethnic groups in the cultural plurality of those societies<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>.

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\*\* Haralambos, M., *Sociology, New Directions*, Oxford 1992, pp. 56

\*\*\* Goodman, N., *Introduction to Sociology*, New York 1992, pp. 142

\*\*\*\* *Ethnic and Community Relations in Europe*, European Council, The Hague 1991.

Because culture is a complex whole involving various elements, it can not only be attributed to mother tongue. Culture of an ethnic group must differ from the dominant culture in every aspect. Sociologists have pointed out that because different populations have cooperated and married and had children for thousands of years without disappearing or evaporating the Turkish dominant culture in Anatolia, formed the Turkish nation on cultural basis following Selçukian and Ottoman times. Presently in Turkey 91 % of the Turkish population has the Turkish language as a mother tongue. There are some other local mother tongues such as Kurdish, Circassian, Georgian, Albanian, Greek, Jewish and Armenian. On the prospect of religion 98.6 % of the population is Muslem. In an article written by Prof. Dr. Orhan Türkdoğan titled "Ethnic Structure of Anatolia", also gives us an idea about the ethnical scene in Turkey.

Our minorities (religious) to some extend because of sharing the same culture, feeling of belonging to the same society, fully participation in social and economical life are named as Turkish Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. It is hard to assume that there is remarkable cultural distinction from the rest of the society beyond the religion. As it is widely confirmed the term nation itself can not be attributed to biological arguments. Nation is deeply concerned with cultural unity, cultural participation and feeling of belonging to to the same ideals, value-judgements, symbols and mores. Different cultural identification needs remarkable signs of different religion, mother tongue, literature, architecture, music, folkways, mores and etc... National identity is based on the unity of the individuals and social groups with the society in which they live. National identity is a cultural umbrella above the subcultural differentiations and ethnic groups.

From the cultural point of view, Turkey is a quiet homogenous country and it is not built out equal ethnic groups having different cultures. That cultural position is also confirmed by a research made on ethnic groups in Turkey by, P. A. Andrews (Tubingen, Wiesbaden 1989) distinguishing that some of the groups are not fully ethnical and they do not indicate a single identity .

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\* Andrews, Peter A., Türkiye'de Etnik Gruplar, İstanbul 1992, sh. 253

Ethnic or cultural plurality is not an indicator of social progress or civilization. In some cases if a society is multicultural and not homogenous in order to create a meaningful unified society multi-ethnicity is a source of strength. But if a society is mostly homogenous and it is characterised by a major national cultural group, to force that society to be named as multi-cultural may create the source of conflict instead of strength as in the Turkish case.

On the other hand, in Turkey, discriminative terrorist organization does not represent a singular ethnicity and it is not supported by the people widely according to the several researches made on South Eastern Anatolia. So there is no evidence to compare the similarities of PKK with IRA or ETA which are the political reflections of different ethnicities and intensively supported in Ireland and in Spain. In Turkey, discriminative terrorist movement has not arisen from the ethnic basis or arguments. Ethnicity has not been a problematic field in Turkish social structure since the Ottoman times. Tolerance towards the different religions has not existed any polarization. Discriminative terror in Turkey is against to every one regardless of ethnical origin.



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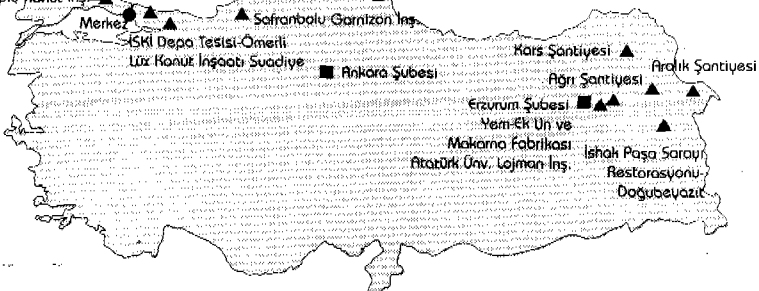
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