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**POST-COLONIAL APPROACH TO
TRANSBOUNDARY WATER CONFLICT
BETWEEN UZBEKISTAN AND TAJIKISTAN**

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ÖZ

ÖZBEKİSTAN VE TACİKİSTAN ARASINDA SINIRAŞAN SU ÇATIŞMASINA POSTKOLONYAL YAKLAŞIM

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Bu tez, Sovyetler Birliği'nin merkezi olarak yönetilen su kontrol sisteminin ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasının Özbekistan ile Tacikistan arasında yaşanan su ile ilgili sorunlarına etkisini incelemektedir. Ceyhun ve Seyhun nehirlerinin kullanımdan dolayı, Özbekistan ve Tacikistan arasında sorunlar oluşmuştur. Tacikistan Rogun Barajını Ceyhun Nehri üzerine inşa etmek istemiş ve Seyhun Nehrini Hucend-Kayrakum ile kontrol etmeye çalışmıştır fakat bu politikalar Özbekistan hükümeti tarafından tepki almış ve güvensizlik oluşmuştur. Tacikistan'ın girişimleri Özbekistan tarafından eleştirilmiştir, çünkü Özbekistan'ın sulama için suya ihtiyacı varken, Tacikistan Seyhun ve Ceyhun Nehirlerini enerji için kontrol etmek istemiştir. Kısacası, Tacikistan ve Özbekistan suyu farklı amaçla kullanmak istedikleri için, aralarındaki sorunun daha da büyümesine sebep olmuştur. Bu tez, bu bölgede suyu geleneksel olmayan bir güvenlik tehdidi olarak inceleyerek, Özbekistan ve Tacikistan arasındaki sınır ötesi su anlaşmazlığının Sovyet sömürge uygulamaları yüzünden olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Post kolonyal yaklaşım, Su çatışması, Rogun Barajı, Hucend-Kayrakum, Ceyhun Nehri, Seyhun Nehri

ABSTRACT

POST-COLONIAL APPROACH TO TRANSBOUNDARY WATER CONFLICT BETWEEN UZBEKISTAN AND TAJIKISTAN

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This thesis examines the water-related problems that took place between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan when the centrally managed water control system broke down with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The problems between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are analyzed in terms of the two transboundary waters of Amu Darya and Syr Darya. Tajikistan wanted to build the Rogun Dam on the Amu Darya and tried to control the Syr Darya with Khujand-Kayrakum, but these policies were not welcomed by Uzbekistan and caused insecurity. Tajikistan's attempts have been criticized by Uzbekistan because Uzbekistan need water for irrigation and Tajikistan's aim for controlling Amu Darya and Syr Darya was energy. This thesis, by examining water as an unconventional security threat in the region, argues that transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is because of Soviet colonial practices.

Keywords: Water dispute, Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum, Amu Darya, Syr Darya

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Fatma Betül ÇELTİK

İzmir, 2020

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “POST-COLONIAL APPROACH TO TRANSBOUNDARY WATER CONFLICT BETWEEN UZBEKISTAN AND TAJIKISTAN” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Fatıma Betül ÇELTİK

Signature

.....

Temmuz 8, 2020

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMS	: Automated Management Systems.
ASSR	: Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics.
BCE	: Before Current Era.
BVO	: Basin Water Organizations.
CAR	: Central Asian Republics.
CFA	: Cooperative Framework Agreement.
EU	: European Union.
HPP	: Hydropower Plants.
ICG	: International Crisis Group.
ICWC	: Interstate Commission for Water Coordination.
IMF	: International Monetary Fund.
IMU	: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.
IPE	: International Political Economy.
IR	: International Relations.
LHWP	: Lesotho Highlands Water Project.
RHPP	: Rogun Hydropower Plant Project.
SADC	: Southern African Development Community.
SSR	: Soviet Socialist Republics.
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
UNEP	: United Nations Environment Programme.
WP	: Working Paper.
WW2	: World War Two.



Chapter 1

1. Introduction

After the dissolution of Soviet Union, in central Asia new states emerged. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are two states which emerged after the Soviet dissolution. Fergana valley, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), terrorism and transboundary water dispute started to be a dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan after 1991. Problems happened in Fergana valley during 2002, Uzbekistan spread mines to the border, and over 50 people died (ICG Asia Report N° 33,2002: 12). This thesis will be about the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and will be explained with postcolonial perspectives.

One of the important policies which Soviet Union used in central Asia was transboundary water. According to Stuart Horsman (2018:88) this policy was important because with transboundary water policy Soviet Union made central Asian countries dependent to each other. Soviet Union used Amu Darya and Syr Darya in central Asia, to continue its power over there and with these dependencies it made central Asian countries enemies of each other, says Horsman (2018:88).

According to Laura L. Adams, (2008:3), Amu Darya and Syr Darya are one of the important rivers in central Asia and central Asia is water dependent continent. That's why having control over these rivers are one of the important things in central Asia. Adams (2008:3), made a connection between colonialism and transboundary water dispute, between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. For Adams (2008:5), the main reason for having transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is Soviet colonial practices. She continues with saying that, cotton was an important product for Soviet Union, for cotton water was necessity. So having control over water means having control over cotton says, Adams (2008:5).

Colonialism in Soviet Union, was defined in a different way, according to Adams (2008:3), these policies which made from Soviet Union for modernizing central Asian Muslim population during 1920s and 30 were similar with the policies which made by British and the French. Adams continues with saying that, colonialism for Europe was to bring development, or develop the countries which

were less developed compared to Europe. According to Adams, (2008:6), Soviet Union colonised these countries to gain power there and to have more powerful economy. So Soviet Union's aim was not having powerful central Asian countries, but to have powerful Soviet Union, according to Adams.

Soviet Union's aim was having a cultural domination over colonies. Soviet Union made policies to colonies so they will forget their own history or culture and after that Soviet Union will build a new culture for them to rule them easily. This is one of the important reasons why I choose to study on Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. During Soviet Union time, Moscow used this strategy over Tajik people very well. For example, according to Zubaidullo Ubaidulloev (2015:83), Samarqand and Bukhara, the great Tajik cities, and important for the Tajik culture and history were given to Uzbekistan because of Soviet Union in 1924. For Tajik history, Bukhara and Samarqand were important, but Soviet Union draw the boundaries so these two important cities stayed by Uzbek side (Mack, Surina, 2005: 44,45).

In Uzbek part, it was not that easy to accept those Tajik people because for them at that time to be Uzbek was important. So this led these two countries having disputes such as transboundary water, because rivers were passing from those places and because of boundaries drawn by the Soviet Union, it was not easy to control and manage those rivers. According to Ubaidulloev (2015:83), during 1924 the Soviet government decided to draw new borders in central Asia, Soviet Union ignored historically established boundaries and destroyed traditional features. This is similar to how European colonial powers divided and ruled African territories because of their interests. Only this example is similar with European colonies policies.

After the dissolution of Soviet Union, the most important thing was the re birth of the new central Asian countries. Unfortunately, not many scholars conduct research on how Russia had negative impact on these countries during nation building process, to protect own (Russian) foreign policy and have the ability to continue like the most powerful state in that region, with using identity and border conflicts. Soviet Union colonized therefore shaping transboundary water dispute and it is the objective of this thesis to show how Soviet colonialism shaped water dispute and this led Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to have transboundary water dispute.

The most important thing in this part is, central Asian republics were being effectuated by Soviet Union. Until 1920s the five new republics of central Asia - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were not existed like distinct entities. They were not prepared when Soviet Union announced the dissolution in 1991. According to Michael Denison (2003:58), central Asian people did not have experience of formal statehood in the modern era. Before the Tsarist Russian and Soviet Union time, central Asia was home to mountain nomads and sedentary farmers, after that, khanates and clan authorities were ruling central Asia.

The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union in late 1991 reveal the colonial side of Soviet Union. Importance of this study is to show, because of Soviet colonial practices, after the dissolution of Soviet Union there emerged transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

According to Mehrdad Haghayeghi (1995), “The territory of central Asia has one of the longest recorded histories of human settlement and has been both the subject of countless occupation and been home to different at different times”. Although it has a long history, in central Asia, we cannot see powerful countries or clear division of nationalities, because all central Asian countries were under the rule of Soviet Union, they could not decide or draw their way without the Soviet Union.

During Soviet Union time, and after the dissolution of Soviet Union, those central Asian countries were like colonies of Soviet Union. For example, boundaries of those central Asian countries were drawn by Soviet Union and those boundaries were kept after the Soviet Union dissolved. The original contribution of this thesis is to make a connection between colonialism and transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan with a specific focus on the cases of Khujand- Kayrakum and Rogun Dam.

Furthermore, this study adds to the knowledge of international relations by exploring a specific case of post-colonial statehood and sovereignty. This study helps to understand, how Soviet colonialism was and how these colonial policies form to post-colonial disputes.

1.1. Research question

This thesis main subject is the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This topic is explained with the help of post-colonial theory. So main question of the thesis is, “What were the effects of Soviet colonial on the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?”

During finding answer to the main question, sub-questions of the thesis are:

1. How can we apply post-colonial theory to the water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?
2. Was the Soviet Union a colonial power?
3. When did the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan start?
4. What is the link between the case of Rogun Dam and Soviet colonialism?
5. What is the link between the case of, Khujand-Kayrakum and Soviet colonialism?

1.2. Case selection

The first time when both states first emerged on the world map was the time they have been connected to each other. Actually the two states' borders were created during 1924-1929 by Soviet Union, therefore Uzbekistan and Tajikistan owe their current borders to Soviet Union. According to Olivier Roy (2000), at the beginning they were a single unit under Soviet Union and Tajik were under the rule of Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). In the year of 1929, Soviet Union announced that Tajik status of “Soviet socialist” and gave Khujand-Kayrakum to Tajik part, which formerly belonged to Uzbekistan. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the historically important cities for Tajik part, Samarqand and Bukhara, which were dominant with Persian population stayed in Uzbek SRR side says, Roy (2000). So

these new borders of these two states was one of the main reasons to having border problems after the dissolution of Soviet Union. During the year of 1976, Rogun Dam, which was the other dispute started construction. Khujand- Kayrakum was important for Syr Darya and Rogun Dam was important for Amu Darya river.

I chose to study on Tajikistan and Uzbekistan because of Rogun Dam and Khujand- Kayrakum. They had dispute because of Soviet Union, these disputes were Rogun Dam and Khujand-Kayrakum. In short, Soviet colonialism transformed their disputes into more complex disputes and situations. To study these cases, “illustrative case study” will guide this thesis. According to Michael C. Jackson (1991:215) “Illustrative case studies are descriptive studies”. Illustrative case study is, to show an existing event with the help of one or two samples of events. So to show Soviet colonial effects on transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, this case study will be used.

For central Asian countries, gaining their independence was not a result of nationalist struggles. Unlike many other nationalist movements all around world, the leaders of central Asian republics worked with Gorbachev and act according to Gorbachevs decisions says, Serhii Ploky (2015). According to Ploky (2015), when the central Asian countries see the other countries started to have their independence, they would not to have a lesser state from the other countries. In another words, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan did not do anything for gaining their independence, it just happened to them says, Ploky (2015).

In central Asia, dispute over transboundary water between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is the one of the important one which explained the Soviet colonial practices. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan suits to this thesis during explaining the effects of Soviet colonial practices over transboundary water dispute

1.3. Resources, Methods and Theory

This part presents theoretical frameworks and will introduce the methodological approach. In this part, meaning and the concept of resources is briefly introduced. Afterwards, post-colonialism as a theory will be presented. Lastly the method part will be discussed.

Studies using postcolonial approach are based on archival materials, contemporary documents and qualitative studies. The sources for the data collection for those articles were newspapers, electronic and printed journals, relevant books, and other published works. Also, relevant reports of organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and United Nations. Articles conducted interviews with officials in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Water Sector, the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP), African government officials in ministries in each of the riparian states, specifically the Republics of South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. In Sebastian (2008)'s work, there were interviews with scholars, researchers, and government officials from the respective Orange and Okavango basin-states during the 2000 World Water Forum at The Hague. Some articles used observation and get information through these observations.

In this thesis, WB and UN reports are used. The purpose of using these reports were, these reports are based on considerable analytical work and serious research. These resources are important for understanding water management in the region. For these resources, they are pretended confidential by this thesis, because they give information independently. WB and UN reports are used in the literature review part to show how the transboundary water dispute all around the world is.

Another resource for this study is, speeches of leaders and historical newspapers. Leaders speeches can help in this study to show or make more easy to understand the environment at that time. For leader's speeches I am going to use translated versions from articles which are related with my topic. It is hard to find TV records from that times. Articles which used speeches of leaders will be useful in this thesis. So in this thesis leader's speeches are going to use to support that there is a transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and the reason will be explained with post-colonial theory. The time period for the leader speeches will be, after the collapse of Soviet Union. As said before, after the dissolution, the leaders of new emerging countries were mainly Russian side, although they gain their independence political elites and leaders were still under the sway of Russia (Isaacs R., Polese A., 2015:372). Because one of the aim of this study's is see post-colonial effects on shaping transboundary water dispute over Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and with the speeches it will be easier to see how the area or environment

at that time was. Sholami Dinar (2003:9), contains a good example for the use of leader speeches to support post-colonial theory. Generally, scholars who used post-colonial theory to explain the transboundary water dispute all around world, use this theory to show the effects of colonies after they left these territories/countries. This is again a good example for this thesis because, this thesis aims to show what happened when Soviet Union collapsed with the management of transboundary waters in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

This thesis contains primary data as well. I am going to use primary data because during my trip to Uzbekistan I had the opportunity to interview Uzbekistan Nation University academicians. According to Janet Buttolph Johnson, H. T. Reynolds, Jason D. Mycoff (2015: 247), primary data are recorded and used by the researcher who is making the observations. Compare to primary data, secondary data are data used by a researcher that were not personally collected by that researcher. So as mentioned above, because of my interview and because of data which I did not collect by myself, I will use primary and secondary data. In this thesis mainly secondary data will be used. The main reason using secondary data is, not all Soviet Union's archives' for central Asia accessible. Another important point which is related with this thesis is interviews. I used these interviews by checking the information which I got from UN and WB reports. I compared the information which I got from interview and information' which are from UN, WB. After that, decided to use information's which I got from interview. I used freedom House variables both for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Method of this thesis will be case study. Case study method, have different subheading which are different from each other. They are, least likely, least and most similar cases studies. From Bennett's and Elman's (200:170) article we can understand that, case study methods are important for international relations studies, or according to John Odell (2004:56), "case study methods have dominated the study of IPE (international political economy) over the last three decades". Generally, most of us think that, case study, is to understand or interpret events or historical cases. In some points its true, but we have to make the differences that a case study is not an observation or is not just trying to understand dated events. In case study, we

try to find similar cases and try to make connection between these cases and find a conclusion.

As mentioned above “Illustrative Case Study” will be used in this study. Illustrative case studies are descriptive, to describe an event or situation, one or the similar events can be used. In other words, with one or two similar events, a situation can be described (Jackson, 1991:215). To show Soviet colonial practices illustrative case study will be used. This fits to during showing how Rogun Dam and Khujand- Kayrakum cases have a linkage with Soviet colonial practices.

Another analysis method will be counterfactual analysis. Counterfactual analysis will be during explaining the relations between Soviet colonial practices and its outcomes over transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. According to George Steinmetz (2014:423), rather than looking for a general theory of a case, counterfactual approach argues that events can be explained like, many reasons are coming together at the same time. So, this thesis defends that, because of Soviet colonial practices, transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan occur. In short, Counterfactual analysis is a type of method which explains events for many reasons. For example, Soviet Union is one of the causes of this transboundary water dispute, the other causes are, needs of water and energy. Example from this thesis is, there is a transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because of the practices which were made by Soviet Union. Counterfactual analysis provides scenarios depicting possible alternative past¹.

Scholars which used post-colonial theory to explain transboundary water dispute all around the world used primary and secondary sources to support their ideas. They used historical resources which are evidence to the facts. Scholars used historical events in a chronological form and show these sources as supporting data for their articles. This guide me to use historical events in a chronological form and

¹ In counterfactual analysis, there is a X and there is a Y. X is the cause and Y is the result. The counterfactual analysis explains what happened to Y, if X is changed or removed. There is not only one reason, so there are different X's and different X's can be the reason for having different Y's (results). In this thesis, the result is transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Causes are, Soviet colonial practices, the need for water and energy. If there were no Soviet colonial practices, there would not have transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Hendrickson, N. (2012). Retrieved May 5, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/41477704

support my thesis. In this thesis I use document analysis as well. Choosing 'document analysis' as research method can have several positive side: it helps the researcher to reach "inaccessible persons or subjects" (Cohen et. al.2008:201). Documents in public area are prepared by professionals and contain very important information and insights (Cohen, et. al. 2008:201). These documents have highest accessibility and are very cost effective. For this study, document analysis was chosen because document analysis gives an opportunity to study information which are gathered by group professionals and these documents are very easy to access. For example, reports prepared by different international organizations and these types of reports are very useful for this research and are online available. Furthermore, if these documents were prepared for state or international purposes they were more reliable.

Another important point in this study is to define why to use the term dispute instead conflict during explaining the transboundary water issue between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. According to Douglas H. Yarn (1999:115), "Disputes are short-term disagreements that are relatively easy to resolve and conflicts which are not easy to solve, long-term and non-negotiable issues". Yarn continues with saying that, disputes are events whose results can be seen in the future and that have solution, in the future as well. On the other hand, conflict is something that occurs at that time and have be reason to have problem for a specific time. Generally, disputes are the sub-sections of conflicts. A conflict occurs if its continues in the future, if has affects in the future it is dispute says, Yarn (1999:115).

1.4. Outline of the thesis

As mentioned above, there were one main research question and 5 sub- questions. This study could find answers to all questions which were mentioned above. Main research question was; What were the Soviet colonial approaches to the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan? To answer this question my sub- questions guided me during finding resources. Firstly, this thesis proves that, Soviet Union as a colonial power. To prove this, I searched colonial literature and compare the other colonial powers policies with Soviet Union ' s colonial policies. So I came with, post-colonial theory could be used in this study. To show the effects on Soviet colonial practices to transboundary water dispute between

Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, I used post-colonial literature. At the end there show up two case studies which is related with this transboundary water dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. They are, the case of Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum case. These two case studies were the key points during answering my research question. Both cases became a transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because of Soviet colonial practices and both cases could explain with post-colonial theory as well. As I mentioned above, sub-questions of this thesis were like a guide finding answer to main question. They help to find firstly, to apply post-colonial theory to the water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and is Soviet Union a colonial power, if it is so, compared to the other colonial powers are there similarities or not. After finding the similarities are there other examples in the world for the transboundary water dispute and are we able to answer them with post-colonial theory.

This thesis has five main chapters and it proceeds as following; After the Introduction, in the second chapter, the roots of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's water dispute will be described. In the second chapter, the water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan will be revealed. The historical evolution of the two countries in relation to the water dispute discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter is about theory and the literature on and transboundary water dispute. This chapter will clarify, post-colonial theory has an impact on transboundary water dispute. Examples of post-colonialism's impacts on transboundary water dispute on different countries will be discussed in this chapter. In the fourth chapter, Soviet colonial practices on transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are discussed. In this chapter, the focus will be on the Rogun Dam and Khujand-Kayrakum that creates tension between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The last chapter will be the Conclusion Chapter where the main findings on the topic will be discussed, I will make an overall summary with discussing all parts.

Chapter 2

The Roots of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's Water Dispute

As mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, there are conflicts between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because of Soviet colonial practices. Such as Fergana valley, Islamic movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and narcotics trafficking. The main topic of this thesis is, dispute over transboundary waters between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This part of my thesis is about the root of transboundary water dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Questions which will be answered in this part are, “how was Uzbekistan and Tajikistan relations during Tsarist Russia?”, “did Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have water dispute in the Tsarist period?”, “how was Uzbekistan and Tajikistan relations during Soviet period?”, “did Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have transboundary water problems during Soviet times? “and, “when did the transboundary water dispute start between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?”.

2.1. Dispute Over Transboundary Rivers

From the history, water had an important part of humans lives. Countries had dispute or wars because of water. ²Such as Syria, Iraq or Turkey they had disputes because of the transboundary rivers too. We can see the same problem in central Asia between the central Asian countries as well. Especially, between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, this issue was like a boiling bowl, and had a lot of impact on the border management between two countries. After the Soviet Union’s collapse, in central Asia, many natural resources, including gas and water, have gained transboundary character. These transboundary resources, had political and economic impact on central Asian countries and this ended with having more trouble between countries because of those resources. Moreover, dispute over an international cross-border electricity trade project has arisen between countries, which sharing the Amu Darya basin. In

²- According to Mete Erdem (2003:3), the main reason for the disputes on Tigris and Euphrates rivers was, upper riparian Turkey’s GAP plan will reduce the water volume to lower riparian states Iraq and Syria. According to Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during 1960s when Turkey started the GAP project, there emerged water dispute between Iraq, Turkey and Syria. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-policy-on-water-issues.en.mfa)

this part, I will focus on the dispute between upstream country Tajikistan and downstream country Uzbekistan concerning to the transboundary water dispute.

2.2. Tsarist Russian Period

As I mentioned above this part is more related with the historical context of the transboundary water dispute in central Asia. Firstly, to understand the disputes root we have to look at Tsarist Russian period in central Asia. Before Tsarist Russian period, I would like to mention pre- Tsarist period.

According to Eric W. Sievers (2002:359) article, during 8th century when Arabs and Persians, come to central Asia and occupy this region they draw the boundaries with rivers and their decision for boundaries decreases the level of conflict within the region, but both Tsarist Russia and Soviet Union did not do it like the Persians and Arabs do and causes to increase the dispute level in central Asia. According to Pérez Martín (2017:28), During Tsarist Russian time, central Asia was too easy to control and he is saying that, who had the control of central Asian rivers, is able to control central Asia too. That is why Soviet Russia could maintain its power so long in central Asia.

Rivers in central Asia was important through the history. In Martins's (2017:28) article, he is mentioning, khanates and hordes (nomads) as well. Before the Tsarist and Soviet Russia occupation to central Asia, the region was divided in two socio-political organizations and these were khanates and hordes. "The khanates of Kokand, Bujara and Khiva, located within the Syr Darya and Amu Darya basins and in the Fergana valley, were inhabited by a mixture of Iranian peoples (mainly Tajiks) and Turkish-Mongolians (mainly Uzbeks)." Martin (2017:28), in his article he continues with saying that, both Uzbek and Tajik people they lived together and decided their boundaries with rivers. From this statement of Martin (2017:28), it is clear that during the history Tajik and Uzbek lived together but they did not have dispute, such as the one they had after the dissolution of Soviet Union, as this thesis demonstrate in Chapter 4. Although both ³nation was dependent on water because of agriculture.

³ The nations in this part are Tajik and Uzbek ethnic groups.

From Martin's (2017:28) article, we see that, until Tsarist Russia occupy central Asia, central Asia was known as Turkestan. So, again it is clear that, both Tajiks and Uzbeks were living together under time name of Turkestan and did not have problems related with transboundary water conflict. According to Hayri Çapraz (2011: 67), at that time, Uzbeks and Tajiks were living together, rivers were symbolic boundaries. They could pass these boundaries freely. Çapraz (2011:67), continues with, after Tsarist Russia occupied Turkestan, Turkestan was under the control of foreign ministry of Tsarist Russia. So Turkestan were free in their domestic issues but were under the control of Tsarist Russia in their foreign policies. In his article, Çapraz (2011:67), mentioned the historical process about Turkestan and Tsarist Russian time in central Asia. According to Çapraz, from the history central Asia was ethnically mixed region. Although it was mixed, they do not have transboundary water problems. They believed they have to used it together and rivers were important for them to decide the boundaries. He puts emphasis on and as I will mention in Chapter 4, transboundary water dispute started with Soviet Union, because they did not pay attention to the borders which are drawn by the rivers.

During Tsarist time, nations were living together under the rule of Tsarist Russia and they were like one nation. Compare to what Martin's (2007) saying about using rivers as boundary, ⁴Yunusova point out that although they were living like one nation there were still boundaries but not like today's one. They were able to pass the boundaries without a permission or, she mentioned that, there were people who lived in the Uzbek side but every day came from to the work from Tajik side.

According to Sievers (2002: 359), Tsarist Russia believed that, with huge portion of land they can be more powerful so that they try to have control on these lands. On the other hand, Sievers (2002:359), explained that, during Tsarist Russian period, controlling a land for political reasons were equal to control these lands for their natural resources. So, with Sievers (2002: 359) explanation it is clear that, Tsarist Russia occupied these lands because of natural resources and this is because to have powerful politics against other countries such as Great Britain. Tsarist

⁴ Interview with Hurshida Yunusova, Head of Department of History of Uzbekistan; National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek 20.08.2019

Russian aim was not to have powerful economy such as Soviet Union. Sievers (2002:359), added that, the importance for natural resources for Tsarist Russia was symbolic. Having a lot of natural resources was equal to power for them.

In Martin's (2007: 28) article we see another point of view, it was in 1848, Tsarist Russia, started to use water as a weapon in that region, but Martin specify that, it is not used as a weapon by the Tajik and Uzbek population is used by Tsarist Russia as a weapon. According to Martin (2017:28), it was used as a weapon by the Tsarist Russia because, during that time, cities like, Tashkent, Jizzakh or Samarkand, fought back against Tsarist Russia. So Tsarist Russia used rivers against these cities to gain control there. Another scholar, Ahat Andican (2009:288), mentioned that, Tsarist Russia used water as a weapon. According to Andican (2009:288), at that times Tsarist Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov, made a statement that, Tsarist Russia's borders are surrounded by wild nomads and in order to take control and ensure the security Tsarist Russia used water as a weapon.

For central Asian countries, water was important because it draw the boundaries, and because they were under the control of different countries, they did not have problems inside the region they accept the rules of the new occupier, continue with these new rules. The transboundary water dispute in central Asia emerged after 1991 because they had to rule their country and they had to rule the use of water without the control of occupier and this was new for them.

As explained above, before and after Tsarist Russian power in central Asia, central Asian countries did not have transboundary water dispute with each other. They used rivers to decide their border and did not use them as a weapon. It is clear that Tajik and Uzbek nations under the rule of Tsarist Russia, and Turkestan time, did not have problems which is related with transboundary water issues.

2.3. Soviet Union Period

According to Zainiddin Karaev (2004:4), the main reason why Soviet Union developed policies to control water in central Asia was agriculture. Soviet Union believed that, controlling water resources in a place will give the control of economy. Karaev (2004:4), continues with saying that, Soviet Union wanted to have a powerful economy, with agricultural products Soviet Union could achieve its aim. Uzbekistan

and Tajikistan was cotton producers when Soviet Union occupied central Asia says, Karaev (2004:4). Although they were cotton producers it was not enough for Soviet aim. This was the main reason for the construction of water reservoirs between 1950 and 1970 (Karaev, 2004:4). To make cotton the main economic source of that region, Soviet Union came with new canals, reservoirs or pumping stations between 1950s and 1980s (IMF, 1992: 1).

Another scholar, Daene C. McKinney (2003:6), says that, the main reason why Soviet Union wanted to control water in central Asia was, agriculture. He continues with saying that, agriculture and economy is connected in Soviet system. If a country has good agricultural products, it will have a powerful economy says, McKinney (2003:6). During Soviet Union period, water management in central Asia was ruled from Moscow (McKinney, 2003:6)

In 1917, a new actor emerged in central Asia and it was Soviet Union. The new emerging system was different then Tsarist system. For Soviet Union water played an important role to control central Asian countries. As I mentioned above, for Soviet Union, water was like a weapon to maintaining their power and developing a new system there.

It was 1954, when Soviet Union come up with a new policy to the central Asian lands. Firstly, they divided central Asian countries in to two groups, upstream and downstream countries. The downstream countries, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have natural gas and oil, the upstream the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan are rich with water (Granit, Jägersko, Lindström, Björklund, Bullock, Löfgren, Pettigrew, 2012:28). After that, during 1954, Soviet Union come up with a new policy which called Virgin Lands Campaign. The aim of this policy was to enlarge cotton areas into Central Asia. After all these policies, mainly in upstream countries, construction of large hydroelectric power plants and reservoirs began. Moreover, Soviet Union developed a policy which upstream countries will released water to the downstream countries during summer and in turn downstream countries will release natural gas to the upstream countries during the peak winter season (Granit, Jägersko, Lindström, Björklund, Bullock, Löfgren, Pettigrew, 2012:28).

Other important point which is related with this dispute is, during Soviet Union time Amu Darya and Syr Darya, had boundaries but these boundaries were not accepted in daily life. Boundaries were only accepted on paper. According to Mirzohid Rahimov and Galina Urazaeva (2005:3) boundaries for Amu Darya and Syr Darya was like transparent during Soviet time because people such as Uzbeks and Tajiks could cross the boundaries without having any problem and they did not need any documents or permission during crossing the borders says, Rahimov and Urazaeva. According to Michael A. Rozengurt, David M. Tolmazin and Hugh Douglas (1959:2) during Soviet times the system of water management was centralised in order to avoid conflict and to make Uzbekistan and Tajikistan depend on Soviet Union.

According to Yunusova, we have to first understand that both during Tsarist Russia and Soviet Union time there were no conflict between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, related with transboundary waters. This same happened during the Soviet Union time as well but Yunusova is saying that, there was one disparity between two areas. It was, Soviet Union tried and was successful to control the waters and made policies which are related with waters. During Soviet Union because we see policies or project which are related on water and these policies lead to be dispute after the dissolution of Soviet Union.

Yunusova continued with saying that, in Uzbek history, during Tsarist Russian and Soviet time, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan they were like one nation. Their ancestors were not same said she. One was from Farsi and other was from Mogul but they could not build their nationality according to their ancestors but they build it according to Soviet Union's guide. A good example to support Yunusova's words is Adeeb Khalid (2016:291) article. According to him, until 1924 Tajik nation did not exist and Tajik people were belonging to Uzbek nation. At that time for Tajik people there were no language ethnicity relation. This is not that Tajiks were not aware of their ethnic group or they spoke a different language, it is about, there were no linkage between Tajik language and to be a Tajik. In short they were speaking different language but this differences did not make a sense. On the other hand, Soviet Union developed and policy and a system, which nations could not think or build their own nations. After the dissolution of Soviet Union, Uzbekistan and

Tajikistan started to understand their national priorities started to act according to their national interest and started to understand where they came from.

Yunusova's words can be supported with Nicole Kranz, Antje Vorwerk, Eduard Interwies (2005:10) and Pérez Martín (2017:28) 's articles as well. As Martín (2017:28), mentioned above Soviet Union ruled Amu Darya and Syr Darya to have control on Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Furthermore, Nicole Kranz, Antje Vorwerk, Eduard Interwies (2005:10) mentioning that, the water system did not cause to dispute during Soviet time because of systematic control. With Yunusova's words it is clear that, during Tsarist Russian and Soviet time, we do not see disputes which is related with transboundary waters.

To understand the system and how this system lead to be a dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan we have to understand first the geopolitical position of the main rivers shared between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (Amu Darya and Syr Darya) and which country control the biggest part of the rivers.

2.4. Amu Darya and Syr Darya

Central Asia contains several river basins says Martin (2017: 28); the most important of these being the Syr Darya, Amu Darya, Ural Emba, Chu, Ishin, Tobol and Irtysh (Martin, 2017: 28). Amu Darya and Syr Darya are two important rivers in central Asia. Both rivers flow into the Aral Sea, according to Kranz, Vorwerk, Interwies, (2005: 10) Amu Darya and Syr Darya are the main reason for having dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Syr Darya and Amu Darya basins, are the home for a mixture of Iranian peoples mainly Tajiks and mainly Uzbeks (Horsman, 2001:76). When the agriculture become an important in economic aspects, Amu Darya and Syr Darya become a competition area among the five nations (Horsman, 2001:76). Syr Darya⁵ starts from Kyrgyzstan and flows through Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to the Aral Sea

⁵ The main reason not including Kyrgyzstan in this study for is, in 1998 Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan signed barter agreement with Kyrgyzstan fort he use of water which comes from Syr Darya. Thats why we could not see dispute over Syr Darya between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Dispute over Syr Darya is seen between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because Tajikistan stopped and controlled the flow of water to Uzbekistan after the dissolution not Kyrgyzstan. (Dinar, A., Dinar, S., McCaffrey, S., McKinney, D., 2007)

and Amu Darya, which flows from Tajikistan through Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan also to the Aral Sea, became important rivers in that region and governments started to have dispute over these rivers (ICG, 2002:12). The main tensions for both Amu Darya and Syr Darya river is between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Upstream country Tajikistan and water missing downstream country Uzbekistan were in a good relationship during Soviet Union for using the water. The Soviet management for both rivers was the perfect solution at that time. Because both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were getting what they need. For example, Tajikistan was getting natural gas in return Uzbekistan was having water from Tajikistan without any restriction.

Central Asian rivers during Soviet Union time were domestic rivers after 1991 they turned to the international rivers and their management could not be same during Soviet times.

2.4.1. Soviet Union Management in Amu Darya and Syr Darya

According to Micklin (1991:10-11), during Soviet Union, Moscow managed Amu Darya and Syr Darya for economic priorities and developed an economic unit over these rivers. For the central Asian republics, this meant cultivating 90 percent of the Soviet Union's cotton (Micklin 1991:10-11). Soviet Union came with new canals, reservoirs or pumping stations between 1950s and 1980s because cotton was important for Soviet Union at that time (IMF, 1992: 1). In Uzbekistan alone, they built approximately 170,000 kilometres of canals to irrigate 4.2 million hectares of land (IMF 1992: 1). According to Erika Weinthal (2006:3), the whole system, which developed by Soviet Union, was to protect cotton production in the downstream countries because Soviet economy was important. According to International Crisis Group report (2002:3), the reason why Soviet Union focus on water and try to develop a system of water is, because Soviet Union believed that, if you want to rule a territory firstly you have to rule or control the water. That's why they try to have power on water in central Asia.

As this thesis show in Chapter 4, one of the important reason for transboundary water dispute was Khujand-Kayrakum. During 1929 Soviet Union gave Khujand-Kayrakum to Tajik side. As mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, Khujand-Kayrakum were belonging to Uzbek territorial part before the Soviet Union. When Soviet Union decided the borders and separate Tajikistan from Uzbekistan

they give Khujand-Kayrakum to Tajik side. Khujand-Kayrakum is the main dispute for Syr Darya river. To control Syr Darya, Uzbekistan needs to have the control of Khujand- Kayrakum. When Soviet Union gave Khujan-Kayrakum to Tajik side, they gave the control of Syr Darya to Tajik part as well and this led to have transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan over Syr Darya. As said for Amu Darya for Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum control for Syr Darya were not a problem during during Soviet time because Soviet Union controlled with a system from Moscow. Like the Rogun Dam example, Khujand-Kayrakum became a dispute after the Soviet Union dissolution.

Another important thing, maybe the most important one, was the Rogun Dam project during Soviet Union. The Rogun Dam was firstly mentioned in 1959 and project developed until 1965. Construction began in 1976, however, Rogun Dam construction stopped after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Rogun Dam was an important project because the upstream country Tajikistan need energy for winter and with this Rogun Dam Project, Soviet Union find solution for the energy problem in Tajikistan. Rogun Dam could not finis during Soviet Union time and after the dissolution because of the civil war in Tajikistan they had to stop the project.

According to Daene C. McKinney (2003:6), in 1982 for Syr Darya and in 1987 for Amur Darya last plans was approved. According to these plans, limits for water allocation between central Asian countries were decided. According to McKinney (2003:6), in the late 1970s which were drought years, Moscow came with water allocation among Amu Darya and Syr Darya. In the Syr Darya Basin, the situation became more important that Moscow had to send authorities to be sure that water from the upper and middle reaches of the basin reached the lower reaches says, McKinney (2003:6). ⁶Moscow wants to be sure that water allocations happened fairly between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, so region-wide Basin Water Organizations (BVOs) were established in 1986 in the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Basins.

⁶ According to McKinney (2003:6), aim for fairly distribution of water between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was not for Soviet Union goodwill. Soviet Union wanted to be sure that, the water which Uzbeks need for cotton and the water for the aluminium plant in Tajik part is distributed correctly. Cotton and aluminium was important for Soviet economy says, MicKenney (2003:6).

BVO was managed from the Soviet Ministry of Water Management, maintaining the order for water use and to be sure that Soviet plans will be applied for these two basins. With this organisation, Soviet Union wants to be sure that they will ensure the security and hamper conflicts for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

During 1970-80s Soviet Union created single Automated Management System (AMS) in the Amu Darya and Syr Darya river basins has allowed certain functions of water management and distribution to be delegated to the Basin Water Management Organizations, BVO “Amudarya”, BVO “Syrdarya”, and BVO “Zerdolvodkhoz” (Zarafshan river basin) (Kuziev, 2007:80). According to Kuziev we understand that, BVO have certain benefits. Firstly, with BVO, they developed a system which made the control over the use of water over Amudarya, Syrdarya and Zarafshan rivers easy. Secondly, with BVO they reduced, the percentage of unaccounted for and lost water from rivers and interstate canals and lastly they made a system which is more flexible for both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and helped to develop a certain level of mutual understanding and confidence between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan says, Kuziev (2007:80). Again from Kuziev’s report it is clear that, the share of water for Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was determined in accordance with the quotas approved by Gosplan (State Planning Agency) of the USSR on the basis of general plans.

2.5. Post-Soviet Union and Emerging Transboundary Water Dispute

With the collapse of Soviet Union, countries discovered their capabilities and their feature after the collapse of Soviet Union for example, with independence Uzbekistan discovered that Uzbekistan was not controlling the Syr Darya, Amu Darya, and Zarafshon which was important for Uzbekistan’s agricultural production says, Smith, (1995:361)

Another problematic issue after the dissolution of Soviet Union was the Rogun Dam Project. In order to ensure their own energy security, Tajikistan decided to exploit the existing hydropower plants (HPP) and build new large hydropower facilities; Rogun HPP (on Vakhš river) and Daštidskaâ HPP (on Panj river) in Tajikistan(ICG,2002:3). The dam gets negative reaction from neighbouring Uzbekistan, which will have negative impact on Uzbek cotton production

(ICG,2002:3). This plan alarmed Uzbekistan because after these facilities, Tajikistan will have the full control of the flow of river. Tajikistan's energy priority is affected and causes conflict with Uzbekistan which need water for agriculture and for daily life. This Rogun HPP have an economic aspect for Tajikistan too. Tajikistan is known the poorest country in central Asia, after Rogun HPP, Tajikistan will improve their economy, therefore, construction of Rogun Dam was important for Tajikistan in economic aspects (Ito, El Khatib, Nakayama, 2016:693). On the other hand, for Uzbekistan, agriculture have an important part in Uzbek economy (Ito, El Khatib, Nakayama, 2016:693).

As mentioned, in the section of 2.4.1, another important dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is Khujand-Kayrakum. As mentioned above, during 1929 the Khujand city was given to Tajik side. Until that time Khujand was belonging to Uzbek side (Roy, 2000: 76). To control Syr Darya, Uzbekistan needs to have the control of Khujand- Kayrakum. When Soviet Union gave Khujan-Kayrakum to Tajik side, they gave the control of Syr Darya to Tajik part as well and this led to have transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan over Syr Darya. As Rebecca L. Teasley, Daene C. McKinney (2011:483) said, to have water for summer and maximise their agricultural needs Uzbekistan need water from Khujand-Kayrakum but due to bad relations with Tajikistan as we see in the example Tajikistan have the power to cut the water flow to Uzbekistan.

According to Stephen MacDonald (2012:2), because Uzbekistan is one of the important cotton exporters in the world, water is one of the important things in Uzbekistan. Tajikistan's one sided water restrictions always causes to dispute, and would be a threat most of all to Uzbekistan. So it is clear know, how important those rivers for both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is, and how these policies can pave the way for conflict between these countries. According to Filippo Menga (2015:484), Rogun Dam became a national issue for both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. For Tajikistan with Rogun Dam they believed that prove themselves in the region and for Uzbekistan they believed it will affect their national interest. On a political level, the root cause of the dispute is complex, says Menga (2015:484). During Soviet management of the region, Soviet established a system on Amu Darya and Syr Darya. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, this arrangement collapsed because both Tajikistan

and Uzbekistan have different national priorities and were lacking managing something in international area because this was new for them.

In February of 1992, as five central Asian republics, signed an agreement which is about to continue Soviet water sharing practices, thus creating the Interstate Commission for Water Coordination (ICWC) says, Beatrice Mosello (2008:153). ICWC is only about controlling water distribution and was not about for energy supplies to the states upstream says, McKinney (2004:187-220). In 1998, after 6 years from the last agreement, five central Asian countries come together and sign a new agreement says, Weil (2012). This agreement was about Uzbekistan being paid for irrigation and electricity while Tajikistan using the revenues from electricity to pay for energy during the winter season when needs are highest (Weil, 2012).⁷At the end this agreement break down because of Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyzstan demand higher electricity prices from central Asian countries (Weil, 2012). As I mentioned above, after the dissolution of Soviet Union, central Asian countries try to continue with old Soviet system for water management but this did not work because every country came up with its own national priority and Soviet system for the use of water was an old system for that time. Countries like Uzbekistan produced cotton during Soviet time and cotton was their main product for export says, Martin Russell (2018: 10).

During 2012, we saw a political declaration from the Uzbek side for the Rogun Dam project. Uzbekistani President Islam Karimov warned in 2012 the other central Asian countries for the use of water. "I won't name specific countries," he said in 2012, "but all of this could deteriorate to the point where not just serious confrontation, but even wars could be the result." (Russel, 2018: 10). Uzbekistan continued its actions to hamper the Rogun Dam project with obstructed transport of materials intended for Tajikistan's Rogun Dam; it also raised the price of gas supplies to Tajikistan and interrupted them repeatedly. In return during 2014, Tajikistan threatened to retaliate by closing a canal carrying water to Uzbekistan on the pretext of repairs says Russell. In 2008, European Union published a report on central Asia

⁷ This agreement worked only one year. After one year, in 1999 its broke down.

and transboundary waters, and said that, water management is the most critical issue in central Asia, if it is not well managed it can be a serious security threat⁸.

It is clear that, during Tsarist Russia, because of their policies was not on water or, power nexus water, we do not see conflict between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan for the transboundary rivers. At that time Tsarist Russia did not develop policies towards use of water and this did not cause conflict in that region. During Soviet Union time, we see projects or new systems such as Rogun Dam. During Soviet time it was clear that, there was no place for conflict between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The system which developed by the Soviet Union for the water allocation was a system which can only continue or efficient system when there is Soviet management.

It is clear that, there emerged a water dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan after the dissolution of Soviet Union. Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov's approach to the Rogun Dam and its speech is a good example that there is an ongoing problem for the transboundary water issue.

⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/central_asia/docs/progress_report_0608_en.Pdf

Chapter 3

The Theory and The Literature on and Transboundary Water Dispute

1991, was a turning point for all the new emerging central Asian countries and for the new Russian republic. As mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, before the dissolution of Soviet Union, they had problems, such as IMU, economic or problems which were related with the use of natural resources. After the dissolution because of wrong or problematic new borders, central Asian countries began to have border dispute with each other. Different scholars specify that, there emerged variety of different problems after the dissolution of Soviet Union. In this part of this thesis, I will explain how different scholars in the literature explained for the border dispute in central Asia. After that, this part will contain my explanations of this topic with post-colonial theory and the relation between post-colonial theory and transboundary water dispute all around the world. Before this part I mentioned “The Roots of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's Water Dispute”, to show that, after the dissolution of Soviet Union, we see a dispute over transboundary waters between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This part will start with explaining post-colonial theory in IR, who are the scholars of post-colonial theory and what is transboundary water dispute. In the **3.3.** heading, with the help of post-colonial theory, transboundary water dispute all around the world will be examined.

3.1. Literature On Post-Colonial Borders Conflict in Post-Soviet Space

3.1.1. Security Concerns

The collapse of Soviet Union, started to think the scholars of IR, they have to redefine the security- related concepts with low politics. Because, security was high politics, economic and social affairs were low politics says, Barnett (1990:529-562). According to Antony Kalashnikov (2012:76), the collapse of Soviet Union was related more on economic reasons. Until 1985 Soviet Union had continuous economic growth, but 1985 was the turning point for Soviet Economy said, Kalashnikov (2012: 76). In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of

the Communist Party (CPSU) and Gorbachev's ideas and policies (and the changes they brought about) so glaringly broke with the previous regimes, says Kalashnikov (2012: 76). One of the important economic factor for the Soviet dissolution according to Kalashnikov was, ⁹perestroika. Perestroika, ultimately clashed with the socialist system of central planning and created economic chaos says, Kalashnikov (2012:79).

According to the, International Crises Group (2002), borders conflict in central Asia was mainly because of security. Countries national security was the most important thing for the Crises group and, to defend their security and to improve their security they had border conflict. ICG point out that IMU was the most important thing for the security concerns between central Asian countries. They look more in realist lenses to the conflict. They explain, for the self-defence of central Asia countries, state security is the most important thing. This is according to traditional security analysis and realists.

There were some scholars, which focuses on the importance of low politics before the cold war end. One of these scholars was, Richard Ullman (1983:129); he said, defining national security just with the military terms reflecting false image for the security and this can led be having double trouble as well. First it can have led state to focus on military issues and forgetting the other important threats such as economic. And second, it can be the reason for the global insecurity. The reason for why military security lost importance is, after 1991, there emerged other threats which can be accepted a threat for the survival of a state. According to Buzan et. al. (1998:22-23), environment, economic, social and political threats can be accepted as other factors and they became important after the dissolution of Soviet Union. Buzan et.al. named them unconventional security threats (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998:22-23).

According to Niklas Swanström (2010:37), water is one of the unconventional security threats, but it did not receive enough attention. According to

⁹The program of economic and political reform in the Soviet Union initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986. Perestroika means, increasing automation and labour efficiency, it came with central planning. Cook, L. J. (1993). *The Soviet social contract and why it failed: welfare policy and workers' politics from Brezhnev to Yeltsin* (Vol. 86). Harvard University Press.

Swanström (2010:37), from the media, because of terrorist threats and other military threats, water has not water has not received the attention it deserves. Beatrice Mosello (2008:153), is another scholar, which mentioned about the unconventional security threat and mentions that after the end of Cold war, water became a critical issue (Mosello, 2008:153). Peter Gleick (2015) is another scholar who mentioned about water and conflict. According to him, conflicts over water resources are not something new, it has a long history. According to Gleick (1993:79), during the 21st century, “water and water-supply are increasingly likely to be both objectives of military actions and instruments”. Other scholars such as Joyce R. Starr, John K. Cooley, John Bulloch and Adil Darwish also think that we will see water-induced wars in the near future.

According to Barbara Janusz-Pawletta and Mara Gubaidullina (2015) the dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan can be explained with security concerns as well. The security concern between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was basically over the control of water (Janusz-Pawletta, Gubaidullina 2015). The main issue was Rogun Dam. To protect and to be sure for their energy security, Tajikistan decided to build restart the Rogun HPP said, Janusz-Pawletta, Gubaidullina (2015). This plan alarmed Uzbekistan because, when Tajikistan complete Rogun Dam construction, Tajikistan will have the full control of the flow of river. For Tajik side, the Rogun Dam was important because of the energy priority and for Uzbek side the flow of water was important because of water which they need for agriculture and for daily life. According to Janusz-Pawletta, Gubaidullina (2015) a good example which is related whit this issue is, during 1998 in Fergana valley, we see unresolved issues of water distribution is between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. As a result of this, we see regional instability, potential for conflict and growing security threats between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

3.1.2. Economic View

According to the scholar Anchita Borthakur (2017: 48), it is clear that most of the border conflicts happened because of economic reasons. For her, economy plays an important role to emphasize the conflict in the region as it is found that the root cause of majority of the conflicts. Borthakur (2017:48) believed, in Fergana Valley, which

ethnic group is the dominant one, they will hold the economic power in their hand and this can cause to have problems, which are connected with economic reasons.

Rogun HPP have an economic aspect for Tajikistan. Ito et. al.(2016:693), explained the dispute with economic view. According Ito et. al.(2016:693), Tajikistan is known the poorest country in central Asia, after Rogun HPP, Tajikistan will improve their economy, therefore, Rogun Dam, was accepted to have economic development for Tajikistan. On the other hand, for Uzbekistan, agriculture is also one of the important thing for Uzbek economy. Uzbekistan is one of the world's largest exporters of cotton, thus, water is important for Uzbekistan's economy, says, Pomfret (2000). Tajikistan's one sided water restrictions always causes to conflict, and would be a threat most of all to Uzbekistan. So it is clear know, how important those rivers for both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is, and how these policies can pave the way for border dispute between these countries.

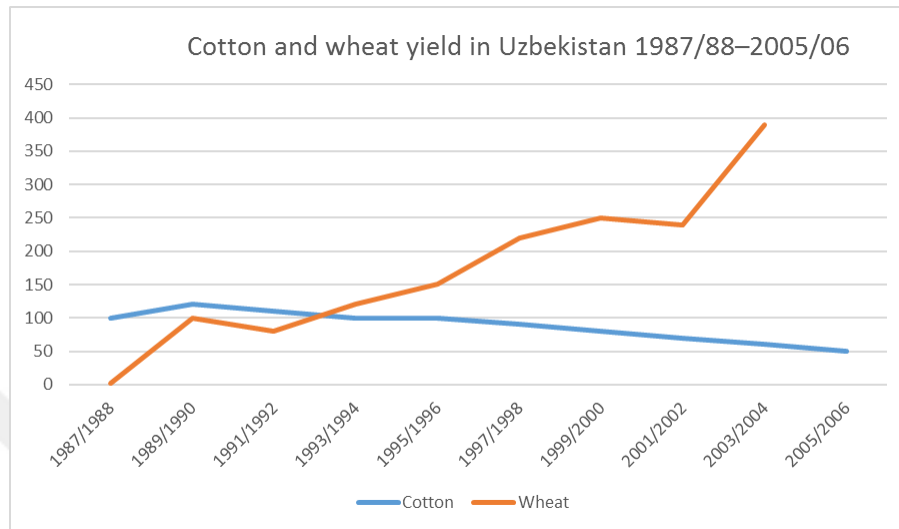
3.1.3. Luhmannian Perspective

Nodir Djanibekov, Kristof Van Assche and Vladislav Valentinov (2016), explain the main reason for transboundary water conflict in central Asia with, Luhmannian perspective. According to them, before the dissolution in Central Asia cotton was the most important thing for some countries, such as Uzbekistan. After the dissolution, Central Asian countries try to find or develop new system to continue their life. For Luhmanniana approach, dissolution of Soviet Union paves the way for new differentiations so these new differentiations were the main reason for having water conflict in Central Asia.

These new differentiations were, not only cotton but also agricultural products, or upstream and downstream countries are not sharing electricity with each other. For example, Uzbekistan was cotton producing country during Soviet Union time, after the dissolution Uzbekistan was looking for new differentiations, such as wheat. According to Iskandar Abdullaev, Charlotte Fraiture, Mark Giordano, Murat Yakubov and Aziz Rasulov (2009:49), during Soviet Union time, 4 million tons of wheat was imported into the Uzbek SSR in a year, from other Soviet States, in exchange they got cotton from Uzbek SSR. After the dissolution, when Uzbekistan could not provide water for cotton, the Uzbek government reduced cotton production

and an increase wheat production says, Abdullaev et al. (2009:49). These policies results were, wheat production increased from 1.0 million tons in 1991 to 5.2 million tons in 2004 (Abdullaev et al. 2009:49).

Figure 1. Cotton and wheat yield in Uzbekistan 1987/88–2005/06, Uzbekistan



Source: FAS.

Figure 1, is a good example to understand Luhmannian perspective. According to figure 1, after the dissolution of Soviet Union, Uzbekistan focus on wheat in agricultural sector, because they know that, they needed water for cotton and could not provide enough water for cotton. As explained above, they develop new system to continue their life and it was wheat for Uzbekistan.

Jeremy Allouche (2007), in his article, mentioned the same thing like the Luhmannian perspective. For Allouche, after the countries get their independence, they focus to complete what they are lacking. During focusing to complete their lacking parts, according to Allouche it ended with having transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The differences between Luhmannian perspective and economic view is, in Luhmanniana perspective, countries such as Uzbekistan’s and Tajikistan’s main aim is not to gain economic power, their aim was to have water for their need but this need was not in economic concerns says, Luhmannian perspective. According to

Luhmannian perspective this is a need to live. For example, in Tajik part during winter they need energy for get warm and for Uzbek, wheat become the new agricultural product to live after the dissolution of Soviet Union. In short, Luhmannian perspective support that, new differentiations were the main reason for having water conflict in Central Asia. New systems which countries wanted to follow during using water paves the way to have dispute over water.

3.1.4. Neo- Malthusian

For Thomas Bernauer, Tobias Siegfried (2012) they explain the transboundary water conflict in Central Asia with neo- Malthusian. In other words, because there is a huge population growth and the natural resources are not enough for all countries.¹⁰ They make a connection between population growth and climate change. Juha I. Uitto and Alfred M. Duda (2002) are the other scholars who believed the transboundary water dispute in Central Asia is because of the growing population. In the end resources are not enough for all the countries, and countries have conflict with each other because of their national interest. They want to be sure that their country will have enough water.

In the literature transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan explained as mentioned above. All separately explains the transboundary water dispute but they fail to explain the main reason for this dispute and it is Soviet Union. To explain the Soviet Union's effect on transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, post-colonial theory deal with every aspect because this dispute has a historical part and it is related with Soviet Union. We cannot explain this water dispute without mentioning about Soviet Union. In short, postcolonial theory is a composition of political, aesthetic, economic, historical, and social impact. During mentioning this water dispute, we have to use all compositions of postcolonial theory. In the next section, I am going to mention post-colonial theory.

3.2. Post-Colonial Theory

¹⁰ According to United Nation world population prospects 2019, during Soviet Union, Uzbek population rate was around 15 million, after the dissolution it is around 33 million. Tajikistan population rate was around 3 million during Soviet time, after the dissolution it is around 9 million.

“The term post-colonial is a relative newcomer to the jargon of western social science”, says Deniz Kandiyoti (2002:279). Post-colonialism is a theory which analysis, history, culture and literature of European power says, Kandiyoti (2002:279). To understand post-colonial theory, we have to look how IR scholars accept theories in IR. According to Arı (2018: 585-595), IR scholars accept that International Relations (IR) discipline is shaped by two dimensions: The first one is rational dimension that covers main stream theories of (neo)/realism and (neo)/liberalism which take their sources from the nature through observation. The second dimension includes critical, reflectivist, post-positivist and post-structural theories that critically stand against rational theories. These second dimension includes historical sociology, feminism, normative theories as well as post modernism and post-colonialism.

Arı continues in his article with saying that, after the second world war (WWII), liberation movements started by Asian and African peoples against colonialists, during that time, in some writings actually took the first step in the name of post-colonialism as a term. Actually these writings were the basis for post-colonial theory and did not evaluate the framework of post-colonialism. Fundamentally, post-colonial theory criticizes the western world due to their colonies in Asia and Africa said Arı and continue with saying that, post-colonialism is a critical point of view against colonial authority in terms of economic, social and political aspects. To understand post-colonial theory better we have to understand what colonialism is.

The basis of colonialism explained by, Raimondo Luraghi, (2000: 18), as follows: there are some regions they are technically backward and based on agriculture and craftsmanship and there are some regions that they are more developed compare to the other regions. Those developed regions started to rule and control those regions which are technically backward and this relationship is the basis of colonialism says, Luraghi (2000:18). He continued with, “States’ hegemonic, or destructive attitudes over other states have changed military, economic and cultural structures in time.”

According to Tom Bottomore, Marxist thinking says that here are two periods of colonial period, they are, modern colonialism and earlier colonialism. Earlier colonialism was about a non-capitalist figuration; but modern colonialism was in

presence alongside capitalism in Europe. According to Ania Loomba (1999:22), the aim of modern colonialism was not only to gain more goods or wealth from the colonies but also it started a flow from colonized and colonial countries which contains human and natural resources. Humans were not only slaves but also labour, servants, travellers, soldiers, missionaries, scientists. At the same time, colonies provided market which was the recipient of European goods said, Loomba (1999:22).

Colonialism in Soviet Union, was defined in a different way, according to Adams (2008:3), these policies which made from Soviet Union for modernizing central Asian Muslim population during 1920s and 30 were similar with the policies which made by British and the French but when Soviet Union became sure from their power and control in central Asia we see differences between Soviet and European colonialism. She continues with saying that, colonialism for Europe was to bring development, or develop the countries which were less developed compare to Europe, there were differences between Soviet colonialism and European colonialism. According to Adams, (2008:6), Soviet Union colonised these countries to gain power there and to have more powerful economy. According to Taras Kuzio (2002:259), British colonies did not use the term “Older Brother”, in their colonies during colonising them but Soviet Union used the term “Older Brother” and colonised central Asia. According to Soviet Union this term “Older Brother” was equal to “Leading Nation” in central Asia. In short, the Soviet Union was like an empire which created political domination over a geographically diverse territory and ruled that territory from Moscow says, Silova and Palandjian (2018). Being an empire does not mean it is a coloniser as well but Soviet Union was an empire and was a coloniser. The characteristics which made Soviet Union as a colony are, firstly Soviet Union divided nations and draw new borders according to Soviet interest. Secondly Soviet Union, decided which country will produce which product. Such as Uzbekistan is for cotton, Tajikistan is for aluminium. During deciding this, Soviet Union did not ask Uzbek and Tajik people are they agree with those products (Adams, 2008:3)

3.2.1. Post-Colonial Theory in the Literature

Post-colonial theory is a post-modernist/ post-positivist/reflectivist/critical theory in international relations theory. Generally postcolonial studies are focusing on the

relations between colonizer people to the local people. This theory shows a critical thinking toward modern and colonial world. Although “Post” concept is there for after colonialism, there are some discussions about the fact that colonialism has not come to an end, it just changes its shape in post-modern era. On the other hand, according to Ari (2018), some scholars have used the concept “neo” to explain conditions after the independence movements in 1950s and 1960s. He said that, neo is there for colonial authorities has not finished in terms of economics and politics. He continued with saying that, “neo” is a term which is widely used to refer to any and all forms of control of the ex-colonies, after the independence of colony which still ruled by the ex- colonies with the help of elites who often were educated and trained by colonialist powers.

Post-colonial theory began in the 1950s with the work of Frantz Fanon and reached a climax in the late 1970s with Edward Said's orientalism. Post-colonial theory studied from different perspectives by different scholars. These perspectives were, psychological, culture, inferior rank and mimicry.

Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi are scholars who studied the psychological side of the post-colonial theory. Frantz Fanon is the leading scholar of post-colonial theory in terms of terminology, said Ari (2018). According to Fanon, the white man considers themselves superior from black man. This led black man to have psychosocial problems because Fanon believed that the black man act differently when they are with their people and they act differently when they are with white man. This self-division is a direct result of colonialism. He continues with saying that, when black man is with the white man they cannot express themselves because the white man act superior to the black man (Fanon, 1963: 76–81). According to Ari (2018), Fanon’s psychological implementation helped him to focus on harmful psychological effects of colonial rules to their colonies. According to Taufik Abdullah (2003:61), Albert Memmi in his book *Portrait of the Colonial*, analyses the psychological effects of colonialism. According to Memmi, it is impossible that colonist was not aware of the position and power which they were holding in their hand during shaping colonies and they were aware that they were powerful and rich because of their colonies. His analysis includes both the colonized subjects and colonizers themselves. According to Memmi, colonisers control, shape and influence

the colonies because of their interest, says Abdullah (2003:61). Memmi analyses the psychological effects of colonialism because he was a Tunisian, belongs to one of those native but non-Muslim groups says, Rosenfeld (2015). He was “neither the colonizer nor the colonized” or “both”. Memmi himself had psychological problems because of colonizer and we could see this in his studies as well says, Abdullah (2003:61).

Scholar which studies colonialism in cultural aspect is Aimé Césaire. Aimé Césaire is one of the most important scholars in post-colonial studies. Césaire studied colonies culture which destroyed by the colonial powers. According to him, colonial powers destroyed colonies culture. So by destroying their culture black man will not be aware of his own culture or his own civilization. According to Mazisi Kunene (1969:20), Césaire’s aim was the recognition of black man, it was like, the recognition of black people in social, economic and cultural area which were refused from the colonial powers.

For the inferior rank categories Gayatri Spivak and Edward Said fit well. Said is a theorist who studied orientalism and post-colonialism throughout his life and contributed greatly with written works such as orientalism. Both in Spivak’s and Said’s works we see terms “The other” and “Self”. According to Kuzio (2002: 244) Said’s works was on west and the east but he mentioned a different side of Said’s works. According to Kuzio (2002:244), Edward Said has pointed out; the Irish have for centuries been criticized as lower culturally, Britain colonised them because they were inferior rank. According to Said, it is impossible to study one side of the colonial experience without the other because “the present is a mirror to the past”. According to David Lloyd (2001), it is important to study colonial and post-colonial period because both periods overlap and both cultures are historically connected to each other and cannot escape that fact. With this statement he is supporting Said’s “the present is a mirror to the past” sentence. According to Bill Ashcroft et. al. (1998:79) Spivak is mainly affected by the colonisation process in India. In her studies she said that, colonial power created “the other”, “inferior rank”, according to their will and their interest. She gives the example of the history of India which, she argues is being represented by colonial powers as inferior rank (Ashcroft et. al., 1998:80).

Another category for post-colonial studies is mimicry. According to Homi K. Bhabha, mimicry is coping a cultures features to their own culture (Ashcroft et. al., 1998: 12-13). Bhabha is an Indian scholar and we can see this feature in his studies as well. He studied Indian colonisation process and said that, Indian culture is now a mixed culture because of mimicry. They copied language, culture, manners, and ideas from the colonial power. Because of that India has a hybrid culture said Bhabha and this led to have difficulties and unresolvable problem of cultural difference in the colony (Ashcroft et. al., 1998: 12-13).

Post-colonial theory is a theory that emerged as a critique of western enlightenment. This theory fight against colonial ideologies that believe the superiority of the west in the international arena. When the modernist perspective emerged in the West, revealed the validity of objective knowledge. Thus, Western knowledge continued like a supremacy over the world, and west started to look other parts of the world like backward. After a while, for their economic purposes west started to establish colonies which were the economic dimension of this domination. On the other hand, this establishment was not only at economic aspect also cultural and political aspect. The post-colonial theory focuses on the cultural dimension of exploitation and it examines the exploitation of mind, language and religion of indigenous people. Postcolonial studies are interested mostly with the inferiority of society, in this sense, they have tried to reconstruct the society and raise consciousness. Moreover, Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi come together and studied the psychological side of the post-colonial theory. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan case like Fanon and Memmi's studies on self-division was present because of Soviet colonialism. Césaire studies fits very well in this thesis because Soviet Union made Russian language common language and made ¹¹ Cyrillic alphabet Tajikistan's and Uzbekistan's common alphabet. In line with Spivak's and Said's works, Soviet Union used local people as peasants because they were inferior rank. In Soviet Union, for central Asian people working in government were not easy compare to Russian people. Lastly, with Homi Bhabha, he explained post-

¹¹ I will show in Chapter 4.

colonialism with his own culture, and the elements and used in post-colonial perspective.

As I mentioned above, according to Fanon, the white man created the black man and the black man created the qualities of the black man. This can be one of important element which will help to show how transboundary water dispute shaped the relations between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. For Fanon, the white man and the black man, they were bond together and at the and they shaped their features. So it is similar in the case of ¹²Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. They were bond together and this led them to create their features. At the end this features led to have transboundary water conflict. Or Said said that, “the present is a mirror to the past”. So this again will be the guide in this thesis. What happened in the past between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan led them to have dispute in the present? This thesis will be benefit from both Fanon’s and Said’s arguments. Their view for the post-colonial theory will guide this thesis during explaining the transboundary water dispute in the next sections.

Before to begin with the next section, it must be clear that Soviet colonialism suits to post-colonial theory and differences between the other colonial powers with Soviet colonialism.

Nazif Shahrani (2007: 123) in his article describes colonialism with economic, cultural and military dominance of a country to another country. He continues with saying that, Soviet Union was a colonial power in central Asia, because he controlled economies of the central Asian countries, such as cotton production in Uzbekistan. Culturally dominated central Asian countries, closing their institutions and influence with Soviet culture. In this aspect, Soviet Union colonised central Asian countries and affected their culture and economy according to Soviet interest (Shahrani,2007:123). Soviet Union had a centralized control of military, economic power of the region was in Soviet elite’s hand and they select leaders to the areas which were supporting Soviet Union policies (Shahrani,2007:126). This is a good example of Spivak’s and Said’s works which mentioned above. Soviet elite’s

¹² Both of them colonised by Soviet Union.

selected as leaders to Uzbek and Tajik part on the contrary Tajik and Uzbek people were peasants because they were inferior rank.

These all are characteristic of colonising a country or a places and as John H. Kautsky (1972:63), says that, the reason for the end of colonialism can be the economic independence too. Madina Tlostanova (2012:137) in her article mentioned that, European colonial power when they colonised Africa believed that they are superior than black man. Tlostanova implement this idea in her article and said that, when Soviet Union colonised central Asia, they saw Muslim central Asian People unimproved and believed that they are superior than them. In this aspects there is similarities between Soviet and European colonialism.

According to Adeeb Khalid (2007: 470), there are differences between European colonial power and Soviet colonialism as well. In Soviet Union, the population was diverse according to ethnicity and race as well as economic development decided the division as well says, Khalid (2007:470). One of the difference between Soviet and British colonialism is, while Hindus were the indigenous people before the British colonists colonised them, when Soviet colonised central Asia they had not an identity like India (Khalid 2007:249). For sure there are scholars which support that Soviet Union is not a colonial power and they did not colonise central Asia. According to Adeeb Khalid (2006: 233), Soviet Union was there to make a modern central Asia not to colonise them, he believed that colonialism cannot describe with changing a countries culture that's why according to him Soviet Union is not a colonizer. Soviet Union is there to develop central Asian countries economies and all nations in Soviet Union was equal said Khalid (2006:238). Against Khalid ideas, according to Shahrani (2007:126), If people in Soviet Union were equal why peasant were only from central Asian countries, and If they had citizenship why Uzbek's and Tajik were mainly peasants. If Soviet Union did not colonise central Asia why they destroy their ¹³intuitions? Or according to Francine Hirsh (2000:214), Soviet Union was a colonial power because, nations who lived in Soviet Union loss their lands, banned to live their religion and forced to changed their alphabet such as Tajik native speakers in Uzbekistan.

¹³ Soviet Union destroyed Mosque.

As a consequence, it is clear that there are different aspects according to different scholars for post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theory basically explains the relations between the colonizer and colonized countries and continues how colonized one is shaped by the colonizer. In this thesis, post-colonial theory will be used to explain how transboundary water disputes are shaped by post-colonial theory, and how colonizers led to colonized countries having disputes in transboundary water issues. Next part will be about explaining transboundary water dispute and the relation with colonialism.

3.3. Transboundary Water Dispute in Post-Colonial Perspective

The increasing scarcity of water across the globe is one of the important reasons for transboundary water conflicts, says Zeitouna and Warner in their article (2006). According to UNEP (2016), "Transboundary waters are rivers or lakes which are shared by two or more countries, support the lives and livelihoods of vast numbers of people across the world". As Zeitouna and Warner said in their article, with the increasing scarcity of water there is an increase in population as well. According to UNEP, the policy which we made during managing these critical resources has an important impact on cooperation and sustainable development. Conflictual transboundary water is the reason for having social unrest and conflict within and between countries. To deal with the dispute between countries, there must be legal and institutional frameworks for the transboundary waters.

In transboundary water issues, a positive action can cause a conflict between riparian countries. For example, dam's. A one-sided policy such as dam construction, which would affect the flow to downstream can be the reason for having disputes between upstream and downstream countries, says, UNEP (2016).

In transboundary water disputes, another important thing is borders. During the history, water plays an important role for determining the borders, says, Zeitouna and Warner in their article (2006). According to Zeitouna and Warner, transboundary water disputes are explained generally with post-colonial theory. Because of colonial power boundaries were drawn according to their interest and they did not consider colonized countries' situation. During colonial time, transboundary waters did not

cause to dispute because colonial power ruled and control the riparian countries in a positive way.

Transboundary water dispute examples include Nile River, Omo River, Okavango River, Orange- Senqu River, Volta River. All these rivers are transboundary rivers and they have most important common thing, they were ruled and their boundaries were determined by the colonial powers. This is the most important reason why I choose these rivers in my study because all around the world there are different transboundary rivers as well such as, Colorado River, Rhine River etc., but they were not affected by the colonial powers like as Nile River, Omo River, Okavango River, Orange- Senqu River, Volta River.

These transboundary waters which have dispute mainly affected by the colonial powers. To maintain their power or for their own interest colonial powers drew the boundaries as their wish or they give more power for the control of the river to one country, again for their own interest, and the other countries could not say anything because they were ruled by the colonial powers.

As I mentioned above, these rivers, which have transboundary dispute, are explained in the literature with reference to different reasons and one of the reasons is colonial legacy and borders according to post-colonial theory. We have to understand in which conditions and their aims, colonisers drawn boundaries to colonies which later may cause transboundary water disputes.

According to Imre Josef Demhardt (1998:104), colonisers drawn boundaries because of three reasons. Firstly, they draw because they want to control these places economy. Secondly they want to be more powerful in colonies and lastly for the future they want to maintain their power there so they draw boundaries to separate people which are from same origin or from same nation. Demhardt explained the second reason with colonial rivalry. According to him, because there were not only one colonisers so to be more powerful, coloniser need to draw boundaries which will help them to maintain their power in those lands. Lastly, he continues with saying that, colonisers because of their greediness did not pay attention to the ethnicity of people and to the topographical conditions and draw boundaries according to their interest. At the end after the decolonisation, new emerged countries started to have

problems because of those drawn boundaries. One of those problems are transboundary water dispute.

Another scholar, Adekunle Ajala (1983:177) said that, boundaries have important position for the colonisers such as, political and social significance. So they draw the boundaries in Africa because they want to have political power and they want to have upper position compare to other colonisers. According to Ajala (1983:180), colonisers drawn lines from one point on the map to another, without considering family affairs or their affinity linguistic similarities, because their aim was making those colonies too dependent to them. So they can control and have power on them in the future as well.

Robert Blanton et. al. (2001:476), in their article mentioned that, the main reason why colonisers drawn boundaries was economic reasons. They believed that, after the industrial revolution, European powers began to import agricultural goods and raw materials. In this case, Africa and Asia played an important role. So they decided and drawn boundaries to have more power to control in places which had agricultural goods and raw materials.

3.3.1. Economic

As Demhardt (1998:104) and Blanton et. al. (2001:476) said above, the first reason why colonisers drawn boundaries was because of economic reasons. Volta river is a good example for this part. The Volta River Basin is the 9th largest in Africa. The Volta River is boundary to six African states, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin and Togo. According to Buah (1998), these borders determined by the colonial powers and each of the countries endured different colonial experiences. Buah continues with saying that, before European colonization of West Africa, boundaries for the Volta river were defined according to difference between ethnic groups. Before study the post-colonial water management developments for Volta River, it should be recognized that the Volta Basin became transboundary when British, French, and Germans draw the boundaries (Lautze, Jonathan; Barry, Boubacar; Youkhana, Eva 2006). Those riparian countries have dispute for ruling and controlling Volta River. Generally, they have energy crises and could not determine how to control Volta River. The relation between Volta River and

economy was salt trade. According to Sutton, I. (1981:43) salt has been produced in Ghana. So, Britain wants to control salt trade which comes from Volta river. The British attempted to regulate and tax the trade, and it was important to determining the price (Sutton,1981:43). So Britain's wants to have full control there because of economic reasons they drawn boundaries according to their interest.

3.3.2. Power Relations

Second dimension for drawing borders was power relations. Nile and Okavango River are good examples for power relations. Britain wants to have control and more power on Suez Canal against the other colonisers so this led Britain favour Egypt and drawn boundaries according to power relations. The Nile Basin includes ten different states - Burundi, Eritrea, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Congo. According to Sam L. Laki (1998), The Nile has two major tributaries, the White Nile and Blue Nile. The primary stream of Nile is, The White Nile, on the other hand, The Blue Nile is the source of most of the water says, Laki (1998). The White Nile rises in the Great Lakes region of central Africa. White Nile's farthest sources are located in either Rwanda or Burundi. It flows north through Tanzania, Lake Victoria, Uganda and South Sudan. On the other hand, The Blue Nile begins at Lake Tana, Ethiopia, and flows into Sudan. The two rivers meet just north of the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, said Laki (1998).

Nile River is an important river for that region said Laki, he continued with saying that, Nile River played an important role during civilization time of Egypt and Sudan, without that water there would be no human, no food or no state says, Laki (1998).

According to Laki, when Europeans entered to Africa during 1880, they bring conflict as well. In 1882 Egypt was colonized by England and with colonization, in the Nile Basin see new states emerging (Eritrea, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, and Tanganika) and set off new competition for resources and territory appear with these new states (Laki, 1998). According to Robert Collins (2002), with Nile Delta, Egypt was prized with agricultural productivity and when the Suez Canal was completed in 1869, the importance of Egypt for the British empire increased because with Suez Canal. According to Collins2002), with Egypt, British Empire could reach

Indian Ocean and Red Sea this means, having more trade with their richest colony, India.

As I mentioned above, during colonial time, because Britain favoured Egypt and did everything to developed agriculture there and when the colonies gone, conflicts over Nile River started with other riparian countries. According to Laki, the reason why disputes started when Britain gone was; Britain as a colonial power signed all treaties with the other riparian countries for the Nile River and drawn the borders according to their interest. So it is clear now that borders which including Nile River, drawn during colonial period and it led to be conflict when these riparian states gain their independence. On May 15, 1902, Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia signed an agreement with Britain, according to this agreement Britain will not allow Ethiopia to construct any water works on Lake Tana, the River Sobat and the Blue Nile says, Laki (1998). This agreement was about; Ethiopia would not do any projects on those rivers which will cause to any problems, to reducing the flow of water to Egypt. Again this agreement contains Egypt but as a colonial power Britain signed this agreement for Egypt. At that time there was not dispute or problems for Nile river, because colonial powers were ruling everything systematically. In Laki's article, it is clear that, treaties which were signed during colonial time was about to divide water resources and again this cause to conflict when those countries gain their independence. Another scholar Helga Haftendorn (2000) in her article mentioned that, in 1929 there was an agreement for Nile River between the British, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda and the Egyptian governments. This agreement confirmed the importance of Egypt's right of access to the Nile. With this agreement again Egypt gain upper hand over Nile River. Egypt claimed full access to the spring high waters (Egypt has 48 km³ of the water), while Sudan claimed only 4 km³ of the water. At the end, the rights of the East African states were taken from them.

When the colonial powers withdraw from that era disputes over transboundary water conflicts started to emerge said, Haftendorn (2000). Only Egypt continued to accept this agreement, which signed during colonial times, other riparian countries saw the agreement invalid says, Haftendorn (2000). Another scholar Ayşegül Kibaroglu (2007) says that, after gaining their independence from

the colonial powers, upper Nile riparian-s have, in principle, rejected all treaties which signed during colonial times, which do not support their national interest. Kibaroglu adds that, during post-colonial time, the tension or problems in the Nile River were often because of political reasons, particularly between the Egyptian and Ethiopian leadership (Kibaroglu, 2007:155). When Ethiopia came with plans to construct dams in Nile River, which will affect Egypt, heavily dependent on the Nile waters, Egypt came with saying that it can be reason for military problems.

Historically, with the colonial agreements in 1902, 1929 and 1959, Egypt has imposed its control over the Nile, on other Nile Basin nations says, Di Nunzio (2013). In 1970, Egypt threatened war over the building of the Fincha Dam in Ethiopia. Sholami Dinar (2003:9), provides a good example, about Egypt's President Sadat. In 1978, President Sadat stated: "we depend upon the Nile 100 percent in our life, so if anyone, at any moment thinks to deprive us of our life we shall never hesitate to go to war because it is a matter of life or death. (Dinar 2003:9.)" Again this is a good example that, after colonial power gone there is a dispute over transboundary water and it is because of borders which drawn by the colonial powers. According to Gleick (1991), when the other riparian counties come together for the Nile river, in 1985, the former Egyptian foreign minister Boutros Ghali had warned them and said, "The next war in our region will be over the waters of the Nile." (Gleick:1991). It is clear that, because colonial power Great Britain gave full control and power to Egypt because of Britain's interest, after the decolonisation, Egypt wants to continue with its power over Nile River. Other riparian countries did not want this and dispute over transboundary water emerged in Nile River. In 2004, when Tanzania planned the construction of the Lake Victoria pipeline, Egypt said that, they would bomb the pipeline the reason was, Egypt needed the flow of water for Aswan Dam (Di Nunzio:2013). This conflict between Egypt and Tanzania base on the agreement in 1929, which was signed between Tanzania and British. Giving absolute rights to Egypt for controlling the river was Britain decision, the decision was the reason for the potential conflict over water.

In May 2010, Entebbe Agreement were signed with the Nile Basin countries, their aim was to replace the 1923 convention, which was like a prize for Egypt and Sudan says, Di Nunzio (2013:3). The importance of Entebbe Agreement is, it took

the control of Nile river from Egypt and Sudan and allowed other riparian countries to contract plans or dams over Nile river contrary to the restrictions of the colonial treaties says, Di Nunzio (2013: 3).

Other important river for power relations is Okavango River. The Okavango River is a river in southwest Africa. The Okavango River is the third largest in southern Africa. It begins in Angola. It draws the borders between Angola and Namibia and at the end flows into Botswana. According to Antoinette Sebastian (2008:207), the borders of the Okavango riparian were decided at the Berlin Conference in 1884 and later on other treaties signed between Portugal, Britain and Germany, during the 1880s and 1890s. Again these treaties were like the other colonial treaties, their aim was to serve according to the colonial enterprise. Like Britain favour Egypt in this example, Britain favoured Botswana and this country gain upper hand during colonial time for controlling Okavango River. Britain favoured Botswana because of gold and diamonds mines. There were other colonisers so boundaries drawn according to mines locations and each coloniser wanted to have more mines in their boundaries.

3.3.3. Drawing Boundaries for the Future

As Demhardt (1998,104) and Ajala (1983:177) said above, because colonisers want to maintain their power in the future they draw boundaries to separate people which are from same origin or from same nation. Omo and Orange- Senqu River are good examples for this definition. In Omo river case, before colonisers went there, people were living together in same tribe. Colonisers saw it and they draw the boundaries like these people were from different tribes says Karl W. Butzer (1971). When the colonial powers defined African borders in the late 19th century, they either used a ruler or followed the courses of rivers and lakes¹⁴. Omo River is one of the rivers which borders decided by the colonial powers. Unfortunately, most of the borders are still apply today says, Butzer (1971).

¹⁴ Retrieved from <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/river-and-lake-borders-are-not-always-clearly-defined-africa-so-water-disputes-are-common>

The problem for Omo River is, because its borders drawn during colonial period there is a transboundary water dispute between Kenya and Ethiopia. According to Marine LeSter (2011), when Ethiopia decided to build the Gilgel Gibe III Dam on the Omo River, this caused to be a problem because, the Omo is the main water source for several Ethiopian and Kenyan tribes, the dam could potentially cause violent conflict (LeSter:2011). In 2011, around lake Turkana, Ethiopian civilians on Kenyan territory made attacks against Kenyans says, LeSter (2011). Both countries tribes are consuming from this lake and there is a dispute because of access to water resources. Their dispute started because of colonial powers border decision and this let them to have transboundary water dispute after they gained their independence.

The other river for this part is Orange-Senqu River. When the colonisers came and draw boundaries they decided, Namibia belongs to South African territory. Colonisers aim was to make these two country dependent on each other because they shared Orange- Senqu river and this river was like a natural boundary for these countries, between Namibia and South Africa. Colonisers drawn the boundaries so these countries could not do anything without each other and this led them to depend on colonisers in the future as well. Lesotho, South Africa and Namibia was sharing Orange-Senqu River. Each of the riparian countries have high demands for water. Borders between Namibia and South Africa were formed from Orange River. According to Sebastian (2008), these countries borders were determined during the colonial times and again those colonial countries used the Orange-Senqu river as borders for those countries. During 1890, German colonial rule, decided the Orange River boundaries and this boundary causes conflict between Namibia and South Africa says, Sebastian (2008). They did not know where, how and under which rules the borders should be determined because during and after colonial times, Namibia belonged to South Africa. As we can see borders which determined during colonial times causes transboundary water dispute when countries get their independence.

For both Namibia and South Africa Orange River was an important river says Sebastian (2008). Orange River helped for their economic development, mining or for their agricultural production plans. Today, South Africa is the main source of electoral power for Namibia, this is the reason why Namibia need water. Having

access to water means economic growth for Namibia says, Sebastian (2008). Because of transboundary water dispute between two countries, we see disputes related to fishing, mining, and grazing rights.

When Britain and Germany made agreement over Orange River in the early 19th century, they made the roots of transboundary water dispute between Namibia and South Africa.

As we understood from above when colonial boundaries decided, some states become more water rich than others, or have more power to control rivers. It is clear that, there is a dispute over transboundary waters and main reason for this dispute is colonial powers and their decisions and it is clear that, colonisers drawn boundaries according to their interest. With Demhardt's (1998:104) article it is more clear that colonisers decided to the boundaries locations with specific purposes. These purposes are related with post-colonial theory as well. Dispute over Nile River can be explain with Post-colonial theory because during colonial times, there were not a dispute or problem which contains Nile River because colonial power rule or controlled it in systematic way and they draw borders which later affect the relation between riparian countries negatively. Colonial power Britain gave full control to Egypt for the Nile River and again this led to have dispute with other riparian countries when colonies gone. It is clear that before colonial powers they were how to control Volta River, when colonial powers came and determined river according to their wish, controlling Volta River became more difficult for those riparian countries.

Chapter 4

Soviet Colonial Practices and Transboundary Water Dispute

Soviet colonialism was different than European colonialism for several reasons; such as, nationalist movements and colonising places which are closed to Soviet Union. In European colonies we see a nationalism movement against colonisers. Compare to the European colonies, in Soviet Union we do not see a nationalist movement against Soviet Union. So in Soviet Union, nationalism did not occur as a reaction to Soviet colonial practices, but in European colonies we see an anti-colonial nationalism. This is a good example to John Breuilly (2017; 11-29) studies. According to Breuilly (2017:11-29), in European colonies there occur nationalism against colonial powers but in Soviet Union we could not see nationalist struggles against Soviet Union.

According to David Chioni Moore (2001;119), the differences between European and Soviet Union colonisation is, unlike Britain and France, Soviet Union did not jump thousands of miles beyond their own borders to other continents. Compare to Soviet Union, Britain and France have oceans between their colonies but Soviet Union colonies were adjacent to Soviet Union says, Moore (2001;119). Soviet Union colonised places or peoples stood next to its borders. According to Nadezhda K. Radina and Mariia V. Kokina (2017:276), this can explain with internal colonialism as well, Soviet Union and its central Asian colonies have a core and periphery relations. The core are generally Russian elites and dominate the periphery which are Tajik and Uzbek peasants says, Radina and Kokina (2017:276). The differences between European colonisation and Soviet colonisation for internal colonialism is, Soviet Union incorporate political culturally distinct groups by the core and bring these territories within state borders says, Radina and Kokina (2017: 276).

According to Moore (2001; 119), the other important differences between Soviet and European colonisation was, compare to the European Colonies, Soviet Union gave primacy to water during colonising places. The other differences were,

Soviet Union did not categorise themselves neither west nor east. According to Moore (2001; 119), European colonial powers generally made the categorization of east and west.

This part of my thesis will contain Soviet colonial practices in central Asia especially in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and we will see how these colonial practices led these two countries have transboundary water dispute. In Chapter 3, explained post- colonial theory, and the relation between post-colonial theory and transboundary water dispute all around the world. The aim of this part is to show, whether Soviet Union colonised these countries or not. After answering this question, we will see in which categories Soviet Union colonised these countries.

4.1. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan under Soviet Rule

To provide a general overview of Soviet colonial practices over Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is the purpose of this part. To categorize these practices, we can say that, Soviet Union made policies in three aspects, economic, cultural and water related policies.

According to Michael Rywkin (2015:44), when Soviet Union started to rule central Asia, took the water rights of local people (to use it freely), centralized it and started to call Muslim people as peasant “dekhane”. During 1929, Soviet Union started to make pressure on peasants to start to collectivize. According to Rywkin (2015:46), Soviet rulers started to change Tajik and Uzbek farmer’s traditional farm and told them to break up those herds and to put pressure on the nomad owners to pool their animal’s in collective farms. Soviet main aim with collective farming was organizing farms unit, worked by a community under the supervision of the state.

Cotton is the other important Soviet colonial practices for Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. For Soviet Union, Central Asia was the main cotton area. According to Ünal Çevikgöz (2007:48), before Soviet Union cotton in Uzbekistan covered only 19 per cent after Soviet rule, Uzbekistan produced around 66% of the world cotton during Soviet Union time says, Çevikgöz (2007:48). As said before Soviet Union cotton covered only 19 per cent in Uzbekistan, so Uzbekistan had grains, rice, wheat as well but because of Soviet economic practices, in Uzbekistan we see decrease in rice and wheat production (Rywkin,2015:44).

According to the national economy of the Tajik SSR Statistical Yearbook, Dushanbe, 1991, during 1938 the cotton production in Uzbekistan was 917.2 and all cereals was 1.452.7 tonnes. During 1986, the number of cotton production increase to 2.054.5 and all cereals decreased to 115.6. We can see how Soviet economic practices increased cotton production in Uzbekistan compare to cereals. So after the Soviet colonial practices we see Uzbekistan's lands were Soviet cotton production areas. This made Uzbekistan dependent on water because cotton needs a lot of water.

According to Azizur Rahman Khan and Dharam Ghai (1979:13), Tajikistan's water was important for Soviet economic practices for the agricultural products and energy. For Soviet Union, because of its hydroelectric resource and for aluminium, Tajikistan was important compared to all the republics of the USSR. According to Boris Z. Rumer (1989:47-53), between 1960s and 1980s the Soviet Union built dams in Tajikistan. Soviet aim was, producing energy through those dams and using this energy in fabric so again economic practices are important for Soviet Union. Rogun Dam is the other important policy which Soviet Union made for economic development. Rogun Dam will demonstrate in this chapter.

According to Richard Pomfret (1995:102), during 1972, Soviet Union built an aluminium plant in Tursunzade- Tajikistan. Until that time Soviet Union was importing aluminium from America, to avoid to be dependent on America for aluminium, Soviet Union built aluminium plant in Tajikistan (Storli,2008:4). Again this shows how Soviet Union made colonial practices over Tajikistan in economic aspect. This cannot be seen as investment because aluminium plant did not help to developed Tajikistan and was not asked Tajikistan during construction of this aluminium plant. According to Richard Pomfret (1995:102), if it were an investment than Soviet Union could make a different investment but Soviet Union's was to not to be dependent on USA for aluminium. Although Tajikistan were autonomous the ruling class was Russian elites so decisions were taken from that elites and, it was not Tajik's people decisions (Rywkin, 2015:114). It was Soviet Russian decisions which accepted though their elites. Cotton was important for Tajikistan as well. For example, during 1940 production of raw cotton was 0.17 million tons and it increased to 0.4 million tons in 1960, and during 1980 it reached 1 million tons says, Tadzhiiskoï (1991:472).

Cultural policies which made by Soviet Union contains religion, language and discrimination¹⁵. For religion, according to Rywkin (2015:87), after 1928 Soviet Union, started to close religious school and mosques. The number of mosques in the USSR decreased from 26,279 in 1912 to 1,312 in 1942, and to only about 450 in 1976 (Rywkin, 2015:87). According to Rywkin, young were not allowed to go mosques without having permission and they were not allowed to grow beard as well. Other cultural policy is language. Uzbek and Tajik alphabets changed by the Soviet Union twice, at the beginning Soviet Union modified Arabic alphabet after that they replaced it to Cyrillic alphabet (Rywkin, 2015:92). Changing their alphabet and replacing Turkic origin words by Russian ones, make it easy for Soviet Union to cut Tajik and Uzbek ties with their past. Another important thing for language policies is, Soviet Union made Russian as the Lingua Franca. According to Rywkin (2015:94), this means, only people who are able to speak Russian like their mother language will be able to work in state affairs and central Asian people who are not able to speak Russian like their mother language will be work in low jobs. This is a good example for Soviet colonial discrimination policy as well. Russian people were like the upper class they and people like Uzbek' and Tajik's are the inferior one. Russian language was Russians native language so if central Asian people are not able to speak like Russian their native language they were not preferred in state affairs. The main reason for central Asian people not to able speak Russian like their native language was, at home they were speaking their native language and at school Russian. Like mentioned above, Uzbek and Tajik were mainly peasants and Russian elites were the ruling class (Rywkin, 2015:114). According to Geoffrey Wheeler (1958 :220), learning Russian was equal with having good education in Soviet Union. Wheeler continues with, Russian as the Lingua Franca make it harder for people, who are from central Asian origin, to have good education. Without knowing Russian like mother language, higher education and professional advancement is impossible said, Wheeler (1958:220).

Lastly, water related Soviet colonial policies are related with border issue as well. According to Olivier Roy (2000:76), during Soviet Union, Uzbekistan was the

¹⁵ This made Soviet Union colonial power, because like the other colonial powers such as Britain Soviet Union made policies on their cultural habits.

most powerful country among central Asian countries (because of population and cotton). To control Uzbekistan, in 1929 Soviet Union took it from Uzbek and gave Khujand-Kayrakum to Tajik side. The importance of Khujand-Kayrakum is the control of Syr Darya (Roy,2000:76). So these new borders of these two states was one of the main reasons to having border problems after the dissolution of Soviet Union. In this example we see, because of colonial practices Soviet Union draw boundaries again which affected the Syr Darya control and led to be a transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan

It is clear now, in central Asia Soviet Union was a colonial power, and colonised central Asian countries from 1922 until 1991. As explained in Chapter 2, there are scholars who believed colonisers drawn boundaries according to some purposes. According to Imre Josef Demhardt (1998:104), colonisers drawn boundaries because of three reasons. These are, economic reasons, power related reasons and drawing boundaries for the future. Robert Blanton et. al. (2001:476), in their article mentioned that, the main reason why colonisers drawn boundaries was economic reasons. In Chapter 3, mentioned that according to which reasons colonisers drawn boundaries in Africa. Now in this part we will see according to which reasons Soviet Union drawn boundaries especial between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in central Asia. After that part, the smooth period, Tsarist Russian period, for the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan according to Chapter 2 (The Roots of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's Water Dispute) will be mentioned. Soviet colonialism and transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan will be explained with the case of Khujand-Karyakum and case of Rogun Dam. We will see how those drawn boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan led them have dispute over transboundary water.

4.2. Soviet Colonial Practices and Drawing Boundaries

I focus on the impact of boundaries coloniser drew on the water dispute. As Tsarist Russia did not draw boundaries and during that period rivers accepted as boundaries for the nation, (Mart ń, 2017:28), I focus on Soviet boundaries, like mentioned above there were different reasons for colonisers to draw new boundaries in their colonies. It is clear that Soviet Union made a colony from central Asian countries. Especially

between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan the case from drawing new boundaries was more visible. It is because, when Soviet Union were established, farming was important for them it was like symbol (Teichmann, 2007:506). According to Teichmann (2007:506), cotton was one of the important product for Soviet economy. So as mentioned in the previous chapter, Britain favoured Egypt in Nile river case because of political reasons and Britain favoured Botswana and this country gain upper hand during colonial time for controlling Okavango River because Botswana had gold and diamonds mines (Sebastian, 2008:207). In Soviet Union case because of cotton, which is an economic reason, Soviet Union favoured Uzbekistan and drawn boundaries with this perspective (Teichmann, 2007:506).

Now we will see the colonial practices for Soviet Union during drawing the boundaries according to Demhardt (1998:104), Blanton et. al. (2001:476) and Ajala (1983:177) descriptions.

4.2.1. Economic

As Demhardt (1998:104) and Blanton et. al. (2001:476) said in the previous chapter, the first reason why colonisers drawn boundaries was because of economic reasons. In Soviet Union case this economic reasons played an important role because as Adams, (2008:6) said, Soviet Union's aim was not having some powerful central Asian countries, but to have powerful Soviet Union. So the first step to have a powerful Soviet Union was having a powerful economy (Adams, 2008:6). According to Elie Kedourie (2013), when Soviet Union started to rule central Asia, they nationalized the land, started to have a collectivised agriculture and come with planned socialist economy. Central Asian countries economies were accepted as a part of Soviet economy and controlled from Moscow says, Kedourie (2013). It was Moscow's decision to decide to what will be produced where, determined the share of resources. Prices and wages were decided by Moscow as well says, Kedourie (2013). As mentioned above in the Tajikistan and Uzbekistan under Soviet rule, to work in state planning or in government works Uzbek's and Tajik's should speak Russian like their native language. According to David Lewis (2011:184) like other colonial powers, the Soviets used central Asia and it was a place which Soviet could get raw materials from. Such as cotton was from Uzbekistan and aluminium was from Tajikistan.

Another reason for drawing boundaries according to Lewis was, to create markets for Russian goods. According to Newton (1976:92) Soviet Union bought raw materials from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and sold them back finished goods this helped Soviet Union to create markets for their goods. Newton in his article show us the data from 1966-1970 and 1971-1975 for the market of Soviet Union goods. The reason why Newton choose these years is the Soviet 8th and 9th Five Years economic plans. Compare these two five years' economic plans we see Soviet Union used its colonial power and improved its market for goods in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Such as in the 8th five-year economic plan (1966-70) Tajikistan was buying 28 per cent of Soviet goods and in the 9th five-year economic plan (1971-75) Tajikistan was buying 33.8 per cent of Soviet goods. Uzbekistan in the 8th five-year economic plan (1966-70) was buying 24 per cent of Soviet goods and in the 9th five-year economic plan (1971-75) Uzbekistan was buying 30.8 per cent of Soviet goods (Newton, 1976:94). Buying more goods form Soviet Union made Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to depend on Soviet Union. This made Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to produce products which they could not buy from Soviet Union. In short, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan could not produce whatever they want so their economy were dependent on Soviet economy. At the end they could not decide for producing product without Soviet Union.

As explained before agriculture was important for Soviet economy and the role of Uzbekistan for agricultural economy was cotton. Especially after 1950, Uzbekistan was decided as the centre of the Soviet Union's cotton production. Starting in the 1950s, seed cotton production grew from 300,000 tons to a peak of three million tons by the mid-1980s. Lewis (2011:184) continues with saying that, Soviet Union decided the boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan with considering cotton production. Uzbekistan was famous with cotton and Soviet Union drew the boundaries so that they could get massive cotton production. In that case, Soviet Union favoured Uzbekistan because of economic reasons. According to Ünal Çevikgöz (2007:48), Soviet Union favoured Uzbekistan with giving fertile lands to Uzbekistan for producing cotton. According to Karen Frenken (2013), with around 65% cotton production, Uzbekistan had a significant role in the former Soviet economy. Cotton production increased from 350,000 tons in 1913 to more than 5 million tons in 1990 says, Frenken (2013).66% of world cotton was produced by

Uzbekistan during Soviet Union time (Frenken:2013). According to Max Spoor (1993:149) another important evidence that shows us Soviet Union colonised according to economic reasons is the cotton cultivated areas in Uzbekistan. During 1960 these areas was 1,427,900 hectares and increased to 1,709,200 in 1970, in 1980 these areas reached 2,000,000 hectares and the output reached 4.5 million tons in 1970 and more than five million tons in 1980 says, Spoor (1993:149).

According to Richard Pomfret (1995:102) Soviet Union built an aluminium plant in Tursunzade- Tajikistan and it was lauded in the Soviet press as the embodiment of "the aluminium industry of tomorrow". Aluminium was important for Soviet Union because until they established aluminium plant in Tursunzade-Tajikistan they were importing from America (Storli,2008:4) and do not want to be depended to western part of the world. Pomfret (1995:102) continuing with saying that, in the former Soviet Union, the aluminium smelter was the most modern aluminium smelter and it produced 15 per cent of the USSR's aluminium capacity. Again this shows us, because Soviet Union do not want to be dependent on America for aluminium they built aluminium plant in Tajikistan without considering Tajikistan's interests. According to Pomfret (1995:102), aluminium plant was not efficient enough to develop Tajikistan's economy. Pomfret continues with saying that, these Soviet investments we're not developing Tajikistan because the huge portion of the money which comes from aluminium plant went to Soviet Union's economy not Tajikistan's economy. Tajikistan only got harmful gas from that aluminium plant. Soviet Union draw boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to protect the cotton fields in Uzbekistan and not to divide these fields. To control, decide and made policies for one country was easier for Soviet Union. As a colonial power, to protect Soviet Union interest, they divide and rule Tajikistan's and Uzbekistan's economy.

4.2.2. Power Relations

According to Demhardt (1998:104) second dimension for drawing borders was power relations. According to him, because there were not only one colonisers, so to be more powerful, coloniser need to draw boundaries which will help them to maintain their power in those lands. Adeb Khalid (2016:157), mentioned about that topic for central Asia. When Soviet Union wanted to colonize central Asia, Great

Britain had an eye there too. He said that, there was a power competition between Soviet Union and Britain over the future of central Asia. So because Soviet Union wanted to protect its colony from other colonisers, it divided and draw new boundaries in central Asia. Rafis Abazov (2008:82) mentioned that, central Asia was the open door to Afghanistan and Afghanistan was the open door to India. India was an important colony for Britain that is why according to Abazov, Britain had desire to control or enter central Asia. This led Soviet Union be more careful against Britain and have colonial rivalry between Soviet Union and Britain says Abazov.

As I mentioned above, Great Britain had an eye on central Asia and they tried to have a control over there too. According to Abazov (2008:78), after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, with the support of Great Britain people established Trans-Caspian Province Government with its centre in Ashkhabad in 1918 says, Abazov (2008). British army helped them to fight against Bolsheviks. This area which British supported to separate from Bolshevik Russia was a resources-rich area and Russian authorities accused the British of making plans which will separate resources-rich area from Bolshevik Russia. This was another reason why Soviet Union draw boundaries because of power relations.

Abazov (2008:82) wrote about colonial rivalry concept as well. He gave the example of, the Uzbek SSR, in 1924 Uzbek SSR was established with its capital in Samarqand as a union republic. Tajik region with its capital in Dushanbe was as an autonomous republic within the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Because of colonial rivalry Soviet Union gave Tajik's the status of union republic within the USSR in 1929 and the territory of the Khujand region was transferred from the Uzbek SSR to the Tajik SSR says, Abazov (2008:84). Making Tajikistan autonomous from Uzbekistan helped in colonial rivalry because as said before, with creating new boundaries and new areas make it difficult for Uzbek's and Tajik's to adjust easily to the environment and this help Soviet Union to adjust them with colonial practises.

Giving Khujand from Uzbek to Tajik was one of the important dispute between Tajik and Uzbek. Because of Khujand, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have transboundary water dispute. As we see Soviet Union draw boundaries to protect their colony from other colonial power. For protecting them they create conflict

inside the boundaries and those nations could not look at outside world. According to Vera Tolz (2008:80), when Great Britain wanted to study central Asia and the people of central Asia, Soviet Union was annoyed and did not allow Great Britain to study central Asia. To prevent these studies, Soviet Union drew boundaries as Demhardt's (1998:104) definition. Those boundaries prevent British to study central Asia because Britain did not know exactly the new boundaries because of a lack of topographical knowledge (Demhardt, 1998:104).

Another important reason for those boundaries was the trade agreement in 1921 between Soviet Union and Great Britain. Aim of this agreement was, regulating the economic and political relations for the future. According to this agreement, Soviet Union could not act against Great Britain's policies in Asia. This agreement was important for Soviet Union because, Great Britain was the first country which accepted Lenin's trade agreement¹⁶. So from this agreement it is clear that at that time because Soviet Union tried to maintain its power and control in central Asia, and at that time Great Britain was powerful compare to Soviet Union, Soviet Union would not make policies which would be against Great Britain will. Soviet Union did not want to be as opposed to Great Britain, with drawing borders Soviet Union indirectly restricted Great Britain's policies towards central Asia (Kellock,1943). According to George Williams Keeton(1945), during Soviet Union's first years, the good relations with Great Britain was important for Soviet Union, for having good relations with other countries. This is another reason why Soviet Union drew boundaries to prevent Great Britain from central Asia without having trouble with Great Britain.

4.2.3. Drawing Boundaries for the Future

As Demhardt (1998:104) and Ajala (1983:177) said in the previous chapter, because colonisers want to maintain their power in the future they draw boundaries to separate people which are from same origin or from same nation. Because of their own interests, they did not pay attention to the ethnicity of people and to the topographical conditions and draw boundaries according to their interest. At the end

¹⁶ Retrieved from, Text in League of Nations Treaty Series, vol. 4, pp. 128–136.

after the decolonisation, new emerged countries started to have problems because of those drawn boundaries.

According to Adams, (2008:5), Soviet colonialism try to dominate other nations cultures and make it forgotten. When nations started to forget their own culture it will be easier to rule them and control them in the future as well. According to Khalid (2016:291), after the Soviet Union we see a Tajik nation in the history. According to him, until 1924 Tajik nation did not exist and Tajik people were belonging to Uzbek part. At that time for Tajik people there were no language ethnicity relation. This is not that Tajiks were not aware of their ethnic group or they spoke a different language, it is about, there were no linkage between Tajik language and to be a Tajik. According to Paul Bergne (2007:129), they were speaking Tajik language but they feel they belong to Uzbek nation and he continues with saying that, “the founding of Tajikistan was not the result of Tajik nationalism but the hour of its birth”. To support this, as I mentioned above, according to Abazov, (2008:84), in 1929 Soviet Union within the USSR, Tajik’s gained the status of union republic in 1929 and the territory of the Khujand region was transferred from the Uzbek to the Tajik says, Abazov, (2008:84). Without considering nations interest, just to maintain their power in the future Soviet Union divided and ruled Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. So when Soviet Union draw boundaries and divided these two nations because of Soviet interest step by step dispute between these nations started.

According to Kahlid (2016:291), when Soviet gave Bukhara and Samarkand (Tajik populated places) to Uzbekistan, it become more difficult to secure unity for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. According to Bijaya K Das (2008:67), Cyrillic alphabet was imposed by Soviet Union to central Asian countries, to cut them with their past and also with other Persian and Turkic speakers elsewhere to minimize regional interaction. He continues with saying that, to each central Asian country, Soviet Union adopted a unique version of the Cyrillic alphabet. Before they were not using Cyrillic alphabet and they were using Perso-Arabic alphabet says, Das (2008:67). Soviet aim was to have differences in linguistic aspect.

4.2.4. Soviet Post-Colonial Legacy

What happened when Soviet Union leave central Asia after colonising ¹⁷these places? After Soviet Union dissolution there occur a nationalist dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, we see clash of nationalism. Transboundary water dispute is one of the examples which happened because of the clash of nationalism between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

During Soviet Union time according to Michael Denison (2011;61), Soviet Union impose Soviet Nationalism in central Asia and nations in central Asia accepted Soviet Nationalism and after the dissolution there emerged dispute for nation building in central Asia because nations in central Asia were influenced by Soviet Nationalism. According to Rico Isaacs and Abel Polese (2015:372), during Soviet Union time, central Asian people accepted as Soviet people, because Soviet aim was to impose Soviet Nationalism to central Asian people. Soviet Union wanted to develop Soviet Nationalism in central Asia say, Isaacs and Polese (2015:372). Isaacs and Polese continue with saying that, Soviet Union took the role of “nation-makers” in the region to develop Soviet Nationalism in central Asia. As a result of this Soviet Nationalism, after the dissolution central Asian countries had problem during nation building process, one of the good example is Tajik civil war says, Isaacs and Polese (2015:373), because they had problem after the dissolution during building their nation.

After the dissolution, as Denison (2011;61) said, there occur countries which could not know how to rule themselves. Denison (2011; 61) continues with saying that, central Asian people did not have experience of formal statehood in the modern era. There occur units which could not govern themselves, after that, these units turn to nationalism breeding ground. In short, inside the borders which drawn according to Soviet colonial practices, occur nationalism and this led them to have transboundary water dispute.

According to Moore (2001;112), “The cultures of postcolonial lands are characterized by tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of

¹⁷ Tajikistan and Uzbekistan

dependence, between the desire for autochthonous and the fact of hybrid, part-colonial origin, between resistance and complicity, and between imitation (or mimicry) and originality.” According to this definition, after the dissolution we could see mimicry in Tajikistan’s decisions. A good example is, the use of water. According to Mohira Suyarkulova (2015), Rogun Dam had a nationalist importance for Tajikistan, and Tajikistan copied nationalism from Soviet Nationalism. Tajikistan learned that, because water is flowing from Tajik lands to Uzbek lands, water belongs to Tajiks and they can control it like the Soviet controlled it during Soviet Union says, Suyarkulova (2015). Suyarkulova (2015), continued with saying that, Rogun Dam had a nationalist importance for Uzbekistan, for Uzbekistan Rogun Dam means that asking for permission from Tajikistan for the use of water which flows from Rogun Dam. Again like Tajikistan, Uzbekistan learned from Soviet Union for development they have act for their nationalist interest says, Suyarkulova (2015). This made clear that, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, copied Soviet Nationalism after the dissolution and made policies according to their nationalist interest because both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan learned to act according to their nationalist interest from Soviet Union.

These shows us, after the dissolution because of Soviet colonial practices there occur dispute over nationalism and this nationalism affected the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

4.3. Soviet Colonialism and Transboundary Water Dispute

In 1991 when Soviet Union collapsed and new independent central Asian countries emerged, according to Beatrice Mosello (2008:153), central Asian countries were not ready to such a big change. In her article, Mosello (2008:153) point out that, the roots of transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is relay on the date from the 1920 when the Soviet Union draw the border between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. According to Mosello (2008:153) these new borders were the main reason to have dispute after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Although these new borders were the main reason for having dispute between two countries, according to Mosello we did not see problems which related with transboundary water issue during Soviet Union time. Another scholar, Stuart Horsman (2018), says that, Soviet

Union was successful during building a system in central Asia for managing water, when this system has collapsed, and central Asian countries were not successful to maintain this old system because they wanted to protect their national interest first. Both articles are saying that the roots of water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan rely on Soviet management, but again both of the articles saying that the dispute started with the dissolution of Soviet Union.

Central Asia was like a back garden for Soviet Union to use for its own benefit. During Soviet times, Soviet Union used central Asian countries, in economic, political or social terms for its own benefits. The interesting thing was, all central Asian countries, and it was not problematic for them to work for Soviet Union benefits. It was like a win win game for both of them, Soviet Union was protecting them from the outside of the world and regulate everything even the life standards and the central Asian countries were working, producing or being there for Soviet Union when Soviet Union needs them. According to Maria Broxup (2007:57), the main reason why it was not problematic for central Asian countries to work for Soviet benefits was, Soviet Union had policies and made pressure to prevent movements against Soviet Union. She continues with the Basmachi movement example. According to Broxup (2007: 58), from 1918 to 1928 we see Basmachi movement in Central Asia and it was the biggest movement which made against Soviet Union. Soviet Union was more powerful than the movement and it end with the Soviet victory. This showed central Asian Countries Soviet Union is powerful they cannot beat Soviet Union so they have to learn to live under the Soviet rule (Broxup, 2007:71)

For some scholar's Soviet days were the peaceful days for the central Asian countries, because Soviet divided, and made policies to central Asian territories for Soviet benefit and the benefit was, to make it easier during ruling or controlling central Asian countries. From the beginning Soviet Union' main aim and policy was to have a hand over central Asian countries and to make them dependent to Moscow. It was not easy for Soviet Union to provide the peace and let those central Asian countries to live under the Soviet Union's roof. However, they managed to live under the Soviet Union until 1991. For sure during Soviet Union time, those central Asian countries had problems and conflict with each other, because it was not easy to live

with different identities together. All nations have their own customs, own life style. Although they were under the Soviet roof they had different identities. Despite all problems they lived in peace because of Soviet Union's well managed system.

As we understood from above Soviet Union draw boundaries during their colonial rule, and those new boundaries bring different dispute together. After the dissolution of Soviet Union, we see economic disputes and cultural disputes (Mosello, 2008:153). One of those disputes between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is transboundary water dispute. Uzbekistan have water supply from the major rivers, Amu Darya and Syr Darya. For his reason, over Amu Darya and Syr Darya, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have transboundary water dispute. Amu Darya is mainly affected policies by Rogun Dam, and Syr Darya is mainly affected from the policies in Khujand-Kayrakum. Major places of transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is Khujand and Rogun Dam. To understand the origin of the dispute I will analyse two case studies; the case of Khujand- Kayrakum and the case of Rogun Dam.

4.3.1. Case of Khujand- Kayrakum

A good example which is related with transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is the Khujand city. Khujand is a border city between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. One of the important thing about Khujand is, Syr Darya river is in Khujand that is why there is Kayrakum reservoir. To understand the dispute over Khujand between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan the historical context is important. According to Stefan Klötzli (1997: 35), in the Soviet law system, water resources were belonging to state therefore they accepted as a free good. According to Zubaidullo Ubaidulloev (2015: 84), when Soviet Union came to power the city of Khujand was in Uzbek territories, actually all Tajikistan was belonging to Uzbek territories. During the first border decision Tajikistan was under the control of Uzbek SSR, these nations were living together but Soviet Union did not want to have a powerful Uzbek SSR there.

According to Ubaidulloev (2015: 84), Uzbek SSR wanted to act like a leader in central Asia. This disturbed Soviet Union, Tajik SSR became a part of the USSR as a union republic in November 1929. Khujand transferred to the Tajik SSR in 31 March 1929 says Paul (2007:104). According to Francine Hirsch (2000:201),

management of the river became more difficult after the dissolution because these countries main aim was to maximize their individual benefits with the use of water and energy resources of the river. According to Hirsch this is main reason of transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. He explains that during 1929 when Soviet Union decided to draw new boundaries between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Tajik's ask to have other territories from Uzbekistan, such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Surkha-Dar'ia. These territories are known as those with Tajik population. As the Soviet Union did not want to have powerful nations in Soviet Union, they gave Khujand to Tajik SSR and leave Samarkand, Bukhara, Surkha-Dar'ia in Uzbek SSR. So Soviet Union hindered Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to become more powerful and led them to have water dispute with giving Khujand (located in the Farghana valley), to Tajik SSR. According to Hirsch (2000:201), Soviet Union's main reason to give Khujand to Tajiks side was to be able to control Uzbekistan with the threat of Tajikistan because Tajikistan owns and operates the Kayrakum Reservoir and can cut the flow of water to Uzbekistan. According to Hirsch (2000:204), this new borders led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to have transboundary water dispute after the Soviet Union dissolution. Because Syr Darya is located in Khujand and from Khujand it flows to Uzbekistan.

After Soviet Union gave Khujand to Tajikistan side, the control of the Syr Darya from the Uzbek side were much more difficult because it flows from Tajikistan and the main control is in Tajik side, when the dissolution happened transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan emerged. During Soviet Union time because of the Soviet system there was no conflict between these two countries for the water. Again new boundaries which were drawn by the Soviet Union led these countries have a dispute for water.

According to Klötzli (1997: 37), Kayrakum reservoir in Khujand city lead to a dispute because, the policies which taken from Tajic side affected the used of water for the Uzbek side which they want to use it for their economic interest. Due to the Tajik "appendix" and Kayrakum reservoir gives Tajikistan 9% to control of Syr Darya river, Uzbekistan could not able to control Syr Darya with the Kayrakum reservoir (1997:39). According to Hirsch, (2000:210), the most potential insecure relation in central Asia was Uzbek- Tajik relation, because of water, and this lead

them to have transboundary water dispute. He continues with an example and says, during 1999, when Uzbekistan closed the borders to Tajik citizens and lay landmines to the border, Tajikistan cuts the water flow from Khujand- Kayrakum reservoir to Uzbekistan as a reaction. This affected Uzbek agriculture and food security for Uzbekistan.

As we know from Chapter 3, Soviet Union made Uzbekistan one of the important cotton producer and for cotton water is the most important thing. As Rebecca L. Teasley, Daene C. McKinney (2011:483) said, to have water for summer and maximise their agricultural needs Uzbekistan need water from Khujand- Kayrakum but due to bad relations with Tajikistan as we see in the example Tajikistan have the power to cut the water flow to Uzbekistan.

Khujand- Kayrakum case shows that, Soviet Union's colonial practices was successful. They draw boundaries to control and have more power on central Asia, and led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to have transboundary water dispute. Soviet Union's aim was to avoid conflicts or problems during their management on the other hand, Soviet Union was successful with their future plans. According to ¹⁸Alexander Morrison (2017) article, there are studies which said that, the reason behind the water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is Stalin's borders design which made the region problematic. Such as, when he drew borders for the new Soviet republics, he created an unstable area. Morrison (2017), continues with saying that, when Stalin started to draw, with his giant pencil, the borders, he ensures that the region would be problematic if it would rule except Soviet Union. So Morrison article shows that there are studies which are saying that Stalin's borders design made the region problematic. Also Morrison continues with saying that, when the Soviet archives started to be open the popular idea which Morrison mentioned above for Stalin started to change. According to Hirsch (2000:201) who is one of the scholar which could access Soviet archives, says that until the access of Soviet archives, Soviet Union accepted as "breaker of nations" for central Asian states. Another scholar Yuri Slezkine (1994), who is working on Soviet archives, interprets

¹⁸ Alexander Morrison is Professor of History at Nazarbayev University. He is working on Soviet Union archives.

Lenin's oppressed-nation policies into nation-building, as a good-faith of Lenin's policies. According to Slezkine (1994), Soviet give them territories and try to make them nation state because according to Soviet Union, to adopt them socialism firstly they have a nationalist framework. As mentioned above, there are scholars which says that, Soviet Union drew boundaries for their own interest but after the Soviet archives became accessible we see Soviet aim was to make them nation state.

This case shows us, Khujand- Kayrakum is like key for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Their relations mainly affected because of this area, because of water control and this was because of Soviet Union's managements or decisions which taken during their time.

4.3.2. Case of Rogun Dam

According to Mosello another dispute over water because of the colonial boundaries is Rogun Dam which built on Vakhsh River which is connected with Amu Darya. Again this led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to have dispute, because with the Rogun Dam Tajikistan did not give enough water to Uzbek side and this affect Uzbekistan's economy because of cotton. The economy of Uzbekistan is mainly dependent on Amu Darya (Smith, 1995:361). As I mentioned in Chapter 2, in 1976 the construction of the Rogun Dam started but because of Soviet dissolution and Tajikistan civil war (1992) the construction could not finish on time.

To understand the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because of the Rogun Dam we have to understand the historical context of the story. According to Sarah O'Hara (2000: 430), during Soviet Union time, water resources between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were developed and managed as one integrated scheme. The decisions which taken for the water resources were concentrated in Moscow. She claims that disputes between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which are water-abundant and water-shortage countries, were created inventively by Soviet policy-makers. According to O'Hara (2000: 430), Soviet Union's aim for creating these disputes were to avoid regional cooperation which was dangerous for Soviet rule, and to strengthen the role of Moscow as a problem-solving administration between republics. O'Hara (2000: 430), says that, this situation favoured Moscow in two ways. First, dispute over Amu Darya, Rogun Dam, limited

the potential cooperation between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, if there is no cooperation between Uzbek and Tajik side, Moscow can maintain its power there. Second this competition over controlling the Amu Darya river between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan will end with asking Moscow to intervene. The simplest example when Moscow intervene Amu Darya river was, Rogun Dam project said O'Hara.

According to Yunusova¹⁹, the main reason why Rogun was not a conflict during Soviet time and was seen as a dispute after the dissolution of Soviet Union was, Soviet Union did not lead the nations, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, known the consequences about the Rogun project. When Soviet Union started to build Rogun, both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan did not know what will happen when it will be finish and they were not interested with the consequences as well because, they were under the rule of Soviet Union and Soviets managed to control, rule them well.

During Soviet time, Uzbekistan was not against the Rogun Dam project because as mentioned above, Soviet Russian main aim was to control the water in that region and to prevent dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Soviet Russia introduce the use of Rogun dam which will be efficient for both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and no one was against it because both countries believed they will gain something from this project. Tajikistan will get their energy and Uzbekistan will get water during summer time. There was no problem for the Rogun Dam until the dissolution of Soviet Union (Ito, El Khatib, Nakayama, 2016: 693).

According to Klötzli (1997:35), in the Soviet law system, water was accepted as state property so it was accepted as free good in Soviet law system, and Soviet Union managed to control the water system without any problem between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In this context dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan over transboundary water emerged after the dissolution of Soviet Union. This Rogun Dam case a good example of how Soviet colonial practices lead to have dispute over transboundary water between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

According to Bahtiyor R. Eshchanov, Mona Grinwis Plaat Stultjes, Sanaatbek K. Salaev and Ruzumboy A. Eshchanov (2011: 1573-1579), during 2008 and 2009

¹⁹ Interview with Hurshida Yunusova, Head of Department of History of Uzbekistan; National

there was a harsh winter in central Asia. This harsh winter led Tajikistan to have energy crisis and they could not get enough energy for all country. All central Asian countries, Tajikistan is the poorest country for energy. After 2 years' energy crises between 2008 and 2009, Tajik government decided to restart the construction of Rogun Dam. Tajikistan believed that, the solution for the existing energy problem was Rogun Dam. According to Max Spoor and Anatoly Krutov (2003: 612), with the construction of Rogun Dam, it will allow Tajikistan to have complete control of water flow to Uzbekistan. Further development of Tajikistan's hydro energy potential will have negative consequences on Uzbekistan's seasonal water allocations. As soon as Tajikistan announced the construction of Rogun Dam, Uzbekistan stand ups to this construction (ICG,2014).

It is clear that, Rogun Dam is related with energy problem between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Again this shows us, Soviet Union's colonial practices cause this dispute. At the beginning to be more powerful and to control Uzbekistan and Tajikistan easily, Soviet Union developed a system which was controlled from Moscow. This system could not continue when Soviet Union left central Asia, and this led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to dispute over Rogun Dam. Soviet colonial practices were the main reason for the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because during colonial times, constructing Rogun Dam was not a problem because Soviet colonial policies controlled everything. The energy system was controlled by Moscow and problems did not emerge until the dissolution of Soviet Union. Tajikistan needed to continue with the construction of Rogun Dam because they do not have resources for using during winter. The Soviet colonial practices led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to have dispute over water because of Tajikistan's need for energy.

According to Fernando Garcés De Los Fayos (2014:4), Uzbekistan's concerns for the Rogun Dam is, after the Rogun Dam, Uzbekistan will get not enough water for the agricultural purposes and it raised concerns about an earthquake, since the Rogun Dam will be constructed in an active zone in Tajikistan. Here both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have dispute because of Soviet colonial practices, for example; Tajik side wanted to build Rogun Dam to have enough energy and became energy independent on the other hand, Uzbek side said that, after the Rogun Dam

they could not get enough water and it will affect their economy because of agricultural dependency. According to Behrooz Abdolvand et.al. (2015:907), Rogun Dam case is an important case for Uzbek side, because Uzbekistan is one of the important leading countries in cotton production, and its economy is dependent on agriculture. The Rogun Dam will decrease the water flow from Tajikistan to Uzbekistan and this will affect the cotton production sector a lot.

The economic aspects of the Rogun Dam case could be explained with post-colonial theory as well. It is clear that cotton is one of the important product for Uzbekistan economy. The importance of the cotton for Uzbek economy started to be important during Soviet colonial times. This was an important Soviet policy for Uzbekistan economy. Making Uzbekistan's economy to depend on cotton was because of Soviet colonial policies. After the dissolution of Soviet Union, Uzbekistan could not leave to grow cotton because their lands were used for cotton growing and people were used to growing cotton in their lands (Abdolvand, et. al. ,2015:907). Another good example to show why it was not easy for Uzbekistan to leave cotton production was Islam Karimov's speech from 2014. According to him,²⁰ "In Soviet times, agriculture in Uzbekistan was targeted exclusively on cotton production, so the soil grew poorer decade by decade, and was poisoned with chemicals; crop rotation did not exist."

To have a good economy Uzbekistan needed to produce cotton and to grow cotton Uzbekistan needed water. Water was coming from Tajikistan side, and with the Rogun Dam control of water was in Tajikistan's hand. With the help of post-colonial theory, we see that, the case of Rogun Dam has economic aspects as well. Such as, Soviet Union's colonial practices led Uzbekistan to depend on more water and this led Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to have water dispute over Rogun Dam, again because Soviet colonial practiced decided to build Rogun Dam in Tajikistan.

According to Roman Kozhevnikov (2012), after Tajikistan made the announcement of Rogun Dam construction, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan discussed the

²⁰ "FAO top executive sees Uzbekistan food conference as key to boost agricultural production", Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/director-general/newsroom/news/detail/en/c/234098/>

Rogun Dam reconstruction. During 2012, Uzbekistan cut the gas supplies to Tajikistan, for Uzbek side the reason for cutting gas was, Tajikistan debts to Uzbekistan. For Tajikistan, the reason for cutting gas was, the Rogun Dam. Tajikistan believed that there is a connection between halt of gas supplies and the Rogun Dam construction plans says, Kozhevnikov (2012). According to Raushan Nurshayeva (2012), on the same year, the president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, mentioned about Rogun Dam subject in an official statement. He said that the hydropower plant could lead to an armed conflict between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Karimov stated that: "Water resources could become a problem in the future that could escalate tensions not only in our region, but on every continent (...) I won't name specific countries, but all of this could deteriorate to the point where not just serious confrontation, but even wars could be the result." These all happened because of Soviet Union's colonial practices. To support this idea, policies which happened during Tsarist period is a good example. Again during Tsarist period rivers were accepted as a boundary but people were living together in those boundaries. During Soviet Union's time, Soviet Union consciously divided Amu Darya and Syr Darya between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Soviet aim was not having a powerful nationality against Soviet Union, says Kozhevnikov (2002).

As we can see from Rogun Dam case, just because of the Soviet Union's interests and their colonial practices until the dissolution, there is a dispute over Amu Darya river because of Rogun Dam. Rogun Dam project was decided to build during Soviet Union time, but they did not calculate what will be happen when the Soviet Union left the central Asia or when Tajikistan and Uzbekistan declare their independence. According to Menga (2015,481), Rogun Dam represent an important idea for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and this idea existence because of Soviet Union colonial practices. By Tajik side, Rogun Dam represented a nationalist idea, and for Uzbek side it is against the national interest of Uzbekistan, says Menga. Tajik side believed that when they finished the Rogun Dam they will show their powerful nationality all around the world. For them Rogun Dam means national domination over Uzbek nationality. It is like a symbol for Tajikistan. For Uzbekistan, Rogun Dam means for them to giving Tajikistan permission to decide for the limit of water which they will use.

As mentioned above for Uzbekistan water means economic development because with growing cotton they have a good economy and cotton needs water. Giving permission or saying nothing to Tajikistan during Rogun Dam construction means giving their national priorities and their nationals interest to Tajikistan. In short it means for Uzbekistan, giving their economic freedom to Tajikistan. When Tajikistan put quotas to Uzbekistan for using water, Uzbekistan will lose their economic freedom, says, Menga and continues with saying that, these things happened because of Soviet colonial practices.

It is clear that Soviet Union aim was to be the most powerful country in central Asia and with the new borders Soviet Union created disputes which affected central Asian counties in the future. When Soviet Union left the central Asia one side was more water rich than the other side in the Uzbek-Tajik case or have more power to control rivers. It is clear that, there is a dispute over transboundary waters and main reason for this dispute is Soviet Union and its decisions and it is clear that, Soviet Union draw boundaries according to their interest. With Demhardt's (1998,104) article it is more clear that colonisers decided to the boundaries locations with specific purposes.

These purposes are related with post-colonial theory as well. Dispute over Amu Darya and Syr Darya can be explained with post-colonial theory because during colonial times, there were not a dispute or problem which contains Amu Darya and Syr Darya because colonial power rule or controlled it in systematic way and they draw borders which later affect the relation between riparian countries in negative aspects. Or the Rogun Dam, as explained in Chapter 3, during Soviet time it was not a problem for Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Although Tajikistan and Uzbekistan gained their independence after the dissolution of USSR, they still have dispute with each other such as transboundary water dispute says, Ubaidulloev (2015:85). Colonial power Soviet Union to control Uzbekistan easily gave Khujand to Tajikistan and again this led to have dispute with each other when Soviet Union gone. When giving the Khujand to Tajik side, it made difficult for Uzbek side to control the Syr Darya.

As I mentioned above both Syr Darya and Amu Darya are the most important water resources for Uzbekistan. With Soviet colonial practices, Soviet Union

achieved its aim and made Uzbekistan depend on Tajikistan and create a transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. It is clear that before Soviet Union changed the borders they had not have dispute over Amu Darya and Syr Darya when Soviet Union came and determined boundaries according to their wish, controlling those rivers became more difficult for Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.



Chapter 5

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to find out to the water-related problems that took place between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan after the dissolution of Soviet Union. Amu Darya and Syr Darya are the two transboundary waters dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and are analyzed in this thesis. On Amu Darya river, Tajikistan wanted to build Rogun dam and tried to control the Syr Darya with Khujand-Kayrakum, but these policies were not welcomed by Uzbekistan and caused insecurity. The source of transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is Soviet colonial practices. For this reason, this thesis aims that, with taking water as an unconventional security threat in the region, and to find answer to whether transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is because of Soviet colonial practices or not.

The reason why I choose transboundary water dispute was, Tajikistan's and Uzbekistan's dispute was not studied with post-colonial theory before. The other important thing which mentioned in the Introduction Chapter was, before Soviet Union there were other nations which ruled central Asia but only the Soviet system divided Amu Darya and Syr Darya between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and this led these two countries to have dispute after the dissolution of Soviet Union. In the Introduction Chapter, methodological and theoretical part of this thesis were discussed as well.

In the second chapter, The Roots of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's Water Dispute was described. Main dispute between dispute Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was revealed. The history of transboundary water dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan was analysed in the second chapter. To understand the roots of the transboundary water dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, Tsarist Russian period and Soviet Union period was discussed. In the second chapter, a general

information about Amu Darya and Syr Darya was given after this information this chapter shows us how Soviet Union management over Amu Darya and Syr Darya was. At the end of this chapter we see how Soviet Union's policies led transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This chapter continues with the water management issue until 1991, the aim to show it until 1991 was, to show central Asian countries experiences under the rule of Soviet Union.

The third chapter was about theory and the literature on and transboundary water dispute. This chapter clarified, post-colonial approach to transboundary water dispute. Examples of post-colonial theories impacts on transboundary water dispute on different countries was discussed in this chapter. In this chapter I mentioned about the post-colonial theory and discussed if Soviet Union was a colonial power or not. This chapter also contains the literature on post-colonial borders conflict in post-Soviet space. In 4 different lenses this border dispute was discussed. After that, transboundary water dispute in post-colonial world were analysed and colonial powers features were analysed. After this analyses, there was no doubt about Soviet Union is a colony or not. Soviet Union was a colonial power and used these colonial policies over Tajikistan and Uzbekistan at the end these countries have transboundary water dispute.

In the fourth chapter, Soviet colonial practices on transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was discussed. The focus was on the Rogun Dam and Khujand-Kayrakum which was the main reason for the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This chapter mainly analyses the Soviet colonial practices and to show that the main reason for the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Tsarist Russian period mentioned in this chapter as well. Soviet colonial practices are analysed in three parts, economic, power relations and drawing boundaries for the future part. In this chapter, economic data were used to support Soviet Union's colonial policies over Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Key points to show Soviet colonial practices in this chapter was two case studies. The case of Khujand- Kayrakum and the case of Rogun Dam. In the fourth chapter Khujand- Kayrakum case and the case of Rogun Dam was analysed. Just as the Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum policy was decided during Soviet Union time and has impact over transboundary water dispute between

Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In these case studies, it shown that, Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum was the main reason for Tajikistan's and Uzbekistan's transboundary water dispute.

At the outset of this project, I established one main research question, "What were the effects of Soviet colonial approaches on the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?". During finding answers to the main question, I established 5 sub-questions:

1. How can we apply post-colonial theory to the water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?
2. Was the Soviet Union a colonial power?
3. When did the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan start?
4. What is the link between the case of Rogun Dam and Soviet colonialism?
5. What is the link between the case of, Khujand-Kayrakum and Soviet colonialism?

These questions guided my thesis to find answer to my main question.

During finding answers to my first and second sub-questions, I look at Soviet colonial practices. I try to understand policies which made by Soviet Union colonial or not. Drawing new borders, deciding Uzbek and Tajik agricultural products, changing their alphabet or policies over their religion help me to decide Soviet Union was a colonial power. Of course, during deciding this literature on post-colonialism was my guide. With the help of literature and Soviet colonial policies I could find answer to my first and second sub-questions. To find answer for the third sub-question which was, "When did the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan start?", I have to first understand the pre-Soviet Union period and Soviet period. Pre-Soviet period was the Tsarist Russian period and at that time, Tsarist Russian did not made policies which was related with transboundary water dispute. Policies which made during the Soviet Union time were the main reason for

transboundary water dispute. Another important thing about this thesis is, the roots of the dispute could be the Soviet period but it started after the dissolution. So with this question I understand that, Soviet colonial practices were the main reason for the transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan but these disputes started to be talked after the dissolution.

After these, I looked at, are we able to apply post-colonial theory to transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. To prove this, I supported my findings with two case studies, Rogun Dam and Khujand- Kayrakum. Lastly, I can say that, with these two case studies I could find answer to my research question and I could make the linkage between Rogun Dam, Khujand-Kayrakum cases and Soviet colonialism.

In the literature, central Asian countries generally studied in linguistic studies and more cultural studies. Their traditions, customs or lifestyle were the most important things in the literature. There are studies which focus on political side of the central Asian countries as well but they generally studied with constructivist approach. My answers which I found to my research question and sub-questions are new in the literature. In this study I made linkage between colonialism and transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The case Khujand-Kayrakum is not explained with post-colonial theory in the literature. Generally, Khujand-Kayrakum studied with identity lenses in the literature, because this era is mixed with Tajik and Uzbek nations. In this study, I showed another part of Khujand-Kayrakum and this is Syr Darya river, and its dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Another case, Rogun Dam studied with economic and nationalist lenses. Again, I combine economic and nationalist view to explain transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, with the help of post-colonial theory. In the literature, transboundary water dispute in central Asia studied with Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This study did not include Kirgizstan because of Rogun Dam and Khujand-Kayrakum cases. To study this two cases together is something new as well. To find these two cases similarities and bring them together in one point and this is post-colonial theory is the newest subject which this thesis research question answered.

This process was not without its challenges, there were not only one limitations during my research of this study. In regard to the first point, I found an issue that arose with the reliability of the interviews which I made during my Uzbekistan trip. The knowledge which I got from the interviews were opposite compare the knowledge which I got from the resources. After checking the Freedom House data, I understood that, both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, are countries with restricted freedom of speech. I used these interviews by checking the information which I got from UN and WB reports. Compared the information which I got from interview and information's which are from UN, WB. During my trip to Tajikistan, I could not make interviews with lecturers. Compare to Uzbekistan, I could not make even one interview with the lecturers in university.

The other major limitations of this work have to do with the sources. Due to Uzbekistan's and Tajikistan's lack of historical resources we have to look at Soviet Union's official documents to get information about that time. Generally, official documents which are related with transboundary water dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were not available online and they were in Russian language. That is why during my research I have to use secondary resources to get information about the thesis topic. Primary resources were used in this study as well but compare to the use of secondary resources, they were not too much because primarily resources were mainly in Russian language or official documents which were in Russian. Even so I translated them with the help of lecturer who works in Uzbekistan National University.

As mentioned above, during writing this thesis there were limitations. Such as, language, sources and interviews. If a non-Russian speaking person would do this topic, he or she would have the same limitations as well. For example, sources which were for this thesis were generally in Russian language and to overcome this limitation, ²¹ National University of Uzbekistan's History Department Professor Zokircan Saidboboev and head of history department Hurshida Yunusova helped me translating Russian documents. Professor Zumrad Rahmonkulova from National

²¹ Interview with Zokircan Saidboboev, Zumrad Rahmonkulova and Hurshida Yunusova, Head of Department of History of Uzbekistan; National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek 20.08.2019

University of Uzbekistan, she is from Turkish language department, help me during finding reliable sources in Russian language and after that with her help I could translate them to English.²² Other important limitation which I faced was, interviews. To use interviews which I made in National University I have to check if that information is matching with information which I got from UN or WB. I could write this thesis with these limitations, I could not access to all Soviet Union's archives for my topic. Lastly, to access Soviet Union archives was another limitation in this study but I overcome this limitation with studying scholar's who could have access to archives and mentioned about these archives in their studies.

Future research could be conducted on how, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan can try to find a solution which at the end both side will gain for their interest. In other words, instead of making problems for each other, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan can be a part of cooperating which will help both side during finding solutions for their problems. According to International Crisis Group report (2014): "Water problems – when combined with poverty, social tensions, environmental degradation, ineffectual leadership, and weak political institutions – contribute to social disruptions that can result in state failure." Transboundary water should not be a dispute, with a policy it can a good opportunity to cooperate. This cooperation will help Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to develop and to have good economy as well.

²² I used freedom house variables to measure the degree of civil liberties and political rights in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.



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