

ÖZDEN BILEN, *Turkey and Water Issues in the Middle East* (Ankara: Southeastern Anatolia Project, Regional Development Administration, 1997). Pp. 223. No price available.

NURIT KLIOT, DEBORAH SHMUELI, AND URI SHAMIR, *Institutional Frameworks for the Management of Transboundary Water Resources*, vol. 1: *Institutional Frameworks as Reflected in Thirteen River Basins*, Water Research Institute (Haifa: Technion; Israel Institute of Technology, n.d.; 1997). Pp. 427. Paper. No price available.

NURIT KLIOT AND DEBORAH SHMUELI, *Institutional Frameworks for the Management of Transboundary Water Resources*, vol. 2: *Building Institutional Frameworks for the Common Water Resources: Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority*, Water Research Institute (Haifa: Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, n.d.; 1997). Pp. 116. Paper. No price available.

GREG SHAPLAND, *Rivers of Discord—International Water Disputes in the Middle East* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). Pp. 195. \$39.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY JOHN KOLARS, Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

The publications discussed in this review represent three scales of approach to the persistent and challenging water problems encountered in the Middle East. Shapland, as a non-committed observer, chooses a dispassionate, regional approach to review, analyze, and comment on the major international rivers and aquifers of the Middle East, including the Nile basin. Klot *et al.*, begin with a global assessment of trans-boundary water problems before applying such information to the situation particular to the Jordan River basin. Bilen's commentary, although ranging from individual Middle Eastern rivers to global water problems, is actually more national in scope, giving us a valuable perspective from a Turkish point of view regarding the use of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. This reviewer regrets that there is no similar current work from an Arab pen available that rounds out, *in toto*, the views expressed in these books.

Rivers of Discord examines in detail recent developments regarding the Arab-Israel dispute (chap. 2). It treats the problems of the Nile River and its basin riparians from a historical point of view, and the author does consider new demands being made on the river (chap. 3). His approach to the Tigris-Euphrates basin (chap. 4), is similar to that of the Jordan. The distinction between these two treatments is, in large part, due to the immediacy of the situation on the Jordan, which is paralleled by events rapidly developing on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The Nile, while no less important, and while remaining crucial to all its riparians, has generated fewer headlines in recent years. In fact, the author cites some cause for optimism regarding the relations of its major players: Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia (p. 101). Therefore, given space restraints, this review will emphasize the author's treatment of the Jordan and the Tigris-Euphrates more than that of the Nile. For example, Shapland dismisses President Hafiz al-Asad's offer of Nile water to Gaza and possibly Israel as unrealistic, obviating linking that river to Israel's, Jordan's, and Palestine's ongoing negotiations either on the ground or in this review.

Rivers of Discord is an essential volume for the reference shelf of any mediator, scholar, or politician concerned with Middle Eastern waters. In the case of the Arab-Israel dispute, its author spares the reader the endless regurgitation of the dispute's history before 1951 by means of a succinct three-page summary, followed by five pages describing the resources themselves. He then presents four pages which bring the reader to June 1967, and another ten pages from 1967 to the Madrid peace process. Thereafter, Shapland brings to bear his insight as head of the British delegation to the multi-lateral peace process Working Group on Water Resources on thirteen pages covering those negotiations. One cannot emphasize enough the value of his presentation

of what transpired there. He even includes a discussion of the unrepresented Syrian and Lebanese tracks. Another sixteen pages consider future water options for the Arabs and Israelis.

In the case of the Tigris–Euphrates basin, Shapland devotes ample space to an analysis of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and the Turkish Southeast Anatolia Development Project (whose Turkish acronym is GAP). He follows this with equally detailed inspections of the Syrian and Iraqi use of, and political positions regarding, those waters. In this case, the author relies more on the analyses of others than his own. Although his judgment is keen and his conclusions dispassionate and thoughtful, it is somewhat difficult to judge the detailed data and conclusions drawn from them, which he derives largely from an unpublished study of the rivers, presumably done at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Nevertheless, this reviewer's own extensive knowledge of the subjects permits him to agree with all but the smallest of details. There is only one oversight that I see in this section—that is, the growing impact that the use and misuse of the twin rivers will have not only on the marshes of southern Iraq, which Shapland recognizes, but also on the northern waters of the Persian/Arabian Gulf, which potentially will have greater political as well as ecological significance. This will be particularly true where the drainage waters of the Main Outfall Drain, recently completed in Iraq, are being disgorged into the gulf behind Bubiyan Island. However, such criticisms are unimportant in the context of this timely and carefully presented book.

The approach chosen by Kliot and her co-authors focuses in Volume 1 on the physical, political, and economic features of thirteen river basins throughout the world. Their intent is to describe and analyze the physical attributes of the basins and of the human activities, both material and social, associated with each, and to discover commonalities which may lead to a theory or *modus operandi*—in their words, an “Institutional Framework for the Management of Transboundary Water Resources”—and an operable approach “to water dispute resolution.”

Four or five basins—depending on how the Tigris–Euphrates basin(s) are counted—are examined in Asia, three in Sahelian Africa, two in Europe, three in the Americas, and that of the Murray–Darling in Australia. All such data, both statistical and interpretive, are summarized in four extensive tables in volume 1's “Summary and Conclusions.” These are: “Table 3: Physical, Hydrological, and Climate Features of International Basins and Their Effects on the Formation of Institutional Frameworks”; “Table 4: Economic and Social Features of International River Basins”; “Table 5: History, International and Domestic Politics and their Effect on the Formation of Institutional Frameworks”; and “Table 6: Treaty and Legal Regime. Basic Characteristics and Their Influence on the Functions and Efficiencies of These Bodies.” The fifteen pages required for these tables represent an exhaustive and hitherto unavailable, concise review of such materials, and are a useful reference.

It is in the very nature of such an extensive effort that some pitfalls may be found. This reviewer does not claim familiarity with all thirteen of the basins examined, but based on his knowledge of the Tigris–Euphrates and the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo, Colorado Basins (*sic*), although the overall picture is very useful, the details may need checking. For example, in the case of the Tigris–Euphrates basins, flow data for the two rivers and their tributaries are presented without discussion, although reference to Shapland will show how tentative such data really are. In fact, the authors' conjoining of the “Tigris–Euphrates Basin” overlooks one of the major differences between the Arab and Turkish views of the situation, the Arabs choosing to view the basins as separate, and the Turks opting for a single entity. Some mistakes occur—for example, the “Tishneen” (i.e., Tishreen) Dam (vol. 1, p. 133) is not on the Sajur River, but is under construction on the main stream of the Euphrates above Lake Assad (Shapland, p. 129). Several political interpretations are also suspect. In another example, it is stated (p. 142) that “the Hatai–Alexandretta region was cut off from Syria and handed over to Turkey in 1939 by France.” There may be some truth in this statement, but officially the move was made as the result of a plebiscite and was not a mere *fait accompli*, although the Syrians do not accept this

explanation. This requires careful discussion in order to clarify the difficulties surrounding the resolution of the problem, ancillary to the solving of the Euphrates impasse, and involving the Orontes River's course through what is now Turkey's Hatay Province. One is left with the feeling that similar questions might be asked about comments regarding the other twelve basins. But again, this is a question of scale. This ambitious undertaking still has great value as a quick reference to a global view of water management and negotiations, as long as one does not depend on it for conclusive arguments.

The study's utility becomes evident in Volume 2, which "applies some of the lessons learned in the twelve studied river basins to the common water resources of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority." This volume, which is carefully crafted, is divided into three chapters (referred to by the authors as "sections"). Chapter 1 accurately reviews the physical resources in questions as well as their present use and legal control. A detailed summary of water-related issues covered by the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan (26 October 1994) is presented, along with a brief review of Article III to the Declaration of Principles signed in Washington, D.C. (13 September 1993)—the only reference to water in the latter document. The second chapter returns to, and re-casts in terms of the Jordan basin, the contents of volume 1. Sections titled "Lessons from the Indus," "Lessons from the Mekong," "Lessons from the Ganges-Brahmaputra," and "Lessons from the Murray-Darling," provide valuable cross references, followed by specific applications presented as "Lessons and Conclusions for the Jordan and Common Groundwater Resources." The section concludes with a review of the opinions and recommendations drawn from interviews with more than twenty international water experts. Chapter 3 presents a series of proposals for creating an "Institutional Framework for the Jordan-Yarmuk Basin and the Shared Groundwater Resources." In all three sections of volume 2, the approach and tone of the discussion is one of conciliation and cooperation. Thus, the broad net cast in volume 1 is drawn in and tightened in Volume 2. While this two-volume set remains substantially an Israeli document, the point of view adopted attempts to resolve local antipathies through looking at the world at large.

Turkey and Water Issues in the Middle East, by Özden Bilen, is a more specifically focused presentation of Turkish attitudes and policies regarding that nation's position in the regional milieu. Although the author is careful to state that all the opinions in the book are his own and do not represent official policy, his position as former head of the Turkish State Hydraulic Works (DSI) and as an internationally recognized and respected authority on Middle East water issues lends significance to this book. (The reader must accept its translator's occasional lapses in grammar.)

This book relates to two important issues. Turkey is often cited as the most important source of surplus water in the Middle East. In fact, its former, now deceased, president, Turgut Özal, in 1987 offered a "Peace Pipeline" as a possible solution to Arab water problems. The two branches of this pipeline were annually to deliver several billion cubic meters of Turkish water south as far as the United Arab Emirates in the east and Jiddah in the west. The proposal attracted much attention but little enthusiasm from potential Arab recipients or among its critics at home. Nevertheless, Turkish water, either from Turkish shares of the Euphrates or from other sources, is often suggested as a much needed supplement to the short supplies of Jordan basin nations.

Bilen's response to such ideas is cogent and significant. He clearly states that Turkey does not consider water problems in the Middle East to represent a "unified whole." In other words, Turkey reserves the right to decide when, to whom, and how much of its waters it is willing to sell to or share with other nations. This is reinforced by a detailed argument disclaiming the idea that Turkey is a water-rich country. He then goes on to state that water, particularly for agriculture, should be allocated to maximize its efficient use. This matches Turkey's request that a basin-wide survey be made by the three riparians in order to determine soil qualities and

potential, and to fix on a tripartite basis where specific crops should be grown. As yet, this suggestion has met with negative response from Syria and Iraq.

The second area involving Turkish waters centers on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and the mammoth Southeast Anatolia Project. This project, in magnitude the equivalent of the American Tennessee Valley Authority, with its numerous dams already generating huge quantities of hydropower and its reservoirs expected to irrigate 1.6 million hectares of land in southeast Turkey, has been a source of continuing consternation to the downstream riparians Syria and Iraq. These countries accuse Turkey of arbitrarily cutting off the flow of the Euphrates, of polluting its waters, and of scheming to take an unfair share of the available water.

Bilen, in turn, presents a detailed discussion of the modern hydraulic history of the Middle East as well as a "Hydro Political and Technical Assessment of the Waters of the Middle East," with specific references to the Orontes River; the Jordan River; groundwater resources in Israel, Jordan, and Palestine; and possible technical adaptations suggested for the area. Unlike Shapland's discursive approach, Bilen marshals his data to counter Syrian and Iraqi claims. He also puts forward counter-arguments showing inconsistencies in Syrian attitudes regarding their use of the Orontes River on the one hand and their complaints regarding Turkish use of the Euphrates on the other.

The purpose of this reviewer's comments is not to side with one group or the other, but to indicate that Bilen's book gives a straightforward and articulate presentation of the Turkish argument. As mentioned earlier, it would be useful if a similar work were available expressing, in as cogent and careful a manner, Arab perspectives.

As to the three books, one should turn to Shapland for data and recent developments: next, to Kliot *et al.* for the global context (though there the emphasis returns to the Jordan basin); and then to Bilen for the situation viewed through a Turkish lens. All three make important reading in the search for water's role in the Middle East at peace.

JOHN WALTER JANDORA, *Militarism in Arab Society. An Historiographical and Bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997). Pp. 180. \$65.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY ELIZABETH PICARD, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Moyen-Orient Contemporain, Beirut

This thin though dense book skims through the military history of the Arab East from the beginnings of the Muslim conquest to the wake of the second Gulf war. Its main aims are to compare the major characteristics of the military culture of Arab society and to depict the weak points of Western and Arab historiography in order to suggest a new research agenda. As such, it is a synthesis, with the inherent qualities and weaknesses of such works.

Jandora combines successfully two complementary methods: historiography and bibliography. Each of the eight chapters of his book offers a reminder of the key military events of the period covered and a description of Arab (or Islamic) military institutions of the time. Then he looks into the questions raised by their treatment in Arab historiography as well as in related Western publications, the latter being cited in the bibliography that follows and sorted out by theme. For example, the presentation of the Abbasid and Fatimid armies is followed by a discussion of the slave-soldier phenomenon and by a few pages on Muslim armament and military methods in medieval times. The whole book is divided into three parts, covering respectively the birth of Islam, medieval times, and the modern age. A glossary of Arab military terms; three synthetic tables listing ruling dynasties in Egypt, Mesopotamia ("Iraq"), and the Levant ("Syria"); twelve basic maps; and even a few photographic plates of military architecture illustrate a text which is sometimes synthetic (five pages for the Mamluk period), and sometimes more detailed (on the distinction between the battles of Ajnâdayn in 634/13 and of al-Yarmûk in 636/15).