

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Water is one of the primary source for humanity to survive, and it becomes a daily consume for people around the world. The amount of clean water however, is decreasing over the years, since there are currently more people who live in this world than before. The increase of population and climate change had created a phenomenon of water scarcity¹. Water scarcity had become an issue of non-traditional security matters since 1980, many prominent IR thinkers believe this issue will become as intense as conflict which happened because of oil. The emerging of water scarcity phenomena had caused so many conflicts since the beginning of civilization. Throughout the years, there are conflictsmin which the main problem is about the use of water between countries.

In Central Asia, water had become one of the prominent reasons of conflicts. It may have so many freshwater sources, but it is badly managed and thus created conflicts between countries which wanted to take control the most of freshwater resource. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have an ongoing water dispute over the sharing of freshwater from Amu Darya River. Amu Darya River is one of the big rivers in the Central Asia which flow from Tajikistan to Uzbekistan. The Amu

¹ "Water Scarcity | Threats | WWF". 2016. World Wildlife Fund. Accessed February 07 2016. <http://www.worldwildlife.org/threats/water-scarcity>.

Darya River mostly came from Tajikistan which contributes 72.8% of water flowing through central Asia². The water is mostly used to irrigate farming for Tajikistan and Uzbekistan people.

In 1960, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) had an ongoing development project which is called as The Rogun Dam hydroelectric project that is located in Tashkent, Southern Tajikistan. The project was not finished because of the fall of USSR, until Tajikistan government took control of the project and agreed to continue it in September 2007. The Rogun dam supposedly creates a new power source to supply Tajikistan with electricity. According to the project, the dam will produce 3.6 million kilowatt-hours of electricity that will make Tajikistan achieve a new level of economic performance³. The Rogun Dam project was started in 1960 and had a held back in 2012 due to World Bank inspection for safety. In 2014, Tajikistan got approval for continuing the Rogun Dam project.

As its downstream neighboring countries, Uzbekistan had protested the development of the Rogun Dam project. Uzbekistan willing to do anything in order to delay the project includes cutting off the natural gas supply from Uzbekistan to Tajikistan⁴, implemented visa for Tajikistan people to enter Uzbekistan⁵ and loudly stressed this issue in the international community as a way to express its disagreement towards the project.

² Amu Darya River Basin | Amu Darya Basin Network". Amudaryabasin.Net. <http://amudaryabasin.net/content/amu-darya-river-basin>

³ Tajikistan-Uzbekistan: Top Level Discussions Over The Rogun Project - Ferghana Information Agency, Moscow". Enews.Fergananeews.Com. <http://enews.fergananeews.com/news.php?id=1561&mode=snews>.

⁴ "Uzbekistan 'Cuts Off Gas' To Tajikistan ". 2013. Theaustralian. <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/latest-news/uzbekistan-cuts-off-gas-to-tajikistan/story-fn3dxix6-1226545967186>.

⁵ "Uzbekistan Reinstates Exit Visas". 2012. Radiofreeeurope/Radioliberty. <http://www.rferl.org/content/uzbekistan-exit-visas-tajikistan-turkmenistan/24627994.html>.

Although the project got many protest from Uzbekistan, the establishment of Rogun Dam hydroelectric project will bring a better economic development for both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. By the establishment of Rogun Dam, Tajikistan will be able to produce electricity for its country and empower its current economy. Tajikistan could also export the energy to neighboring countries which is located around it. Thus it will make Tajikistan become self-sufficient in providing electricity for its country. Uzbekistan also can gain economic advantage by the establishment of the Rogun Dam. The Rogun Dam will provide Uzbekistan people with electricity and replenish its relationship with Tajikistan again.

This paper will elaborate the challenges over the water development program which is the Rogun Dam project of Tajikistan, and analyze why the Uzbekistan government strongly opposed the Rogun Dam project even with the benefits of the project that had been offered. The paper will explore and understand the non-traditional security issue deeply and would be useful as a future reference for conflicts that relate to the water dispute.

B. Research Question

Why did Uzbekistan disagree with the development program of Rogun Dam?

C. Theoretical Framework

It is necessary to answer the question of this undergraduate thesis using theoretical framework which is highly important. In studying International Relations, there will be various understandings and arguments for one international phenomenon. There are also many forms of perceptions and paradigms in creating the answer to analyze an international phenomenon. Therefore, it is necessary for an international relations student for using any theoretical framework in order to understand the phenomenon. The theory will help this undergraduate

thesis to do analysis by managing the analysis into some categories so that this undergraduate thesis has its focus on its units and level of analysis. The theoretical frameworks also become tools to identify the connection and pattern of behavior of this phenomenon.

1. The concept of Environmental Security : Water (Trans Boundary Resources)

The concept of environmental security had occurred since the end of the cold war. However, there are still some debates on defining the environmental security, since both environment and security concept are different. Simon Dalby described environmental security as:

“policies to protect the integrity of the environment from human threats, and simultaneously, to prevent political conflict and war as a result of environmental change and degradation” (O’Loughlin, 1994: 72)

The dictionary of geopolitics also defined the environmental security as

“Threats that arise from political instabilities resulting from large numbers of people displaced due to environmental degradation”

In order to analyze the dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, this paper will use Dabelko’s definition about the environmental security. According to Dabelko, environmental security is defined as “What maybe environmental hazards or resource shortages created entirely by one country, can dramatically affect the neighboring states” (1995:9) ⁶ this definition of environmental security will be used to analyze the dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

2. The Neo-Classical Realism Theory

⁶ Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Resolution : Theory, Practice and Annotated References (2000 : 62)

In the classical realism theory, the national interest had become one of the most important factors which influenced a state's foreign policy. Morgenthau is a neo classical realist who stated the fundamental purpose of every country's foreign policy is national interest. Based on his belief in "Animus Dominandi" (the desire to rule and dominate). Morgenthau had created an approach which is based on national interest in analyzing a country's foreign policy. As what Morgenthau stated in his "six principles of political realism", that "interest defined as power"⁷. Morgenthau also defines national interest as "The Meaning of national interest is survival – the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation states". According to Morgenthau, the kinds of national interest depend on the political and cultural contexts in which the foreign policy is formulated. In this case, Uzbekistan loudly speaks towards the disagreement of the ongoing project of Rogun Dam because of several reasons regarding to its national interest. The establishment of the Rogun Dam project had simply put Uzbekistan national interest towards Tajikistan become threaten.. There are actually some possible cooperation with the establishment of the Rogun Dam, but Uzbekistan still has not agreed on any of the opportunities. The Uzbekistan's policy towards the Rogun Dam project had reflected the neo classical realism which put the national interest as the fundamental reason in the foreign policy with no chance to have any cooperation. Thus, neo classical realism theory will help this paper to explain this issue.

⁷ Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, pp. 4-11

D. Hypothesis

The Uzbekistan government disagreed with the Rogun Dam project because Uzbekistan is trying to protect its national interest towards Tajikistan. During the absence of the Rogun Dam, Uzbekistan is able to export more goods and energy to Tajikistan, thus it had increased Uzbekistan economic performance.

1. By the establishment of Rogun Dam, the water which flows in Amu Darya River will be reduced, and Uzbekistan cotton monocrop industry will be endangered because of the water shortage. With the presence of the Rogun Dam, Uzbekistan will not only face a water shortage issue, but also an economic decrease that will result in the decrease of Uzbekistan GDP and create unemployment. Therefore, the Uzbekistan disagreed with the Rogun Dam project for the sake of its national interest.

2. With the establishment of Rogun Dam, the water resource in Amu Darya River will be mainly controlled by Tajikistan. As Tajikistan controlled the water resource, Tajikistan will get more power over Uzbekistan. The term “upstream country use water to get more power while downstream country use power to get water” is described in this issue. Thus Uzbekistan doing whatever it took in order to protect the country from the influence of Tajikistan.

E. Purpose of Writing

1. To explain how water can influence a country foreign policy and how it can be used as a tool of political bargain.
2. To prove that Uzbek government's reason behind its disagreement towards the Rogun Dam project is to defend its country's interest in Tajikistan.

F. Research Method

This paper is using library research as the method to analyze the case. By using library research, means the content and information in this paper is secondary data. The data which collected are reliable and varied from electronic media, newspapers, books and journals.

G. Scope of Research

In order to be more focused on resolving the issue, this paper will elaborate the case until the Rogun Dam project agreement from the World Bank based on its study of feasibility, security and advantage which taken from the development of the Rogun Dam hydroelectric project. The agreement had given to Tajikistan in June 18th 2014.⁸

H. Writing Organization

It is important for this undergraduate thesis to have a systematic order to explain the issue. This paper will be divided into five chapters and each chapter provides different analysis towards the topic which will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁸ "The World Bank'S Dam Dilemma In Tajikistan". 2014. Human Rights Watch.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/06/26/world-banks-dam-dilemma-tajikistan>.

Chapter I : The first chapter consists in seven subtitles with the first topic discuss the background of the case of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan over the Rogun Dam dispute. It is followed by research question of this paper. Theoretical framework will explain the concept and theory that this paper used. Hypothesis is the answer that the thesis wants to prove, followed by the method of research which consist of the explanation of how the writer collects the data and sources to generate the answer. The next content is the scope of the research which is important to put limitation in order to create focus analysis and the last is the organization of writing in which meant to show the order of the analysis written in this thesis.

Chapter II: The second chapter will be discussing about the historical background of both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan after its separation from USSR. The chapter also explains the relation between both countries and how the relation had been going.

Chapter III: The third chapter will describe about the development of the Rogun Dam project and how Uzbekistan responds towards this project.

Chapter IV: The fourth chapter of this paper will prove two hypotheses which created in this undergraduate thesis. This chapter will prove that the reason of why Uzbekistan disagreed with the Rogun Dam project is because Uzbekistan wanted to maintain its national interest in Tajikistan. Along with the hypotheses and theory, this chapter will answer if the Rogun Dam project has been completed, the economy of Uzbekistan will be threaten, because during the difficult times, Tajikistan really dependent on Uzbekistan in importing goods and providing energy, and the present of Rogun Dam will be decreased its economic performance.

Chapter V: The fifth chapter consists of general conclusions of every chapter which has already been discussed in the paper and conclude that the main reason of why Uzbekistan disagreed with the Rogun Dam project is purely because of national interest.