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Encl: As stated above.

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(The Hindu)

A river runs through it

23-AP-41

A historian explains how the Indus, a developmental resource, became a tool of territorial sovereignty in the hands of India and Pakistan

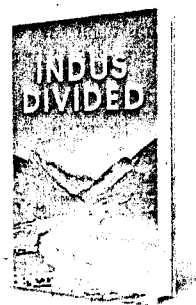
SWARAN SINGH

The Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) is usually seen as one bright example of successful international mediation in India-Pakistan relations. It is often cited as a counterpoint to the long inutile United Nations intervention in Kashmir. Standard narratives, however, usually miss how even in the case of IWT, political narratives counted far more than technical considerations of developing efficient water usage in the Indus basin.

The American water expert, David E. Lilienthal, began his tour of the subcontinent in February 1951, and followed it up with his writings, presenting a modernist understanding on developing water resources. Lilienthal's proposals caught the eye of Eugene Black, then World Bank president, who on September 6, wrote to then Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and then Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali. Both leaders responded positively though neither saw genuinely integrated development as a possibility. Towards late 1960, domestic compulsions of Nehru and then Pakistani President Ayub Khan partly pushed them into signing the IWT but both faced strong criticism with the treaty being called a 'sellout' or 'appeasement' or 'surrender' and this sense has not completely disappeared.

Political considerations

For Lilienthal too the outcome was equally disappointing. His visualising of the Indus basin in its natural space transcending territoriality was destroyed by the reality of



■ **Indus Divided: India, Pakistan and the River Basin Dispute**
Daniel Haines
Penguin Random House
₹599

political borders. His attempts to use shared ethos of colonial engineers and later invoking shared Punjabi connections stood negated. Given the intransigence of both India and Pakistan, the Bank emerged as an influential stakeholder taking the driver's seat and, by mid-1950s, the 'Bank plan' had divided rivers between India and Pakistan which eventually became the final treaty.

Indus Divided explains these historic drifts by connecting water-sharing negotiations to evolving perceptions on sovereignty and territoriality and how it makes water, not a developmental resource, but a tool of territorial sovereignty. While India adopted the stand of 'absolute sovereignty' claiming that upstream power wholly owns the water flows within its borders, Pakistan invoked principles of 'territorial integrity' implying that downstream state has the right to continue receiving water to which it was ac-



Water woes: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signing the Indus Waters Treaty in 1960. ■ THE HINDU ARCHIVES

customed to.

Their May 4, 1948, Inter-Dominion Accord had provided for Pakistan making payments for release of water presupposing India singularly 'owning' this water. Such predispositions were further compounded by the fact that the Indus, Chenab, Jhelum flow through Kashmir. India included water claims of Jammu and Kashmir in its proposals, thereby asserting India's sovereignty over Kashmir, but Pakistan did not incorporate water requirements of even Pakistan-Administered Kashmir (PAK). Pakistani sovereignty over PAK was questioned by violent protests of 1957 as its Mangla Dam displaced 100,000 people. In the 1970s, another 80,000 were displaced by its Tarbela Dam. But

Pakistan's resettlement of these people into Pakistan also strengthened their demographic integration.

Nehru visited Karachi in September 1960 to sign the IWT and projected it as heralding a new era, yet reflecting their caution, Article XI (1) read "Nothing in this Treaty shall be construed as affecting existing territorial rights over the waters of any of the Rivers or the beds or banks thereof." So, while India agreed to allow free-of-cost water flows into Pakistan, it did not relinquish its sovereign claims over river beds. India was allowed to continue with (not expand) its existing 'agricultural uses' as also to build hydroelectric projects on western rivers that were given to Pakistan. This

was to sharpen Pakistani claims to Kashmir with President Ayub Khan saying that India's agreement that three western rivers belonged to Pakistan meant that the territory through which they flowed belonged to Pakistan.

Renewed U.S. interest

Cold war geopolitics lured the United States and its allies to pour vast amounts of aid into Indus Basin Development Fund in order to demonstrate their superiority over the Soviets. By 1959, six countries—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States—had agreed to underwrite IWT by financing \$897 million of which \$177 million were grants from the U.S. This is what made IWT a reality. Both sides could use each other's rivers for 'domestic use' and for making non-consumptive purposes like navigation, fishing and flood protection. The IWT also provided a 10-year transition period during which Pakistan was to receive progressively diminishing water supplies through eastern rivers.

As regards its implications beyond Kashmir, demarcation of borders in divided Punjab was facilitated by the IWT. Till early 1960s, with precise location of the border being unclear, ad hoc arrangements sometimes led to low-level crisis. Then there were conflicts triggered by shift in the course of meandering rivers or islands in the Sutlej that exposed or submerged cyclically. Adding to anxieties, India inherited only three of the 16 pre-Partition Punjab's canal systems though much of their

river heads were located in India controlled Kashmir. But other than IWT, from the 1960s ground water exploitation had become integral to India's green revolution which was centred around Indira Punjab.

In the east, however, attempts to replicate IWT faced a distorted reality of India's equations with East Pakistan being dominated West Bengal politics that till day continues to mar India-Bangladesh water-sharing. Despite being lower riparian to Ganga and Brahmaputra, East Pakistan was not in dearth of water but had access of it needing different strategies.

So when Pakistan built a dam Kaptai on Karnafuli river, Nehru did not object even though it resulted in part of Indian side getting submerged and inflow of over 40,000 refugees. Pakistan, like Bangladesh, however remain worried about India's Farraka barrage. So, while New Delhi often slowed down its progress by delisting funds to provincial government thereby annoying the anxieties of partitioned Bengal complicated ground realities.

In this competitive control of water flows within national territories, colonial experiences combine with pressures of post-colonial nation-building. Cold war geopolitics and development narratives. Of late, intensive urbanisation producing power deficits are creating new anxieties.

The writer believes that as long as water arrangements authorities are not privatised, the connection between water and territorial sovereignty is unlikely to cease.

News item/letter/article/editorial published on 25/9/17 in the

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The Times of India (N.D.)

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Tribune

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Nav Bharat Times (Hindi)

Punjab Keshari (Hindi)

The Hindu

Rajasthan Patrika (Hindi)

Deccan Chronicle

Deccan Herald

M.P. Chronicle

A a j (Hindi)

Indian Nation

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⁸⁷⁻²⁵ 'No one can stop SYL canal construction'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE
CHANDIGARH, 24 APRIL

Haryana chief minister (CM) Manohar Lal Khattar on Monday said as the Supreme Court (SC) had already delivered its verdict in favour of the state and another decision was still awaited, no one would be able to stop construction of contentious Satluj Yamuna Link (SYL) canal.

Taking strong exception of the Opposition's criticism for not meeting Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the vital issues including SYL canal, the CM said now as he has discussed all these issues

with the PM, they are accusing him of not taking them along.

Haryana chief minister further pointed out that by not trusting the CM who represents 2.5 crore people of the state, the Opposition has insulted the people of the State.

He said in case Congress leaders (former CM) Bhupinder Singh Hooda and (legislator) have to approach someone on SYL, they may call on their leader Congress president Sonia Gandhi and urge her to prevent Punjab CM Capt Amarinder Singh who has repeatedly been saying

that he would not let the waters flow to Haryana through the SYL Canal. He also criticised the Congress for shedding crocodile tears by saying that no development was taking place. The CM pointed out that contrary to it, the present government was committed to the welfare of all sections of the society.

While quoting statistics, the CM said that in last about two-and-a-half years, about 3,500 announcements were made and work on 44 per cent of these has been completed and the remaining would be completed within next one year. In the ten year rule of the Con-

gress, 6,400 announcements were made.

He said that if his Government got ten years to rule with the support of the people, more than 10,000 announcements would be made and all these would be fulfilled.

He ridiculed the assertions made by Congress leaders who termed his government as "Feta Katu Sarkar" (ribbon cutting government) and said that whenever any foundation stone is laid or a project is inaugurated, the Congress leaders do not leave the opportunity to claim that it was their project.

News item/letter/article/editorial published on 25/4/12 in the

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Indian Express	Rajasthan Patrika (Hindi)	Nai Duniya (Hindi)
Tribune	Deccan Chronicle	The Times of India (A)
Hindustan (Hindi)	Deccan Herald	Blitz

and documented at Bhagirath (English) & Publicity Section, CWC.

HT 25 No green shoots of growth for them

The Tamil Nadu farmers' protests show that the agrarian crisis is getting worse

On Sunday, Tamil Nadu chief minister Edappadi Palaniswami met the farmers protesting at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi and assured them that their demands would be met in a month's time. But by convincing the protesting farmers to suspend their agitation, Mr Palaniswami has not addressed the problem — he has only managed to avert what could have soon become a political crisis for both the Centre and state. In the protest that went on for 41 days, the farmers, to highlight their plight, adopted several extreme measures, which included biting into dead mice and snakes, eating grass, and even threatening to drink urine and eat human faeces. In a harrowing protest, farmers hung human skulls, which they claimed were of dead farmers, around their necks.

Though it has now been suspended, the protest highlights the agrarian crisis in Tamil Nadu and many other parts of the country. It reflects poorly on the nation when its farmers are pushed to such disturbing, even macabre, means to attract the attention of authorities towards what should be treated as nothing short of a national crisis. If corrective measures are not taken now, it could lead to more farmer suicides and protests. With increasing unpredictability in weather patterns, the demand for water will only increase. Unless awareness is created on how to judiciously use existing resources and replenish reserves, the need for water cannot be met satisfactorily. Also, with supply far below demand, water-related tensions will increase in frequency.

The Centre, along with the states, needs to come up with a solution to address such riparian tensions, and set a template that can be used in the future. But precious little has been done. The farmers' protests should be a reminder to the government, both at the Centre and states, to focus on addressing the problems faced by them and ensure that farmers are not forced to turn to such measures in the future.

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Singoor canals spur reverse migration

With 48 km of main canal ready, farmers have returned to their lands

R. AVADHANI
MUDIMAINIKYAM TANDA

Khetavath Limbya and Buli are in their early 40s. For the past few months, they have been working in their two kuntas of land in addition to taking a couple of acres from others on lease. They hope luck will smile on them, after several years. On Sunday, they went to the market to sell ridge gourd harvested in their farm and earned ₹ 200. They also grow leafy vegetables like spinach and sell them after two weeks of growth.

Working as labourers

Khetavath once used to stay at Sangareddy in Telangana and work as a labourer at adda (common meeting point for labourers from where they are hired) along with his wife Buli. There were instances when it became extremely difficult for them to pay even their rent.



Better days ahead: Limbya working on his sugarcane crop at Mudimanikyam Tanda in Sangareddy district. ■ MOHD ARIF

He lost part of his land for the Singoor canals. Though he felt bad about losing his land for the canal, he is happier as the canal is now flowing along his farm and he is sure that his borewell will not dry up in the near future.

"I may not get water directly from the canal flowing here, but it surely recharges my borewell. That is why I am able to lease land from others for cultivation," Mr.

Limbya told *The Hindu*.

Life has changed for the better for people like Limbya, his brother Khetavath and several others in Andol constituency. Thanks to the push given by Irrigation Minister T. Harish Rao in completing the canal works under the Singoor Reservoir and committing the government to providing water for irrigation.

Same was the case with Karaboyina. Satyanarayana

of Minpur village. About six months ago, he used to work as a labourer in Peddapally district on canal work. But as the construction of main canals got completed under Singoor, he returned and took up cultivation. Once a labourer, he has been hiring labourers to work in his field for weed removal.

The Irrigation Department has completed 48 km of main canal and 70 km of branch canals with some work still pending.

"We hope to complete work by July-end and provide irrigation water for about 51,000 acres for kharif in 39 villages under Pulkal and Andol mandals. Though the correct number is not available, about 3,000 farmers and farm-dependent workers have migrated back to villages to take up farming," Mr. Rao, who was at Singoor on Sunday, said.

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Jhelum poses flood threat, but dredging deadlines not met

AMIT KHAJURIA

TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICE

JAMMU, APRIL 24

With only 1.20 lakh cubic feet dredging having been done in the Jhelum so far against the targeted 17 lakh cubic feet, the river can again cause the havoc that it did in September 2014.

The dredging of the river, which had overflowed and breached its banks on the night of September 6 and 7, 2014, drowning almost half of the summer capital, should have been completed by December 2015. The Centre had released the funds for the purpose but the political and administrative lethargy combined with corruption at high levels has once again placed Kashmir at the mercy

of weather gods, official sources told The Tribune.

Twice this year, the Jhelum threatened to repeat the horrifying scenes of 2014. Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti has time and again impressed upon the authorities and engineers to speed up the dredging work so that the Valley is not faced with floods yet again but her directions seem to have fallen on deaf ears as the authorities are still working at a slow pace.

Sources said instead of making the contract firm and engineers accountable for the inordinate delay in executing the dredging work of the Jhelum, the Ministry of Irrigation and Flood Control was busy in other activities.

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किंधर से आया सूखा

अभी तक इस बात पर बहस होती थी कि वायु प्रदूषण दुनिया को भारी नुकसान पहुंचा रहा है, लेकिन यह पहली बार है जब शोध के माध्यम से यह स्थापित किया गया है कि प्रदूषण अपनी जगह से हजारों मील दूर स्थित पृथ्वी के दूसरे हिस्सों पर भी विकराल असर डालता है। लंदन के इंपीरियल कॉलेज में हुए शोध में यह बात सामने आई है कि यूरोप में बड़े वायु प्रदूषण के चलते सन 2000 में भारत में विकराल सूखा



पड़ा और उससे एक करोड़ तीस लाख से भी ज्यादा लोग प्रभावित हुए। सूखे की यह भयानकता इस तथ्य के बावजूद दर्ज की गई कि 1990 से 2011 के बीच यूरोप में सल्फर डाईऑक्साइड के उत्सर्जन में 74 फीसदी की गिरावट आई थी। यानी जो

फैक्ट्रियां कोयले से चलती थीं, उनमें से आधे से ज्यादा ने ऊर्जा के इस स्रोत को पूरी तरह छोड़ दिया, जिसकी शुरुआत ब्रिटेन की औद्योगिक क्रांति से हुई थी। इसके बावजूद तब तक हो चुके उत्सर्जन का नतीजा यह रहा कि यह यूरोप से करीब छह हजार किलोमीटर दूर भारत में एक ऐतिहासिक सूखे का कारण बन गया। शोध में कहा गया है कि कोयले से चलने वाली फैक्ट्रियों और बिजलीघरों से सल्फर डाईऑक्साइड निकलती है, जिससे बारिश प्रभावित होती है। लेकिन यूरोप की बात छोड़ दें तो खुद भारत में दो तिहाई से ज्यादा बिजली आज भी कोयला जलाकर ही बनाई जाती है। इन थर्मल पावर प्लांट्स से निकलने वाली कार्बन डाईऑक्साइड और सल्फर डाईऑक्साइड भारत समेत दुनिया के किन-किन हिस्सों में कैसी तबाही मचा रही है, इसका पता तभी लग पाएगा, जब यूरोप जैसा ही कोई शोध भारत में भी हो। वैज्ञानिकों का कहना है कि पृथ्वी के उत्तरी गोलार्ध में जो प्रदूषण हो रहा है, उसका असर दक्षिणी गोलार्ध की गर्मी पर पड़ सकता है, जिसके परिणाम और भी भयानक होंगे। पिछले साल 51 डिग्री सेल्सियस के साथ भारत में गर्मी का अब तक का सबसे ऊंचा रिकॉर्ड दर्ज किया जा चुका है। इतनी गर्मी से फसलों का जो नुकसान हुआ, उसका नतीजा 13 राज्यों में किसानों की आत्महत्या में दिखता है। एक बात साफ है कि ग्लोबल वार्मिंग और वायु प्रदूषण का मुकाबला पूरी दुनिया को मिलकर ही करना होगा, वरना जो होगा, उसकी झलकियां अभी से दिखाई देने लगी हैं।