

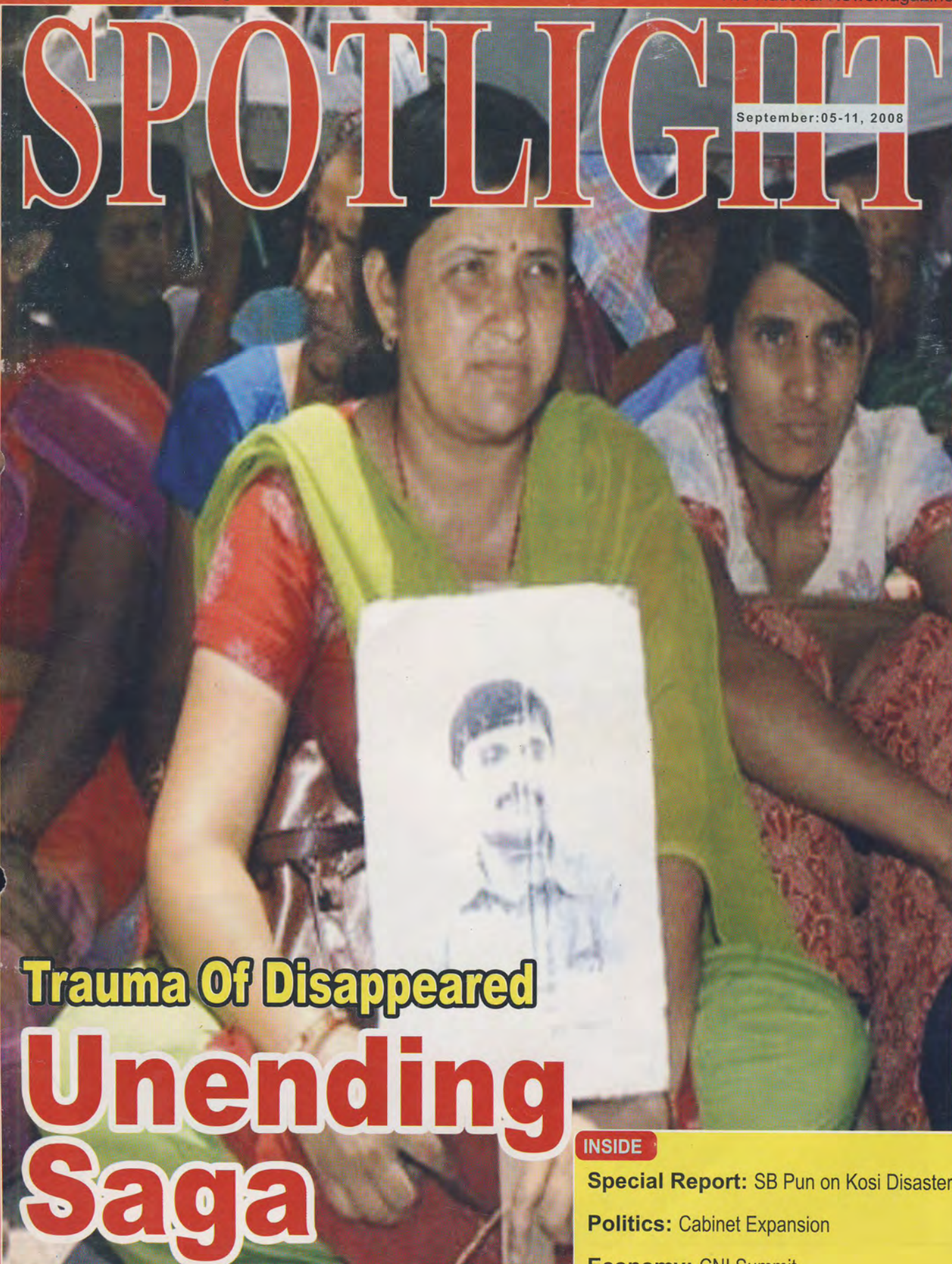
SPOTLIGHT

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Trauma Of Disappeared **Unending Saga**

INSIDE

Special Report: SB Pun on Kosi Disaster

Politics: Cabinet Expansion

Economy: CNI Summit

अब... १* रु. १ मै बचत खाता



नेपाल इन्भेस्टमेण्ट बैंक बढी भन्दा बढी
नागरिकहरुमा बैकिङ्ग सेवाको पहिलो अनुभव
एवं बाढी बचन सकोस भन्नाका लागि सगौरव
प्रस्तुत गर्दछ... **मात्र रु.१ मा**
“आपनै बचत खाता”
सम्पूर्ण अन्तराष्ट्रिय स्तरको सेवा सुविधा सहित ।



जीवनका पहिला पलहरू देखि नै बचतको बाढी
सुदक्षित भविष्यको लगानी ।

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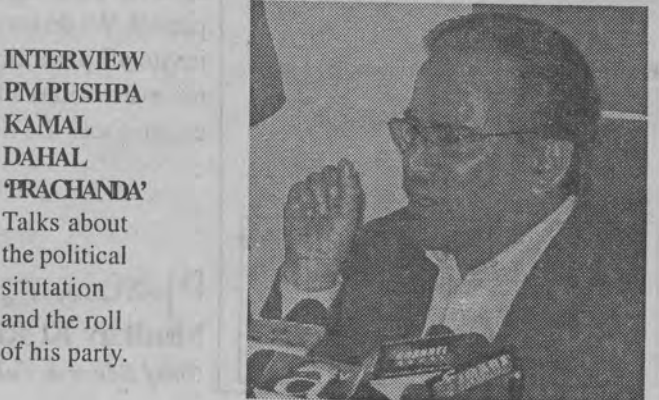
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Talks about the political situation and the roll of his party.

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SPOTLIGHT

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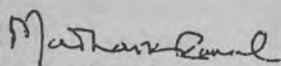
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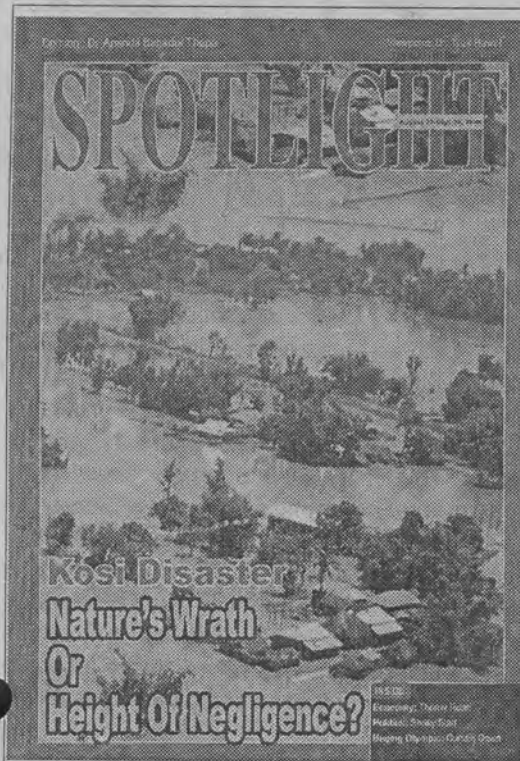
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It has been quite interesting to find that some NRNs here have compared Pushpa Kamal Dahal, the new Maoist Prime Minister of the democratic republic of Nepal to Abhimanyu of the Pauranci legend Mahabharat fame, who knew how to get into the "chakrabueha" but did not know how to get away and paid with his life. Prime Minister Dahal has ultimately got what he had been trying for twelve long year even though at an unbelievably huge price – fifteen thousand precious human lives and destructions of the invaluable infrastructures of one of the poorest countries of the world worth billions of rupees which has turned the country into a bigger beggar. And now he looks like lost in the labyrinth he created for himself. With a cabinet composed of heterogeneous elements of paradoxical ideologies, each component pulling its own way; the influential political parties not part of the government, machinating to tear it down; his most unpopular Youth Communist League, creating insurmountable problems for him; the millions of traditionalists vying to oust him from power at the earliest and the big fissures appearing in his own party, all have contributed, in their own way, to make life most miserable for him. Besides, alienating the power without whose blessings and goodwill, no political party in Nepal has ever aspired to go to power and stay there for long could be said to be hastening the early demise of the unholy alliance. It seems even nature, or call it the unpropitious god, if you like, has not taken a fancy to Dahal and generated stupendous problem in the shape of the Koshi disaster, which is beyond his capacity and resources to resolve. The tragedy brought about by the Koshi havoc must be addressed at the top priority if he is to firmly establish his popularity and authority, which would not be at all easy with the sixty years of our unfortunate experience. As a matter of fact, even the poetic justice demands that Dahal must be given ample opportunity to prove his merit and *bona fide*. He has just started to taste the goodies of power after the bloody holocaust and historic happenings that have pushed the country to the brink of the precipice and lost its way in deep fog enveloping it. Since he is the principal architect of this *denouement*, he must be given the opportunity to justify his actions. If he fails to come up to the expectations of the people who have had to face vicious tribulations, he must be prepared to face the terrible consequences that are sure to follow. We, on our part, have been advising him to shed his partisan beliefs and behaviors and set an example of a real patriot. We do trust Dahal would listen to reason and openheartedly invite all patriotic forces to join him in the noble task of national reconstructions and nation building after the heartrending traumatic experiences the nation and its poor people have faced.


Madhav K. Rimal
Chief Editor & Publisher



Water of Sorrow

As it is known as river of sorrow, Kosi river once again proved that to Indian state of Bihar and Nepal (Kosi Disaster: Nature's Wrath or Height of Negligence?). The flood has devastated large areas of northern Bihar and Nepal's Sunsari district. Along with destruction of property, more than two million people in Bihar and about 100,000 in Nepal have already been displaced. Although the total value of devastation of Kosi flood is yet to be calculated, it seems that the economic cost of devastation will be in billions of dollars. The time has come to think about how to tame this river.

Ram Chandra Jha
Via email

problems. If there is devastation in one country, the other will also have to face it. Kosi flood first devastated the life and property in Nepal but it went on to ravage the land and people on the other side also. The damage done in India was much higher than what Nepalese had to bear. It shows that we live together and sink together. If there is a flood in Nepal, it will affect India. If there is a rise of extremism and violence in Nepal, it will automatically spill over to India. Kosi's recent flood teaches us a lesson about the importance of each other.

Dhiraj Yadav

Janakpurdam via email

No Need For Uproar

CPN-Maoist leader and prime minister Prachanda's recent visit to China has created uproar in Nepal and India. I don't think there is anything to be panicky on Prachanda's visit to China as prime minister himself has made it clear that the visit was "apolitical." In fact, prime minister Prachanda was not the first person to visit China. All his left leaning predecessors started their journey from visiting third country. Tanka Prasad Acharya paid his first official visit to China. Similarly, the first elected communist prime minister Man Mohan Singh paid visit to Denmark. If they did it, what is wrong for Prachanda, who started all his political career from safe sanctuary and training camps in India? If Prachanda, who just entered to politics retaining his terror outfit, interact, was given red carpet welcome in New Delhi in Hindustan Times Leadership Summit two years ago, there is no reason for creating brouhaha now.

Sudan Kafle
Paris Via email

Stop Blame Game

Nepal and India has already wasted a lot of time in blame game. The time has come for government of both the countries to take concrete decision to prevent devastating floods in future. As a big country, India has to take the initiative. Taming of the river like Kosi will give benefit to India in terms of irrigation, flood control and power. If India open-heartedly agrees to share this rightful benefit with Nepal, nothing will be impossible. However, India's officialdom is yet to agree on this. Had India shown its big heart, people living in both the countries would not have to face this kind of grave situation? I hope this flood will open our eyes to do something better for people living in both the countries.

Rukmani Shrestha
Via Email

Tireless Effort

Despite retirement from government service, water resources

expert Dr. Ananda Bahadur Thapa continued to write on the lurking threat of Kosi flood. Unfortunately, nobody listened to him. So far as Nepalese officials and politicians are concerned, they did not find much time to concentrate on this issue as they spent most of their time thinking about prolonged political instability. It was shocking to know how Indian officials undermined the warning given by Dr. Thapa. Unlike other water resource experts, Dr. Thapa's views are purely technical and he has never tried to mix his technical expertise with politics. Dr. Thapa has been writing articles predicting such disaster since a long time. This is the reason one can say Kosi disaster was not merely nature's wrath but was borne out of negligence.

Lila Rai
Dharan via E-mail

Common Problem

People living in both the sides of border have to face common



PM Dahal Says His First 'Formal Visit' Will Be To India

Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, who returned to the capital completing a four-day trip to China Wednesday (Aug 27), has said his visit to the northern neighbor was "positive and fruitful". Speaking to reporters at the Tribhuvan International Airport on his return this afternoon, PM Dahal said the visit was an important opportunity to share views on Nepal's peace process and development and economic issues with the Chinese leadership. Chinese leadership, according to him, expressed satisfaction over the recent political changes in Nepal. As it was an informal visit no agreements on development or economic matters were signed, he informed. The PM said the Chinese side showed interest in investing in various sectors in Nepal, but didn't mention in which areas China was interested to put investment. He also hinted that there would be follow-up visits over the matters discussed during the visit. Asked about the reports of India's displeasure over his visit to the China, Dahal said the visit should not be viewed in negative light as it was not a political one and that it was basically meant to represent the country in the closing ceremony of the Olympic Games. "My first political and formal visit will be to

India," he clarified. The Prime Minister had gone to China on Aug 23, leading an 11-member delegation, which included his wife Sita, communication minister Krishna Bahadur Mahara and foreign secretary Gyan Chandra Acharya. In Beijing, he met Chinese President Hu Jintao, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and other senior leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. During the tour, he also visited some landmarks in Beijing including chairman Mao's mausoleum.

Compiled from reports

Increasing Competitiveness Key To Growth: Finance Secretary

Finance Secretary Rameshwor Prasad Khanal has assured that the government would implement its free market and economic liberalization policy with the importance they deserve in the upcoming budget, adding the desired economic progress can be achieved through social mobilization, private sector initiative and coordination between various government agencies. Khanal, who was speaking at an interaction program in the capital Friday (Aug 29), said that the government however failed to realize the economic goals it had set because of its inability to effectively implement its programs and policies in the past. He further said that the government would make its program and policies public on September 10 and unveil the budget for the fiscal year 2065/66 a week after that. Saying that the government aims to make the private sector effective and help build an open and competitive environment to achieve the desired economic growth, Khanal said that to go about this the government has been checking inflation and doing all that is necessary to ensure easy availability of essential commodities. "The competitive environment is important to ensure high economic

growth," he said. Speaking at the same program, President of Federation of Nepalese Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FNCCI), Kush Kumar Joshi said that the country's economy might collapse if the political parties continue to give importance to partisan interests than the real economic issues. He also expressed concern that many industries in Bara and Parsa district are closing down due to increased political activities and flayed the government in its inability to ban the syndicate system even though the Supreme Court has already given a verdict against it. Similarly, President of Confederation of Nepalese Industries (CNI) and Constituent Assembly member Binod Kumar Chaudhari said that the government, political parties including the civil society should have one sole aim and that it how to ensure a sound economic growth. *Compiled from reports*

Govt To Unveil Relief Package To Flood Victims

The Central Natural Disaster Rescue Committee headed by the Prime Minister, has directed the concerned authorities and the special committee formed to support the Koshi flood victims to prepare a relief package by Sunday. Committee's meeting held Thursday in Kathmandu also discussed the efforts being made for resumption of transportation along the east-west highway that has been blocked since the breakage of Koshi embankment. The government directed the local authorities in eastern districts to seek alternative routes for the transportation, which has been obstructed after the floods swept away some 10 km of east-west highway. Few passenger buses used Indian routes to reach western districts and Kathmandu. There were reports of the buses looted. Finance Minister Dr Baburam Bhattarai told reporters after the meeting that the high level special committee, which includes Defense Minister Ram Bahadur Thapa and Minister for Physical Planning and Works Bijaya Kumar Gachchhadar, has been directed to prepare a complete package of the government support to the flood victims. A cabinet meeting to be held on Monday is likely to endorse the package

program as local authorities plan to resettle in new areas. According to ministers, the government will announce short, medium and long term assistance packages. Meanwhile, Constituent Assembly Chairman Subas Chandra Nemwang called a 25-party meeting, discussing possible support that CA can provide to the victims. *Compiled from reports*

WFP To Provide Support To Flood Victims For A Month

The UN World Food Programme (WFP) has announced it is mobilizing emergency food assistance for 50,000 people displaced by floods in the eastern Terai districts. "The emergency operation is in response to a Government of Nepal request after monsoon rains caused an embankment of the Saptakoshi River to collapse, flooding thousands of hectares of land and forcing an estimated 50,000 people to flee their homes," the WFP statement reads. "We were able to quickly get food moving to thousands of displaced families affected by these devastating floods," stated WFP Country Representative in Nepal, Richard Ragan. "However, we are concerned about the continuous rains which could increase the number of people in need of food." Initially, WFP will provide a 15-day food basket consisting of rice, pulses, salt and vegetable oil to 50,000 flood victims. "WFP is prepared to provide food for up to 30 days for families who cannot return to their homes because of high water levels," the statement reads. Water still completely covers two of the five VDCs flooded last week. WFP estimates that nearly 5,000 hectares of crops have been destroyed in the area. Humanitarian food assistance has begun to reach flood-affected areas and distributions to displaced families should begin this week. However, WFP said strikes in Nawalparasi along the East-West Highway are delaying trucks carrying WFP humanitarian food relief to flood victims. WFP has begun escorting trucks through this section of the highway. "I urge people not to block our food deliveries. Stopping much needed food to people who have lost everything is

simply no way to deal with grievances," urged Ragan. *Compiled from reports* **5.25 B Cost Estimated For Reconstructing Koshi Embankment**

Indian technical team on Thursday estimated around Rs 5.25 billion cost for reconstructing the embankment breached by the Saptakoshi River. A team including flood experts forwarded a letter with the estimation to the government of Indian state of Bihar after an inspection and study in the affected areas and the embankment. Earlier, the government of Bihar had provided only Rs 80 million for reconstruction. Meanwhile, a joint technical team of the Ministry for Water Resources from Nepal and India continued working on the reconstruction. Sunsari Chief District Officer Durga Bhandari said the Indian team reached here on Tuesday after the Nepali side assured to arrange security for them. The technicians are learnt to be experts on the Koshi and its erosion. The team repaired spurs number 11 and 12 on Wednesday, which, as it claimed, would now protect spur-15 from getting eroded as the river waters would change its course. *Compiled from reports* **END**

Army Integration Within Six Months: Defense Minister

Defense Minister Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal,' has said that the process of integration of army will be completed between three to six months. Talking to reporters in Itahari, Tuesday - where he had gone to inspect flood affected regions - Minister Thapa said that a special committee will be formed to initiate the process. He also urged everyone not to doubt the process of integration at a time when the 'Nepalis people have voted Maoists to form the government and the Nepali Army has vowed to carry out the instructions of the government.' Meanwhile, reports say that the Defense Minister has said that Nepal will not continue to wait for India for renovation of Kosi embankments. "We waited for a few days. But now we will start mobilizing internal resources to repair the embankments in a permanent manner," he is quoted in newspaper

reports as saying. A team of high level ministers and officials including Defense Minister, Physical Planning Minister Bijaya Gachhadar, Home Secretary, Defense Secretary, among others, have reached Itahari, Tuesday, to mobilize rescue and rehabilitation efforts from there. The team has been authorized to take decisions and carry out necessary expenditures from the place. *Compiled from reports*

Kosi Repair Will Take A Long Time, Says Minister Gupta

A senior minister has revealed that the complete repair of damaged embankment of Kosi river will take a long



time. "Despite the claims of repair works being carried out on war footing or whatever, there is no possibility of completing the task anytime soon," Jaya Prakash Gupta, Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives, told reporters, Wednesday (Aug 27). Minister Gupta who had recently returned from flood-ravaged regions said that it could take at least a year to rehabilitated those displaced by flood. According to officials, fifty to seventy thousand people have been displaced due to flood in Saptakosi river in eastern district of Sunsari. The Kosi water inundated villages in Sunsari after breaking embankments. Meanwhile, Indian technicians have started repair jobs in the embankments from Wednesday. *Compiled from reports* ■

PRIME MINISTER PUSHPA KAMAL DAHAL 'Prachanda' has shifted to his official residence in Baluwatar on Wednesday (Aug 27), nine days after being elected to the top executive position. Hours after returning from a four-day visit to China, Dahal went to Baluwatar at around 5:00 pm accompanied by some members of his cabinet. He had been living at a rented house in Naya Bazaar. Meanwhile, Nepal Army and Nepal Police are to take charge of the Prime Minister's security. The army will be in the front ring of his security, assisted by the police. Earlier, Armed Police Force (APF) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) were also involved in his security. The decision to involve the PLA in the Prime Minister's security had courted controversy with political parties including the ruling coalition members raising serious objection.

NEPAL ELECTRICITY AUTHORITY (NEA) is all set to increase the existing four hours of power cuts to 16 hours a week, even though it usually reports increased electricity generations during monsoons. Now the consumers in Kathmandu valley and much of country would have to face load-shedding all seven days of the week. Earlier, consumers used to face two hours of load shedding twice a week. NEA is effecting the change from Wednesday. Officials said NEA was compelled to add load shedding hours as the floods in the Saptakoshi river has destroyed the Katahaiya-Duhabi transmission line that brings 50 MW electricity to Nepal from India. Issuing a statement, NEA said that the water level in reservoirs were also far below expectation, causing low production of electricity. However, it said that load shedding hours would be shortened once the line is up and running again.

AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION HAS INITIATED efforts to provide special protection to children in the flood affected region. Because the children are particularly affected during disasters due to their physical, psychological and social vulnerabilities, Save the Children has recognized the immediate action required to provide children within the flood affected region with protection from potential forms of exploitation. "Save the Children has started the process of establishing and managing 30 Child Friendly Safe Spaces throughout a number of the camps. The main purpose of the Child Friendly Safe Spaces is to create both a safe environment where

children can continue learning, and an environment where they can participate in recreational activities," says a press release issued by the organization. "Within each of these spaces there will be two facilitators and 30 children, providing protection to almost 1000 children in total. The facilitators mainly consist of teachers, victims of the floods, and Early Childhood Development (ECD) professionals." The press release adds that the World Vision and Plan are going to create and manage an additional 10 Child Friendly Safe Spaces with the assistance of technical support from Save the Children. All 40 of these spaces will run with the close coordination of the District Education Office. 10 of these 40 spaces are anticipated to be in operation as of this Monday. "In addition to mobilizing 5 million rupees for the relief support in Sunsari, Save the Children Alliance has now mobilized more than thirty staff (including members of partner NGOs) to distribute relief packages containing nutritious food (sarbottam litto, biscuits) and clothes. ■

AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ZHENG XIANGLIN visited China Study Center-Nepal (CSC-Nepal) Saturday morning. Mr. Zheng was accompanied by senior diplomats of the Chinese Embassy in Nepal. At the Center Ambassador Zheng was received by Chairman of the



Chinese Ambassador Zheng Xianglin (Right) with Chairman of China Study Center Madan Regmi

Center Madan Regmi and other senior officials. Underlining "the Center was unique and had its own characteristics," Ambassador Zheng appreciated role of Center in promoting people-to-people contacts between China and Nepal. Ambassador Zheng joined a review and interaction program with the members of the Center on further strengthening China-Nepal cooperation. He emphasized on intensifying communication between the Chinese and Nepali sides to increase understanding about the correct current situation. The Center considered Ambassador Zheng's remarks very important and meaningful. ■

FLOOD PROBLEM OF CHINA'S HUANGHO RIVER

▪ AB Thapa

Scientists had established a long time ago that the Kosi river used to flow about 120 km away to the east from its present position some 200 years ago. There was a gradual lateral shifting of the Kosi channel to the west until it was confined about 50 years ago at its present position between two embankments running parallel on either sides of this river. Scientists had also forecasted that in future the direction of the lateral movement of the Kosi will be reversed. Such lateral movements from west to east, unlike the previous east to west movement, would be accompanied with far greater loss of life and property.

Now in front of our eyes we are seeing that the Kosi has changed its course to the east. The river is flowing through settlements some 1.5 km off the original course. Concerned government officials are saying that given the extent of damage to the embankment, it would be daunting task to bring the river back to its original course.

Similarity between Huangho and Kosi

There are two rivers in Asia, which were known in the past as the river of sorrow. The Kosi River that flows from Nepal to India was known as the "Sorrow of Bihar", whereas the Huang Ho River in China (also called the Yellow River) was known as the "Sorrow of China". Both rivers have similar maximum discharge. These two rivers were named "River of Sorrow" for having caused widespread suffering of a very large population of the country over a long period. At present the Kosi and the Yellow River have nothing in common. The Yellow River is already completely controlled whereas the Kosi still remains totally unregulated.

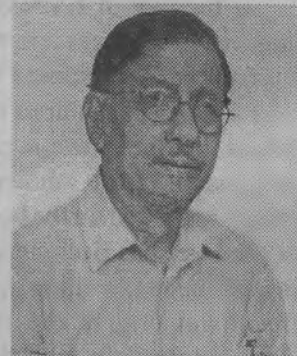
Highest Priority to Huangho Flood Control

In a recently published article in CHINA DAILY, Xiong Lei writes that the Huang Ho or the Yellow River was a cradle and killer, a mother and menace. From time immemorial, China had both depended

on and dreaded this mighty river.

Even during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), control of the Yellow River was thought so critical to dynastic stability that a ministerial post – Governor of Yellow River Affairs – was established. The holder, only second in power to the prime minister, could enter the Forbidden City without dismounting

Dubbed "China's Sorrow" for inflicting one disaster



There are two rivers in Asia, which were known in the past as the river of sorrow. The Kosi River that flows from Nepal to India was known as the "Sorrow of Bihar", whereas the Huang Ho River in China (also called the Yellow River) was known as the "Sorrow of China".

after another, particularly on the heavily populated lower reaches, the river posed a great threat. In the 25 centuries between 602 BC, the fifth year in the reign of King Ding of the Zhou Dynasty, and 1938, the Yellow River breached its dykes no fewer than 1,590 times. In addition, the river's course to the sea in its lower reaches shifted from time to time. Until recently there were on average two breaches every three years, and a major change of course once a century. Each and every one of these events left its toll on local populations, both their lives and property.

Huangho river in its middle reaches passes through a plateau of the fine sediment called loess. When it rains, flash floods literally carry mountains of loess down into the river. Over the years, it is said that the sedimentation has raised the riverbed by 5-10 centimeters a year. The Huangho River thus became a "hanging river".

China's Second Largest River

Huang Ho or Yellow River, is the second largest river in China after the Yangtze, with a total length of 5,464 km. The Yellow River rises in northern China in a series of springs and lakes in the Kunlun Mountains, south of the Gobi Desert

At the city of Kaifeng, the river enters the plains and changes from a torrent to a meandering stream with a broad channel enclosed by dikes. The dikes were built over a period of centuries to control the river and prevent floods, but they have actually had the opposite effect. Because the large amount of sediment carried by the stream has silted up the bottom of the riverbed, the level of the river has risen necessitating the construction of higher and higher dikes. As a result, in many portions of the lower course the river is much above the surrounding plain, and when the river water level rises, disastrous floods

occur. The floods of the Yellow River have been so frequent and so devastating that the river is often called China's Sorrow.

River Channel Hydraulics

There are few striking similarity between the Yellow River and the Kosi. Both these rivers are dubbed "River of Sorrow". The annual flow of both these rivers are almost equal. The annual flow of the Yellow River is about 58,000 million cubic meters whereas such annual flow of the Kosi at Barahachetra is only slightly less. It is about 51,000 million cubic meters. As far as the geomorphic and hydraulic characterization is concerned, there is hardly any resemblance between these two rivers. The Kosi, in terms of channel pattern, is a braided river whereas the Yellow River is a meandering river. Despite such differences, scientists were virtually unanimous in their opinion that there was only one way to prevent the Yellow River as well as the Kosi flood disasters. The only recourse is the provision of storage dams to control the floods.

Rivers can be characterized in terms of channel pattern. Such channel patterns can be straight, meandering, braided, or some combination of these. A braided river like the Kosi would be relatively wide and it would be having poorly defined

unstable banks, and it would be characterized by a steep, shallow water course with multiple channel divisions around alluvial islands. There are two primary causes that may be responsible for the braided condition. (1) the stream may be supplied with more sediment than it can carry resulting in deposition of part of the load, and (2) steep slopes, which produce a wide shallow channel where bars and islands form readily.

A meandering stream such as the Upper Mississippi or the Lower Illinois or the Yellow River is the one whose channel alignment consists principally of pronounced bends, the shapes of which have not been determined predominantly by the varying nature of the terrain through which the channel passes. Alluvial channels of all types deviate from a straight alignment. The thalweg oscillates

There are few striking similarity between the Yellow River and the Kosi. Both these rivers are dubbed "River of Sorrow". The annual flow of both these rivers are almost equal. The annual flow of the Yellow River is about 58,000 million cubic meters whereas such annual flow of the Kosi at Barahachetra is only slightly less.

transversely and initiates the formation of bends. A meandering river, in sharp contrast to the braided river carrying the same mean discharge, would be having far smaller longitudinal slope.

How Yellow River Flood Problem Solved

Since 1949 some eight dams have been built and four more are under construction along its 4,674-kilometre course to control the Yellow River flooding. Among the dams built a long time ago are the dams Liujaxia, Sanmenxia, Longyangxia which were constructed in the years 1968, 1979 and 1988 respectively. It is reported that keeping the Yellow River at bay has saved the China US\$ 50 billion as of 1990.

Now China is facing completely a new type of problem. The Yellow River water is excessively used in irrigation, as a result, the river has started to dry up. Very recently China has embarked on a grandiose plan to divert the surplus flow of the Yangtze River to augment the flow of the Yellow River.



PM Prachanda : Marching ahead

POLITICS

The Long March

Having captured the seat of power in the democratic republic, the former Maoist rebels embark on a journey to 'a people's republic'

By SUSHIL SHARMA

“We expect to win two-thirds and then ninety percent majority in the forthcoming elections and rule the country for another 20 years and more,” said the chairman of the Nepal Communist Party, Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda), in an interview last week.

Without mincing the words, the first elected prime minister of the democratic republic of Nepal went on to say, “We will move forward from here to a people’s republic. Our struggle is not over yet.”

There had been indications even earlier. In his first address to the nation after assuming office, Prachanda equated republic (*ganatantra*) with ‘people’s republic (*janatantra*)’.

He seemed more comfortable in using *janatantra* than the widely used

loktantra.

Prachanda’s choice of words went unnoticed. Another important thing that few took notice of was the careful omission of a commitment to a multi party parliamentary democracy.

He emphasized on “multi party competition” not on multi party system, in his statement hours before a departure for China where multi party competition does exist, but not the multi party parliamentary democracy.

The remarks defied the hopes of those who believed that the former communist rebels had “changed” or “reformed”.

The Maoists have not made any bones about it, either. Said a senior Maoist leader Top Bahadur Rayamajhi in a recent debate with a Nepali Congress leader, “to believe that the Maoists will

change into a parliamentary outfit is an illusion.”

Raymajhi challenged his Nepali Congress counterpart, “if you win a two-thirds majority in the election you can introduce the Indian-style republic, but if we win we will definitely bring in the Chinese-style republic.”

Analysts say, prime minister and chairman Prachanda’s assertion of securing 90 per cent votes and moving forward to a people’s republic came as no surprise. ■

PRACHANDA

South-bound

By A CORRESPONDENT

Prime Minister Prachanda is set to make his first foreign “political” visit in the third week of this month.

The visit to India is taking place



PM Prachanda : South-bound

less than a month after a “sudden but necessary” visit to China.

No formal announcement has been made yet. But sources said that September 16 and 17 have been set as tentative dates for the visit.

The former communist rebel leader is set to proceed from Delhi to New York to attend the UN general assembly where he will rub shoulders with world leaders. ■



PM Dahal inaugurates CNI Summit: Backing private sector cause

CNI SUMMIT

Lofty Goal

The Confederation of Nepalese Industries (CNI) takes the initiative in kick-starting debate on attaining high growth economy

By SANJAYA DHAKAL

The CNI's economic summit on "Double Digit Growth: A National Commitment," had to be postponed twice in the past due to political instability.

It finally took place this week – appropriately as the new elected government led by Maoists has also taken charge.

A dream child of CNI president and Constituent Assembly (CA) member Binod Chaudhary, the summit has been successful in generating much-needed debate on how to accelerate the economic growth and pull the millions of Nepalese out of the morass of poverty.

With the catchword of attaining Rs 12,000 monthly income for average Nepalese – up from existing Rs 3500, the

summit has brought together experts, economists, politicians and business community under one roof to debate about the various opportunities and challenges facing the nation.

At its inaugural function on Sunday (Aug 31), Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' laid the groundwork by making statements aimed at allaying fears and apprehensions among the business and international community regarding what the Maoists have in store vis-à-vis economic policies.

PM Prachanda gave full backing to the liberal economic policies provided what he called they are in national interest.

"We are in the first decade of the 21st century. There is a wave of globalization,

liberalization and privatization all over the world. We cannot turn blind eye to them," he said.

Prachanda also promised to work in close cooperation with the private business sector to attain high growth in economy.

"Currently, we are facing three key issues concurrently. One is to take the peace process to logical end, another is to write new constitution and third is the economic transformation. All three are interlinked, one cannot segregate them," he said. The three-day seminar is being organized by Confederation of Nepalese Industries (CNI).

Giving his solid backing to the organizers and their cause, PM Dahal said that the seminar will help his government at a time when it is preparing national plans and policies and new budget.

PM Dahal said that he will work to allay suspicions among national and international community in taking the government forward.

"Without the participation of private and public sector, no country's economy can prosper," he said.

Delivering his keynote address, CNI President Binod Chaudhary called on everyone to focus on economy to realize the double digit growth and ensure the average monthly income of Rs 12,000 from the current level of Rs 3500.

"We are facing both challenges and opportunities. The state must run like a corporate body to realize the huge potential and deliver economic prosperity to the people," he said.

In his keynote address, Chaudhary not only presented the picture of economic situation but also spoke at length about the opportunities.

"In the past twelve years of conflict and in the subsequent two years of peace process, the economic issues could never come to center-stage. Due to lack of enough job opportunities, two million youths have left the country in search of work. Over 80 percent of country's

population engage in agriculture. Unfortunately, 35 percent of the population face food shortage," he said.

He also rued the poor foreign trade situation. "The foreign trade deficit has surged to Rs 130 billion a year, which is 18 percent of GDP. We only export Rs 40 billion worth of goods and services to India whereas we import Rs 33 billion worth of petroleum alone from that country. Consequently, the country has been forced to purchase Indian currency worth \$ 2 billion," he said.

Comparing the high growth attained by Nepal's two neighbors India and China, Chaudhary said conflict alone is not responsible for low growth in the country.

"In order to raise the monthly income from the current level of Rs 3500 to Rs 12000 (by attaining double digit growth), the current level of annual investment of Rs 176 billion should be increased to Rs 400 billion for the next ten years," he said.

And there is no problem of resources, according to Chaudhary. "When a bank shares worth Rs 300 million is floated in the public, they get applications worth Rs 10 billion. There are a number of banks opening up in a series with Rs 2 billion investment. Three billion dollar worth liquidity received from overseas has not been used in productive sector. There is also no problem regarding entrepreneurship and management. Nepali entrepreneurs and managers have earned reputation abroad as well. If there is any problem, the problem is in the creation of environment to let the investment come without any obstruction," he noted.

He also recalled how the Japanese worked with single minded determination after the second world war to rebuild their nation. We need similar national passion, he said.

"The state must now start thinking and working like an entrepreneur to raise our economic standard. An entrepreneur is a visionary who does not stop working

by looking at lack of resources. He creates necessary resources."

Lofty Goals

The goal of double digit growth is a lofty one but not impossible, according to experts.

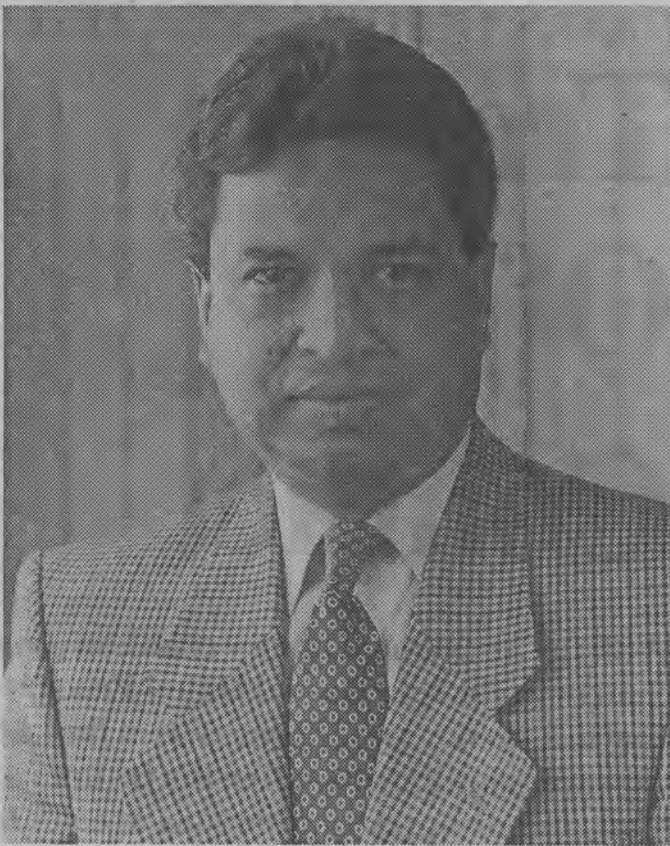
"It is definitely a very hard goal to attain at this time. The major problem will be to attract the necessary investment," said Dr. Shankar Sharma, renowned economist, who presented a lead working paper at the three-day economic summit.

"At policy level, there should first be efforts to earn confidence of private sector, then there should be effective market for goods and services along with improvement in public administration and improvement in infrastructure standard," Dr. Sharma said.

Another economist Dr. Bhuwan Bajra Bajracharya, in his paper, noted the need to reduce poverty and attain broad-based growth by investing in infrastructures such as energy, road and communication.

Tek Chandra Pokharel, founder vice president of CNI and leading tourism entrepreneur, called for constitutional provisions on economic visions. "We should have a provision in the constitution which states that within 2015, we will attain average monthly income of Rs 12,000 by achieving 7 to 10 percent economic growth," he said.

Pokharel called for huge investment in agriculture, road infrastructure, creation of Special Economic Zone, east-west electric railway network,



Binod Chaudhary: Businessman with vision

international airport in Nijgadh, investment of Rs 210 billion in tourism infrastructure, among others, in the coming days.

"It is like if we set our eyes on sky, at least we could reach up to the top of the tree," said banker Anil Shah, who said that the ambitious target is not unattainable though.

Chaudhary himself gives example of progress made by Japan and, more recently, by Dubai. "A country with nothing but desert, look how Dubai has made progress in tourism. They have attained goal of bringing in 13 million tourists. For a naturally gifted country like Nepal, it should not be a big deal in attracting two million tourists a year," he said.

At the three-day summit, various experts presented working papers and held discussions on 18 different specific sectors.

After the summit the ball has started rolling. It is now up to the political and business leaders to realize the dream. ■

CASES OF DISAPPEARED

Trauma Of Conflict

With the installment of new coalition government under leadership of CPN-Maoist chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda, whose party had waged twelve years long insurgency, peace process is in the last phase of completion. However, thousands of people continue to suffer the trauma of insurgency as families of more than one thousand disappeared persons are yet to get information whether their beloved are still alive or not

By KESHAB POUDEL

It was mid-night. Suddenly, some one knocked the door and forced to open it. As soon as a group of men entered into the room, they captured Kumar Gurung, 20, a resident of Ilam and took him away from his home in 2062-7-9.

Although Devi Gurung, 48, mother of Kumar argued with the Maoist cadres not to take away his son, nobody listened to her and his son was forcefully taken away from home. They even promised Devi Kumari that they will send her son back.

"My son never came back. I knocked the doors of Maoists leaders, human right activists, government and United Nations Office of Human Rights High Commissioner but all my efforts went in vain," said Devi. "As Maoist leader Prachanda has become prime minister now, he has to take responsibility about the whereabouts of my son."

Devi Kumari doesn't yet know what crime her 17-years-old son Kumar had committed to deserve this. Her son was a student of class ten in Harkate village development committee of Ilam.

Similarly, Tika Kanel, a resident of Dhading district, has already knocked the doors of different government

offices, police posts and other places to know about her son Amrit Kanel who was disappeared from Chabahil in 2060-6-15.

A resident of Benighat village development committee, Amrit was arrested by police while he was on the way to his rented room. "No one has bothered to make public the whereabouts of my disappeared son. I am certain that the state is behind my son's disappearance," said Tika Kanel. "My son was disappeared six years ago. Since then we have been living in miseries."

Devi and Tika are not the only two parents who are suffering the trauma of disappearance. There are more than one thousand parents who have been roaming around various offices knocking doors. "Leaders come to power as a result of sacrifice made by the disappeared people. But thanks to the culture of impunity, those behind forced disappeared are still roaming freely," said Tika Kanel.

From holding the elections of CA to abolishing monarchy and forming a new coalition government under the Maoist leadership, the country has jumped from one end to other in the last two years

period. But, the question of disappeared people is still haunting the minds of people.

"Disappearance continues to haunt Nepal's transition to peace and democracy and it is imperative to hold accountable those responsible for the disappearance," said Richard Bennett Office of High Commission for Human Rights-Nepal. "The causes of forced disappearance have caused suffering to thousands of people."

Whatever the trauma and tragedies one has to face, it is very difficult task for both former rebels and state to do anything to find disappeared. As a rebel leader Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda under whose command Maoist waged twelve years long war, has become prime minister, but he will be hard pressed to take actions against his own cadres and state officials who he is now leading.

Differences Over Number

As various international organizations celebrated the International Day against Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance on August 29, the families of disappeared found forum to express their anguish and rights organizations were busy publishing reports.



emonstrating against victimization: Need to end impunity

But the exact number of disappeared is yet to be asserted as different organizations have different record. International Committee for Red Cross and National Human Rights Commissions have recently come out with separate reports of forced disappearance with two different data. According to NHRC, during the decade long Maoists insurgency, at least 3,299 persons have disappeared. However, the whereabouts at least 1000 is still unknown, it says.

"Out of 3299 persons who had disappeared, the whereabouts of 2329 were made public, but there is no information about the rest 970," said Kedarnath Upadhyaya, chief of National Human Rights Commission.

According to the report, the state is responsible for disappearance of 671 citizens while CPN (Maoist) is responsible for disappearance of 299. During the period of decade-long insurgency, state forces killed at least 142 while Maoists killed 21 people who were taken under their control, it adds. Of all those disappeared (as per the complaints filed at the NHRC), government has publicized the status of 1,427 and the Maoist 739 people.

Meanwhile, the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) and the Nepal Red Cross Society released a separate report stating that the number of disappeared stands at 1200.

The ICRC admits its new publication "a painful thing to look at." It has a stark list of 1,227 names of people, 91% of them

men, who have been reported as missing because of the decade-long war.

"We have some rough indication that there were some people compensated at one point or another. But there's never been a letter from any state authority, never any official recognition to any of the families of the missing to our knowledge" said Mary Werntz, head of the ICRC in Nepal.

On the other hand, Informal Sector Service Center (INSEC) stated whereabouts of 828 citizens disappeared by the state and 105 by the Maoists still remain unknown. The ICRC and the Nepal Red Cross have collected the names of the missing in years of visits to the remotest villages.

Court's Order Ignored

After a long hearing, the Supreme Court had directed government to form the commission (on disappearance) two years ago. But, the government is yet to give shape to the commission.

According to Amnesty International, Both the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN (M)) largely failed to implement human rights commitments in the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA), signed in November 2006. Measures to address impunity for past violations and abuses were grossly inadequate.

Two years have passed since the government and the CPN (Maoist) in a written document promised to publicize the status of disappeared citizens within 60 days, yet the whereabouts of missing people remain unknown

Chairman of NHRC Kedar Nath

Upadhyaya urged the government to form two commissions – on disappearance and on reconciliation – to ease the investigation process. He also stressed the need for immediate disbursement of relief support to the families of disappeared citizens.

"It is also vital that appropriate action be taken in order to break the cycle of abuses and of impunity, to move towards the type of institutional reform necessary to ensure that Nepal does not again see such a pattern of serious human rights violations," said Bennett.

INSEC Report

Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC) has made public a report entitled "Impaired Accountability: State of Disappearance in Nepal. INSEC Chairperson Subodhraj Pyakurel released the report based on the assessment of the implementation of the recommendations by UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance amidst a program.

The report states, "still the whereabouts of 828 persons arrested by the state remains unknown. Similarly, 105 persons abducted by the CPN (Maoist) remain disappeared though the Maoists claim to have not disappeared anyone."

The report suggests the government to ratify the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance; establish crime of disappearance and promulgate a law on disappearance in compliance with the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, 2006; form a credible and high-level commission to probe into the cases of disappearance, their causes and the status of those allegedly disappeared by the state and parties to the conflict, and immediately implement the directive order of the Supreme Court of June 2007 and provide without any discrimination the relief and assistance package to the families of victims among others.

Complex Problems

Enforced or involuntary disappearance is a complex criminal offence that involves violation of a number of fundamental freedoms and basic human rights, including the right to personal freedom and security, the right to have legal remedy, the right against torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading behavior, and the right to life as such.

Although Nepal celebrated International Day of the Disappeared, nobody knows whereabouts about more than 1,000 people like Kanel and Gurung even after two and a half years since the conflict ceased. ■

Our Party will win Majority, Even two-thirds Majority in Next Election

- PM Prachanda

Prime minister and CPN-Maoist leader **PUSHPA KAMAL DAHAL PRACHANDA** spoke to **RABINDRA MISHRA** of BBC Nepali Service regarding various political and other issues. Excerpt of Prachanda's first exclusive interview as a prime minister

As long as everyone including the army, the police and the other officials remain committed to the people's mandate on democracy, peace and change, no one needs to feel insecure.

In the past Maoist leaders had vowed not to keep any private property. They handed over their private properties to the party. Now, what will you do to your salary that you will be drawing as prime minister?

That (money) will go to the country and the people. It will be deposited in the party treasury. Except some amount for the general upkeep, the salary will be deposited in the party treasury.

Then, how can one be assured of privatization under your government when you are yourself not keeping private property?

We do not believe that private property should be abolished. But we believe that the leadership must keep away from making money to ensure that the properties of the people are protected and promoted.

What three things you will do in the next three months that will make a difference to the people?

First, a special committee will be announced to facilitate the integration (of the army) and rehabilitation within six months as part of moves to take the peace process to a logical conclusion. Second, the process of constitution making will be expedite in three months. Third, programmes to provide immediate and long-term relief will be announced.

Given that the army integration is being seen as a very sensitive issue will you let the current army chief General Rookmangud Katawal to complete his tenure?

The demand of the time is to exercise maximum restraint. The country will suffer by any move that breeds bitterness at this juncture.

So the suspicions about the army chief being sacked are misplaced? He will not be sacked, will he?

That will not happen. As long as everyone including the army, the police and the other officials remain committed to the people's mandate on democracy, peace and change, no one needs to feel insecure. There will be no prejudice against any.

How will you handle the army integration? The Nepali Army seems to have its own thought. How will you merge your combatants into the national army?

Now that I have become prime minister I have been travelling with the army security. I have found a serious commitment and sense of responsibility in the Nepali soldiers. I don't think that we will face any problem in taking this (integration) process to a conclusion.

If you had so much faith in Nepali Army, why did you distrust the NA and, instead, induct your combatants for your personal security?

I never showed such distrust. I never wanted to show any bit of distrust towards NA or police or PLA or armed police. Since last two years armed police and PLA personnel had been providing security to my residence in Naya Bazaar. This was an issue that needed a technical solution. I do not want to suspect anyone or make

anyone feel humiliated. The PLA also should not feel that they have been orphaned now that I have become Prime Minister. I am quite sensitive on this matter. Both PLA and NA understand the issue very well.

Among the 20,000 Maoist combatants in the cantonments, how many will be accommodate into the Nepali Army. What happens to the rest?

The PLA combatants who are staying in the cantonments and who have been verified by the United Nations are all eligible for rehabilitation and integration. According to our latest understanding each and every PLA combatant will be given the freedom to choose whether he/she wants to return home or engage in other professions. Therefore, I am not in a position to say how many PLA combatants will be integrated and how many of them will return home.

How long will the ex-King Gyanendra be allowed to stay in the Nagarjuna palace?

We are discussing this matter. The cabinet has just been expanded. It will take up the issue soon.

Will you re-open the probe into the palace killings?

This issue will be raised at the Constituent Assembly. There have been no satisfactory answers yet to the people's serious questions about the incident.

Perhaps the people could raise similar questions about you also?

May be. But the people of Nepal have already justified our action — you call it civil war or people's war — through the constituent assembly verdict. Have the people ever justified the palace killings?

Do you ever feel that your hands are stained with blood?

Sometimes in the event of grave mistakes on our part, I was emotional. But what is more important is the great process of transformation and the class, ethnic, regional and gender consciousness which have come about through our movement. So I do not feel the need to repent.

Would you have visited China first if it had not hosted the Olympic Games?

Let's not get into hypothetical questions. Since China is our neighbor and since we could not attend the inaugural ceremony of the Olympics I went there for the closing ceremony. Anyway, it would not have been easier for me to go there first if there had been no Olympic.

Since China is the land of your inspiration Mao Zedong, you must have harbored wishes to travel there?

I would be lying if I said no.

What do you want to do with the 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty?

Nepal has become a republic passing through big changes since the Rana regime. So, the 1950

treaty should be clearly reviewed. It cannot be kept in the present form.

What are the provisions that you do not like in the present treaty?

I am engaged in consultations on my visit to India soon. So, I do not want to reply to your question at this point.

When are you visiting to India?

I am going to attend the UN General Assembly. I will travel to India before that.

You used to claim that different power centers were blocking your ascent to power. Have you defeated those centers now?

I cannot use the same language as I am Prime Minister now. I have said on many occasions that had any other party won the election, nothing would have stopped the formation of new government within a week. It took four months for us.

You have defeated the King and elbowed out Girija Prasad Koirala. Do you feel that you have mastered the policy of use and throw?

I am pained by the allegations that we engage in use and throw. I never think that I have cheated anyone. But in course of advancing my cause, I might have made compromises and come closer to one or another at different times. But there was never any conspiracy there. It was our philosophy of cooperating with others to defeat the primary enemy.

There are two schools of thoughts within your party – one favoring the People's Republic and the other favoring Democratic Republic. Which one will prevail?

That is not the case. There is no illusion within our party regarding our ultimate goal of establishing a Socialist Communism. However, in the current national and international circumstances, we have decided to move ahead by institutionalizing the federal democratic republic.

So, you want to establish a People's Republic by means of the state of democratic republic?

We will definitely attempt to establish a People's Republic by institutionalizing democratic republic and through the legitimate means like election. Once we attain that, we will then work to achieve socialism and communism.

Will there be a people's republic if your party wins a majority in the next election?

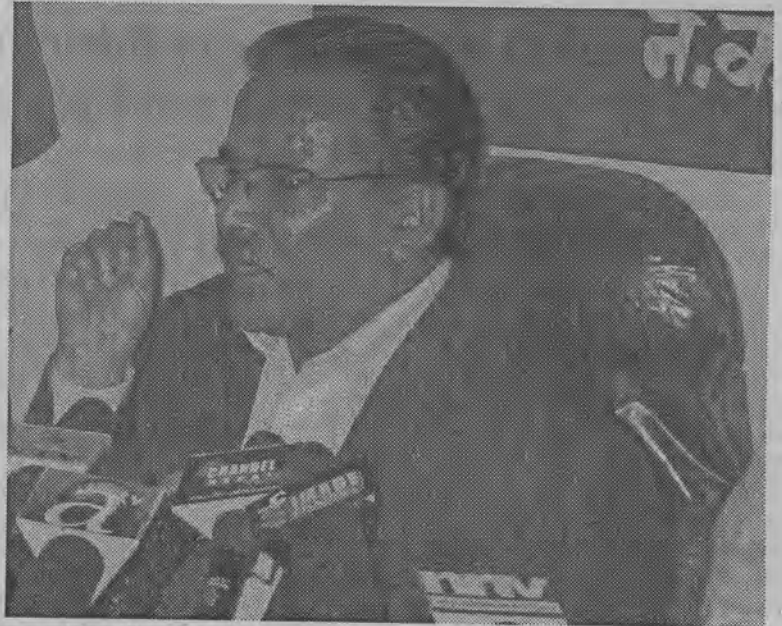
Let's not understand this in a provocative manner. We will definitely try our best to ensure that the new constitution will be as close to the ideal of People's Republic as possible. I believe that the constitution would pave the way for a People's Republic, Socialism and Communism.

How can it pave the way for communism when you have said there will be guarantee to all kinds of political freedom?

We have concluded that socialism without multiparty competition and political freedoms cannot survive. We have learned this from the experiences of Russia and other countries.

What are you talking about, socialism or communism?

I am talking about socialism. A lively society can be built only if there are political freedoms and competitions within socialism. Communism is



something like a heaven where there is neither a class nor a state nor an army. It will take hundreds of years to reach there.

You are not in a mood to step down as party chairman even after becoming PM. Why?

Certainly, since I will not be able to devote adequate time and energy for the party after becoming the PM, other comrades will have to take more responsibility. But there is no rule anywhere in the world that for the party chief to step down when he becomes PM. Besides, ours is a party that believes in central and unified leadership. So there is no question of abandoning one responsibility when taking up another.

You once publicly said that top leaders will not join the government and act like Mahatma Gandhi?

What I said that that will happen only after a people's constitution and a stable government are put in place.. We believe that a leader does not need to stick to the position of a prime minister or a president once the revolution is completed, constitution is written and the country cruises on a stable course.

Politicians are smart in playing with words, aren't they?

Not at all, I have only tried to reply in a very direct manner.

How long will your government survive?

It will continue till the constitution is written and the peace process is completed. I believe our party will win majority, even two-thirds majority in the next election. Then, our government will continue for another five years. We will improve our performance during that period. There will come a situation where people will start thinking that Maoists alone can run this country. In the subsequent election, we expect to win 90 percent votes and we will continue in power for many decades.

You have high expectations. Do you believe they will be fulfilled?

Definitely. We have strong faith in people. We are devoted to the nation and the people. No one can sever our relation with the people. ■

Then, our government will continue for another five years. We will improve our performance during that period.

Kosi River: From 'Sorrow of Bihar' to 'Sorrow of Nepal?'

Issues and Episodes to Reflect On

-SB Pun

Writer's Note:

This article appeared in Nepal Electricity Authority's bi-annual magazine, Vidhyut, in Falgun 2063 (January 2007). Much water has flowed down the Kosi Barrage since then. With the August 18, 2008 breaching of the left embankment near Kusah, about 12 kilometers upstream of the barrage, the flooded Kosi river appears to be settling down to one of its old original courses. The Kosi termed the 'Sorrow of Bihar' has also become the 'Sorrow of Nepal'. With about 50,000 people affected in Nepal and a far larger number (reportedly about 2 million) in India, the worst hit districts are Nepal's Sunsari and Bihar's Supaul, Madhepura, Saharsa and Araria. Nepal's Dr. Ananda Bahadur Thapa¹ had been consistently warning of such a Koshi disaster in his articles for the last decade or so. Similarly, Bihar's Dinesh Kumar Mishra², a staunch anti-embankment crusader who wrote about the nexus between Bihar's bureaucrats, politicians and contractors, merely quipped philosophically, 'The inevitable has occurred.'

While the calamity and woes of people on both sides of the border were horrendous, the governmental arms of the two countries (the Embassy of India³ in Kathmandu and Nepal's Ministry of Water Resources bereft of the Minister) sadly engaged in vicious recriminations, blaming each other for the breaching of the Koshi embankment. As usual politics, both in India and Nepal, also raised their ugly heads. Many are amazed at the slow response of the Indian administration that took nearly a week to comprehend that this was not the usual Koshi flood but the Koshi river rampaging along a new course. It is reported that Koshi, meandering through one of its old channels, has finally joined up with the Ganges near Kursella, after a lapse of over ten days. This is, however, not the time to indulge in mudslinging at the expense of the suffering people. This is also not the time to raise the issues of Kosi Treaty Revision, Sapta Koshi High Dam or even Prime Minister PK Dahal's Beijing/Delhi visits. This is the time for the two countries to put their heads together, pool in all their resources and

mitigate the sufferings of her people. Once some kind of normalcy is restored (probably by March/April of 2009), people return to their villages and towns (many would see no signs of their houses) and tempers subside, future course of actions must be vetted in a completely transparent manner. There should be no gunboat diplomacy or the grand designs of the past. The following is a litany of the past Indo-Nepal relationship on the Koshi river which, perhaps, could be a beacon on what not to do in future. .

i) Kosi – Sorrow of Bihar:**a) Kosi—a Tributary of Brahmaputra:**

In the last 250 years, the Kosi river has shifted from Purnea in the east to Saharsa in the west over a distance of 112 kms destroying over 15,000 sq. kms of fertile lands and villages in Bihar. Kosi has, thus, been named the "Sorrow of Bihar". The Kosi engaged the British scientific minds right from the beginning of their colonial rule in India. Dr. B Hamilton, in early 1800, after studying the extensive morphological behaviour of the river, observed "In times of remote antiquity, the Kosi passed south-east and thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganga".

b) Debate on No Embankments versus Embankments: In 1883, the colonial British-India government feared that Kosi may make a sudden change of direction and return to one of its former channels, far way to the east. WA Inglis, who was deputed to survey the region, made an interesting conclusion that "it was not advisable to make any attempt to interfere with the natural flow of the river".

In 1896/97, the Calcutta Flood Conference also concluded that no structures were feasible to control Kosi with numerous channels. The conference, however, recommended short lengths of embankments that were put up at various places by various interested parties. The 1928 Orissa Flood Conference indicated that the existence of embankments increased the adverse effect of floods and recommended demolition of bunds. In fact, some zamindari bunds were demolished by the government despite their hue and cry. The 1937 Bihar Flood Conference centered on the "Embankments versus No embankments" debate with the Bihar Chief Engi-

neer, Captain GF Hall, surprisingly pushing for the removal of all embankments on the ground that they did more harm than good. It was the 1941 report of Sir Claude C Inglis that brought Nepal into the Kosi picture. Sir Inglis⁴ concluded that the Kosi "swings" related to the river's excessive silt load and proposed that this silt/sediment be check, if possible, upstream in Nepal. The then Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, in 1945 referred the Kosi flood problem to the newly constituted Central Water, Irrigation and Navigation Commission for advice.

ii) Kosi High Dam Project – 1950:

After considerable field surveys and geological investigations, a multipurpose project (783 feet high dam at Barahchhetra to moderate floods, 1,800 Mw of hydropower, a barrage at Chatara to irrigate 38.4 lakh acres in India and Nepal, another 90 Mw hydropower on the Eastern Canal and navigation facilities in the reservoir and the river downstream) was prepared in 1950. This is the Barahchhetra project from where the Indian ambassador, CPN Singh, promised Mohun SJB Rana electricity at 2 paise per unit for Nepal. This led to the demise of Nepal's Rs 1.8 crore plan to generate electricity at 6 Paisa per unit from the 20 Mw Gaidakot hydropower-cum-irrigation project in Nawalpur/Nawalparasi by diverting the Kali Gandaki waters through a tunnel. The 1951 Advisory Committee shifted the Chatara barrage 9 miles down to Belka hills and suggested a 35 mile long embankment to prevent western movement of Kosi.

iii) Kosi (Barrage) Project – 1953:

Shri Kanwar Sain, Chairman of CW&PC, after visiting the Kosi area felt that the barrage either at Chatara or Belkha would be unstable and regarding the high dam at Barahchhetra he felt that the investment of large fund was not justified due to insignificant flood moderation effect and low demand of generated power. The 1953 Kosi Project, thus, surfaced with the barrage at Hanuman Nagar 30 miles below Chatara with the embankments on both sides of Kosi being inescapable. The AC Mitra review report of 1957 on the Hanuman Nagar barrage concluded that the barrage, purely for the purpose of flood control, was not justified but if taken

up for the purposes of irrigation and power, as contemplated by the project, would be useful for flood control as well.

India, in order to control Kosi - *Sorrow of Bihar*, had first prepared the 1950 Kosi High Dam Project at Barahchhetra with the barrage at Chatara. This in 1951 moved down to Belka hills and in the 1953 Kosi Project again moved southwards to Hanuman Nagar. It was this 1953 Kosi Project that the Indo-Nepal 1954 Kosi agreement embraced: "The barrage will be located about 8 miles upstream of Hanuman Nagar town." In May/June 1954, a month after the initialing of Indo-Nepal Kosi agreement, the Government of India sent a team of two engineers, Mr. Kanwar Sain and Dr. KL Rao, to communist mainland China to study the embankments built to control the floods on the Yellow and other rivers in China. The visit resulted in some changes of Kosi project parameters. When actual construction did start in 1959 on the 1953 Kosi Project, the barrage again moved further south as indicated in the 1966 Revised Kosi agreement: "The barrage is located about 3 miles (8 miles in 1954 agreement) upstream of Hanuman Nagar town." Thus the signing of the 1954 Kosi agreement, without having even finalized the sifting of the barrage itself, demonstrates how desperate and hurry⁵ India was in to have the agreement on Kosi "signed, sealed and done" with Nepal.

Preliminary works on the Kosi project started in 1955 with the construction of the 76 mile long narrow-gauge rail from Bathana-Bhimnagar-Chatara and Dharan to transport boulders. The eastern earth dam of length 6,218 feet with its eastern afflux bund of 43,000 feet (8.1 miles) and the western earth dam of 12,200 feet with its western afflux bund of 44,237 feet (8.4 miles) were all in Nepalese territory. Actual construction work on the 3,770 feet long 56 gated barrage started in 1959, 26 miles downstream of Chatara, and was completed in March 1963 (*pre-flood*) with the road-bridge over it. The submerged area due to ponding including the river bed in Nepal was 16 sq. miles (41 sq. kms). The barrage cost⁶ "Rs 236.2 million IC and flood embankments of 146 km and 123 km respectively were completed at a cost of Rs. 450 million IC."

The salient features of the main canals⁷ are:

Kosi Eastern Main Canal: *Gross command area in India 18,34,000 acres (i) main canal - 27 miles (ii) Murliganj branch canal - 40 miles (iii)*

Janakinagar branch canal - 51 miles (iv) Purnea branch canal - 40 miles (v) Araria branch canal - 36 miles (vi) Distributaries and minors - 1,694 miles.

Kosi Western Main Canal: *Gross command area in Nepal and India 63,000 acres and 9,28,020 acres respectively (i) main canal in Nepal - 35.13 Km (ii) main canal in India lined - 56.5 Km and unlined - 20 Km.*

iv) Kosi Agreement - April 25, 1954:

a) Political Environment: The April 25, 1954 Kosi Agreement was signed by Mahabir Shumsher/Nepal and Gulzari Lal Nanda/India during the premiership of MP Koirala. Analysts note the comment of American scholar, Leo Rose⁸

Rose Leo E. 1971.

Nepal Strategy for Survival.

Bombay: John Brown, Oxford University Press, Regents of the University of California.

on the prevailing political environment of Nepal: "It was CPN Singh, for instance, who was generally credited with having arranged MP Koirala's appointment as prime minister in November 1951, whereas it had been generally assumed that his more popular half-brother, BP Koirala, would head the first non-Rana government." The joke⁹, therefore, among the Nepalese politicians of that time was: "When Nehru caught cold, MP Koirala sneezed." Rose further added: "Sikkim's autonomy was severely limited, both internally and externally. Bhutan's internal autonomy was recognized, but India retained the right to 'advise' that state on foreign relations.... New Delhi played a more active role in Nepal than in Bhutan during the first decade after independence...." This "active role in Nepal" of New Delhi was clearly India's policy to "steer" Nepal from some of its over-enthusiastic politicians. India, particularly, disliked the concept of Himalayan Federation that was broached a number of times since 1947. The federation was perceived as a Chinese concocted plot with the cooperation of the pre-1816 Gorkha Empire-minded politicians in Nepal. Tanka Prasad Acharya, during his tenure as prime minister, did pursue that concept but quickly dropped it as New Delhi's reception was "distinctly hostile". Therefore, it was no surprise that India¹⁰ "began to take Kathmandu too much for granted, and tended to act in a rather cavalier and condescending fashion with regard to their own prerogatives..."

b) Opposition to Agreement: The Kosi

agreement aroused much bitterness in Nepal with the opposition parties accusing the government of bartering away Nepal's future: Nepal receiving only a minute portion of irrigation, India benefiting more from power development, ruining of Nepal's richest agricultural lands and Nepalese peasants discriminated in compensation. The greatest invective was directed at the supposed violation of Nepal's sovereign rights over the Kosi project areas in Nepal. Many believe this was due to India's inability to think of Nepal as a separate entity. India never tried to comprehend that she was taking away from a sovereign state the water¹¹ on which her future depended. India could not or would not comprehend this until the Chinese attack of September 1962. That is why Leo Rose commented that the 1962 Sino-Indian border war was "a godsend to King Mahendra, but certainly not an unmixed blessing." Sober present day Indians like Ramaswamy Iyer¹² do admit that India has "on occasion been unimaginative, patronizing and insensitive in their dealings with the country's smaller neighbours, and there have been brief aberrant periods when even the word 'bullying' might not have been out of place."

c) Defense of Agreement: MP Koirala, however, staunchly defended his Kosi agreement saying¹³: "If one is determined to misunderstand a very plain situation, nobody ever can help him realize the fact. India could have very well put the barrage a couple of miles below the present agreed site, if it had no consideration for Nepal. The sovereignty and territorial rights of Nepal have not been impaired by the Kosi Agreement However, BP Koirala, MP Koirala's own half-brother, just before becoming Prime Minister in 1959 told a press conference¹⁴ that "Nepal had lost from the Kosi project agreement and said that his government would be careful about concluding an agreement on the Gandak." It is difficult to conjecture how well informed Prime Minister MP Koirala¹⁵ was on India's Kosi Project. As he hailed from that area, he must have had, undoubtedly, a soft corner for it. But now even Indian ex-bureaucrats admit¹⁶ "...one suspects the Indian engineers did not fully explain the consequences in advance to the Nepalese authorities."

But Indian diplomats like ambassador Deb Mukherjee continue to mouth the same arguments put forth by Prime Minister, MP Koirala, in 1954. At a Kathmandu

Face-to-Face Reporters' Club Program in May 26, 2001 Mukherjee maintained¹⁷ "If the Indians had built the Koshi barrage a little downstream in Bihar, then Nepal's advantage would have been zero. And Indian irrigation instead of nine and a half lakh hectares would have been nine lakh and thirty five thousand hectares."

d) Reality on Ground: This "consideration for Nepal and no advantage for Nepal if barrage was built in India" arguments put forth by both Prime Minister MP Koirala in 1954 and Ambassador Mukherjee in 2001 give one the impression of "magnanimity" on the part of India. However, this "consideration for Nepal" needs to be concluded only after perusing the following factual statistics on the ground:

The Kosi Barrage, entirely within Nepal, is so sited that it provides not a single acre of Nepalese land irrigation from the Kosi Eastern Canal. Instead, this Eastern Canal, that emerges from the barrage immediately into Indian territory, provides irrigation to 612,500 ha¹⁸ of land in India. The 20 Mw Kataiya powerhouse is on this Eastern Canal in India. The Kosi Western Canal, after traversing 35 kms of valuable Nepalese territory, provides irrigation¹⁹ to only 11,300 ha of Saptari lands through gravity flow and 13,800 ha with costly pumped irrigation. This was availed after much agitation by the Saptari farmers. On the other hand, the same Western Canal provides gravity flow irrigation to 356,600 ha²⁰ of land in India.

Hence, the siting of Kosi barrage in Nepal "for Nepal's consideration and advantage" is, to be blunt, an outright lie. Jagat Mehta, former foreign secretary of India, does rightly concede²¹ "An alternative location could have greatly increased the benefits to Nepal." Prime Minister Nehru, though referring to the Gandak project straddling the border 50:50, was more honest when he said²² "India could build in her own territory but had proposed to build in Nepal because it was CHEAPER and would give Nepal water and power." Though Prime Minister MP Koirala in 1954 may be given the benefit of doubt for being unaware of the project being "cheaper" in Nepal, ambassador Mukherjee in 2001 cannot be given the same benefit of doubt.

By constructing the 1.1 km (3,770 feet) long barrage within Nepal, India instead gained by not submerging a single sq. meter of her land in India. The Kosi barrage impounded-water with the afflux

bunds submerges over 41 sq. Km (16 sq. miles) of Nepalese lands in perpetuity providing huge flood control and irrigation benefits entirely for India. As a part of Nepal's Kosi project benefit, it is 48 Km upstream of the Kosi barrage that India built the Chatara Irrigation Project²³ at a cost of US\$ 20 Million to irrigate 66,000 hectares of Sunsari and Morang lands. The Chatara canals, completed in 1974, soon got deluged with Kosi's excessive silt²⁴ and were quickly made non-functional. Hardly had India handed over Chatara project to Nepal, the World Bank in 1978 was requested to rehabilitate and improve the same Chatara project under a different name, Sunsari-Morang Irrigation Project. This name change was reportedly to allay India's sensitivity over the name, Chatara. The four phase 1978 to 2003 Sunsari-Morang project was to cost Nepal a dear US\$ 155 million²⁵ to irrigate a much reduced 41,800 ha²⁶.

v. 1966 Revised versus 1954 Kosi Agreements:

Though of academic interest, it is worth comparing and ruminating over some of the more salient features of the old 1954 Kosi Agreement and the still applicable 1966 Revised Kosi Agreement:

a) On Use of Water:

With the wording "Without prejudice to the right of Government (Nepal) to withdraw for irrigation or any other purpose in Nepal such supplies of water, as may be required...The Union (India) shall have the right to regulate all the balance of supplies in the Kosi river..." it will be unfair to say that the old 1954 Kosi agreement did not give Nepal the full water rights over the Kosi river. But the 1966 Revised Kosi Agreement's stipulations that India "shall have the right to regulate all the Balance of supplies in the Kosi river at the Barrage site" and that Nepal "shall have every right to withdraw for irrigation and for any other purpose in Nepal" made Nepal's water rights legally fool-proof and water-tight! In other words, unlike the Amended 1964 Gandak treaty, the Revised 1966 Kosi Agreement fully tight-sealed Nepal's water rights. Nepalese water experts like Dr. Hariman Shrestha and Dr. Ananda Bahadur Thapa give this credit to Dr. Dante A Caponara, an Italian, who was at that time an FAO advisor to the Nepalese government. This right on Kosi waters did not necessitate the World Bank to give its riparian notification²⁷ to India

during the processing of Arun III project. Or for that matter, India's concurrence is not required for executing such consumptive use project like the Melamchi Drinking Water. India has been putting its "queries" and blocking all donor financed consumptive use projects whether it is on Kankai, Kamala, Bagmati, Rapti or Babai.

b) On Use of Power:

On power, "The powerhouse on the eastern Kosi canal has been designed to produce 20,000 KW of which Nepal's share would be 10,000 KW."²⁸ The "50 percent of the hydro-electric power generated at the Barrage site Power House" in the old agreement was qualified in the revised agreement by the need to communicate three months in advance "any increase or decrease in the required power supply exceeding 6,800 KW." India apparently de-rated the capacity to 13.6 Mw due to heavy silt and trash problems thus requiring Nepal to inform India of any increase or decrease over 6.8 Mw. Both the old and the new revised agreement stipulate Nepal's 50% power as being subject to "The tariff rates fixed by mutual agreement." While many both in India and Nepal believe this Kosi power to be gratis, Indian bureaucrats have been consistently terming it as the "concessional Kosi power" which in 2006 was IC Rs 2.70 per unit (NC Rs 4.32).

c) On Royalties:

On royalties, both the old and the revised agreement have the same wording: "HMG will receive royalty in respect to power generated and utilized in the Indian Union at rates to be settled by agreement hereafter:

Provided that no royalty will be paid on the power sold to Nepal."

While Nepal is sanguinely oblivious of the royalty she is entitled to, India too has remained silently mum for over three hal decades!

Similarly for stone, gravel and ballast used in "construction and future maintenance of the barrage and other connected works" royalties will be paid to Nepal "at rates to be settled by agreement hereafter."

On the royalty for stones and gravel collected by the District Development Committee, while India complains of royalty demands in Nepal by more than one authority, Nepal also complains that the stones and gravel for the Kosi project are being used for other purposes in India.

d) On Sovereignty and Jurisdiction:

For the Opposition political parties, this has been the major bone of contention and Leo Rose rightly pointed out that the

"Kathmandu politicians and press soon discovered any number of flies in the ointment." Hence, the wordings of the 1954 and revised 1966 agreements have been, for the sake of the readers, dittoed below in the "as it is" form:

1954 Kosi Agreement:

The Union (India) shall be the owner of all lands acquired by the Government (Nepal) under the provisions of clause 3 hereof which shall be transferred by them to the Union (India) and of all water rights secured to it under clause 4(i).

Provided that the sovereignty rights and territorial jurisdiction of the Government (Nepal) in respect of such lands shall continue unimpaired by such transfer.

The key objectionable words here are that India "shall be the owner of the lands" acquired for the Kosi project. The treaty, however, hurries to stipulate that sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction "shall continue unimpaired" by such transfer.

1966 Revised Kosi Agreement:

Lease of the Project areas:- (i) All the lands acquired by HMG under the provisions of clause 3 hereof as of the date of signing of these amendments shall be leased by HMG to the Union for a period of 199 years from the date of the signing of these amendments at an annual Nominal Rate.

(ii) The rent and other terms and condition on which lands for Western Kosi Canal shall be leased by HMG to the Union pursuant to this Agreement shall be similar to those as under sub-clause (i).

(iii) The rent and other terms and conditions of any other land to be leased by HMG to the Union pursuant to this Agreement shall be fixed by mutual agreement.

(iv) At the request of the Union, HMG may grant renewal of the leases referred to in sub-clauses (i), (ii) and (iii) on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon.

(v) The sovereignty rights and territorial jurisdiction of HMG, including the application and enforcement of the law of Nepal on and in respect of the leased land shall continue un-impaired by such lease.

Note: The black bold stresses are those of author only.

The 19th December 1966 Revised Kosi Agreement was signed by ambassador Shriman Narayan for India and by Dr. YP Pant, Secretary/Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance for Nepal. On Dr.

Rose's "number of flies in the ointment", the author would like to pick on the following "flies":

In the 1954 agreement, though the term "sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction ... shall continue un-impaired" is there, it is the term "The Union (India) shall be owner of all lands" transferred by Nepal to India that was highly objectionable and interpreted as infringing on Nepal's sovereignty. The 1966 revised agreement conveniently converted this objectionable ownership into the more palatable word lease. However, it is this lease that invited the incredible clause "199 years from the date of the signing of these amendments". MP Koirala's 1954 agreement had no such validity period. India incorporated another "fly" to this 199 years' lease: "At the request of the Union, HMG may grant renewal of the leases". Being a lease, India has now to pay Nepal rental amount carefully termed "at an annual Nominal Rate" that was missing in the 1954 agreement. Just eight years later in 1974, India and Bhutan signed the Chukha Project Agreement whose validity period, in striking contrast to Nepal's Kosi agreement, was for 99 years. But the crudest "fly" in the Kosi ointment pertains to the content of the Letters of Exchange²⁹ "...our two Governments have reached an understanding that the Government of India will be reasonably compensated in case the Project properties are taken over by His Majesty's Government at the end of the lease period." Present day Build-Own-Operate and Transfer projects like the Tala-Delhi 400 Kv transmission lines get transferred to the owner, Power Grid Corporation of India, in mere 30 years with no 'reasonable compensation' at all!

No doubt, India, as usual, has scored well on every count. Laxman Prasad Rimal, the then Water Resources Secretary, states that the ministry had recommended 99 years³⁰ only but "later the official agreement amended it to 199 years". This was King Mahendra's "trade-off" with India, an acceptance not to support the Nepali Congress's armed activities in India against his rule in Nepal. Jagat Mehta, India's former foreign Secretary, now concedes³¹ "...after the dismissal of BP Koirala, we actually facilitated the use of Indian territory to raid Nepal...". In fact, history, after the signing of Revised Kosi Agreement in 1966, is a testimony to this. BP Koirala did meet Indira Gandhi³², did collect and store arms in India only to be persuaded by his mentor,

Jaya Prakash Narain, to hand them over to the Bangladesh Mukti Bahini who were waging the Bangladesh liberation movement in 1971. It is also believed that India's long term Nepal strategy forced BP Koirala to rethink his own policy vis-à-vis India to ultimately return to Nepal and announce his famous Reconciliation Policy (Nationalism and Democracy) in December 1976.

vi. Issues on 1966 Revised Kosi Agreement:

a) **Kosi Concessional Power:** The preamble to the 1954 Kosi Project states "...for the purpose of flood control, irrigation, generation of hydroelectric power and prevention of erosion of Nepal areas on the right side of the river..." Note the correct order of priority: flood control, irrigation and generation of power! India does concede³³ that this first joint venture was "originally conceived as a flood control scheme." This meant flood control and irrigation far outweighed power generation. "The powerhouse on the eastern Kosi canal has been designed to produce 20,000 KW, of which Nepal's share would be 10,000 KW.....The barrage was completed in 1962 at a cost of Rs 236.2 IC and flood embankments of 146 km and 123 km respectively were completed at a cost of Rs. 450 million IC."³⁴ With the commissioning of the barrage in 1962 and the eastern canal in July 1964, Nepal's 10,000 KW of power entitlement was to power the industrial towns of Biratnagar, Dharan and Rajbiraj in 1965. Unfortunately, the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war broke out and the ship carrying the Kataiya powerhouse's Fuzi Electric Japanese electro-mechanical equipments were captured³⁵ and confiscated by the Pakistan navy on the Bay of Bengal.

This 50% Kosi power of the 1954 Kosi Agreement materialized only on October 31, 1971³⁶ when the Kataiya power house on the Eastern Kosi Canal started generation. Ambassador CPN Singh³⁷ had promised Mohun Shumshere in 1950 Kosi power at 2 Paisa per unit. This turned out to be the "concessional Kosi power" at IC 10 Paisa per unit in 1971, while the power exchanges at a number of Nepalese border towns³⁸ were pegged at IC 14 Paisa per unit. There was much to be said on the quality of power from India. Nepal had no grumbles over the bad quality of power supplied under the power exchange rate to the border towns but she was very frustrated with the Kosi power quality to her industrial towns of Biratnagar, Dharan and

Rajbiraj. Every evening even the concessional Kosi power was subjected to load shedding. In fact, so infuriated were the Biratnagar consumers with the erratic Kosi supply that whenever power failed everybody cursed Kasi Raj Pande³⁹ with "Kasi Raj maryo!"

b) **Unsustainability of "Kosi Concessional Power"**: As early as 1988, India's position on the "concessional" Kosi power was that "though the original capacity of the Kosi Power Station was 20 Mw it has been generating only to the extent of 1 to 2 Mw that also intermittently... the agreed tariff applicable for other locations should also be applicable to the power exchange at Kataiya...." Nepal, however, explained that "since decisions on the mode, quantum and related tariffs for supply of power under Kosi Agreement can not be taken at this level, the issues should be referred for a decision at the level of the two Governments." Later in 1994 at the Second Power Exchange Committee meeting, India again "...made a strong plea for discontinuance of the concessionality in the tariff for power supply at Kosi point... generation from Kosi project should be at the rates applicable for supply at other points..."

This Kosi "concessional power" to be upgraded at par with the higher power exchange rate has been repeatedly and consistently brought up by India at the Indo-Nepal Power Exchange Committee meetings to this date. Some Nepalese officials even started to lobby in India's favour arguing that the quantum of Kosi power is very small and Nepal might as well concede. Water Resources Ministry, fortunately, took the stand that it was not the "quantum of power" in question but the "principle" under which the two countries signed the Kosi Agreement. By 1999 under India's persistent requests "revision of Tariff for power exchange under the Kosi Agreement" was agreed to be referred to their respective governments. At the Secretary level Indo-Nepal Joint Committee on Water Resources in 2004 though the Nepalese side took the stand that the "subsidized rate of power supply should be continued" India argued that "in view of shortfall in generation from Kosi Project, power had actually been obtained from other sources for supply to Nepal. Continuance of this arrangement was not sustainable." Despite the lame "shortfall in generation from Kosi Project" excuse, which incidentally

is of no concern to Nepal, India successfully constituted a joint group to analyze the issue under the Kosi Project Agreement and submit its recommendations. Thus Nepalese analysts marvel at the consistency and obduracy of the Indian bureaucracy despite the 16 year lapse from 1988 to 2004. That India does her homework well is amply illustrated by this example! It is only hoped that New Nepal also learns this Indian trait.

As of June 2006, this "concessional" Kosi power tariff at the 33 Kv voltage level is IC Rs 2.70 (NC Rs 4.32) per unit escalated at 8.5% per annum. India buys Bhutan's Chukha power at the commercial tariff of IC Rs 1.50 per unit. The "concessional tariff" that India provides to her own farmers for irrigation needs is merely IC Rs 0.40 per unit at the low voltage level. Nepal's "concessional Kosi power" import in the last five years is given below:

Fiscal Year	Kosi Power million Units	Kosi Tariff in IC Rs	Kosi Power Amount in IC Rs
2005/06	31.23	2.70	8.01 Crores
2004/05	19.80	2.49	4.81 Crores
2003/04	17.03	2.29	3.81 Crores
2002/03	11.76	2.11	2.37 Crores
2001/02	14.25	1.95	2.61 crores

Average annual Nepal utilized Kosi power: 18.81MUs

Source: Nepal Electricity Authority.

Compare this concessional Kosi power import from India's Kataiya substation with the higher priced Bhandabari-Duhbi import at 132 Kv level from the same substation:

Fiscal Year	Bhandabari-Duhbi Million Units	132 Kv Power Exchange Rate in IC Rs/Unit	Power Imported in IC Rs
2005/06	259.5	3.49	87.1 Crores
2004/05	133.3	3.22	40.7 Crores
2003/04	68.2	2.97	19.1 Crores
2002/03	96.3	2.73	24.8 Crores
2001/02	75.9	2.52	18.0 Crores

Average annual Bhandabari-Duhbi Nepal imported Power Exchange power: 126.6 Million Units

Source: Nepal Electricity Authority

One thus sees the heavy import of thermal power from India by the hydropower rich Nepal. On the subject of this "concessional Kosi power", there are two very important issues that Nepal needs to do due diligence:

i) *Nepal's contractual entitlement to receive on a continuous basis 10 Mw of Kosi power (50% of the installed capacity of 20 Mw), which works out to 87.6 million units per annum⁴⁰, at the "concessional rate" should be fully utilized. From the records above, it is seen that the average annual import is only about 19 million units. One can not jus-*

tify why this withdrawal should be limited to the three 33 Kv feeders (Biratnagar I & II and Rajbiraj) only. Nepal should insist on the 10 Mw (87.6 MUs per annum) from the 132 Kv Duhbi-Kataiya voltage level. Nepal is merely asking for its due share from the Kosi agreement. India needs to be fair and equitable on this issue.

ii) *Nepal needs to undertake "due diligence" on Article 6 of the Kosi Agreement where "HMG will receive royalty in respect to power generated and utilized in the Indian Union at rates to be settled by agreement hereafter: Provided that no royalty will be paid on the power sold to Nepal." For the last 37 years since the commissioning of the Kosi hydel station in 1971, Nepal has not received, or for that matter even bothered to claim, any royalty for the electricity generated and used by India on her soil through the water impounded in the Nepalese territory. Of course, this "power generated and utilized in the Indian Union" would need to be ascertained without acrimony from the 1971 till date log sheets that are in India's Kataiya power house.*

v. **Sapta Kosi High Dam Multipurpose Project:**

a) **Alternative Project to Protect Kosi Barrage:** It is now a fact that the newly 1988 built Tanakpur barrage was in true essence India's "alternative project" to replace the outdated 1920 Sarda/Banbasa barrage. Similarly, India was waiting for an opportune time to propose to Nepal for an "alternative project" to protect its sediment-loaded, already-aged 1962 Kosi barrage at Hanuman Nagar. Immediately after the multi-party system took over the Nepal governance, India, at the 1991 Secretary level Indo-Nepal Sub-commission on Water Resources meeting at New Delhi, contended that the Kosi Barrage is a joint Indo-Nepal asset and that the barrage has "outlived its life and Kosi Multipurpose Project can only protect this asset." Interestingly, India further pointed out at the meeting that the "utility of the project for flood control will be mainly confined within Nepal and India, and will not extend to Bangladesh." Hence, India did not deem it "necessary to involve Bangladesh on the consideration of the Kosi Project." Due to Kosi's proximity to her, Bangladesh perceived the Kosi multipurpose project as a regional project to partner in. In fact in October 1986, a Joint Committee of Experts

from India and Bangladesh had come to Nepal "hunting" for river data, wherein it was Bangladesh that proposed seven storages⁴¹ in Nepal to augment the dry season flows of the Ganga at Farakka. As Nepal, despite her request, was not included in that Joint Committee, she was forced not to comply with the Committee's request for data on Nepalese rivers.

b) Inclusion of Sun Kosi-Kamala Diversion: The roadmap of the Kosi High Dam was clearly charted in the 1991 MOU during the New Delhi visit of Prime Minister, GP Koirala. The December 29, 1991 Nepal Gazette⁴² notification (Vol. 41 No. 36) states: *Joint studies/investigations ...to finalise the parameters of the Sapta Koshi High Dam Multipurpose Project will be carried out expeditiously....joint committee of experts shall....finalise the modalities of the investigations and method of assessment of benefits....the two sides will start the investigations of the project....to preparing a detailed project report at the earliest.* The same gazette further stated that Nepal will prepare the feasibility report of Kamala and Bagmati Schemes with the "possibility of financing of the studies by India...". In 1996 during Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's visit to New Delhi, Nepal agreed to the Joint Team of Experts' (JTE) meeting on Sapta Kosi High Dam with the satisfaction that Nepal's Sunkosi-Kamala Diversion was included. Some argue that the inclusion of Sunkosi-Kamala Diversion with the Sapta Kosi High Dam was unfortunate as the Kosi Agreement gave Nepal every right to develop this Diversion independently to maximize Nepal's own benefits first. Now India's interests would have to be factored in.

c) Data of Bagmati and Kamala: no Joint Project Office in India: The JTE meeting in January 1997 agreed: *to undertake study of Sun Kosi - Kamala Storage cum Diversion as well as the study of Kosi High Dam Project, to undertake navigation⁴³ study from Chatara to Khursela at the confluence of Kosi with Ganga and agreed on the principles for calculating flood control, irrigation and power benefits.* As per the decision of the fifth JTE meeting in June 2003, the Joint Project Office-Sapta Kosi Sun Kosi Investigation (JPO-SKSKI) was opened in August 2004 with India's grant⁴⁴ support of NCRs 46.8 crores. Sadly the SKSKI joint project offices are in Nepal only with none in India. It is being argued how Nepal will be able to assess the "acrimonious" downstream benefits (*flood control and*

irrigation) without having a single office in India to gather all the required data. Instead, India successfully included the studies of multipurpose projects on Kamala and Bagmati despite weak protests from Nepal that social and environmental problems exist due to presence of large settlements in the reservoir areas. Some argue that it is not the multipurpose projects on Kamala and Bagmati that India is interested in. It is actually the hydrological data of Kamala and Bagmati basins that India badly wants.

d) Sapta Kosi High Dam and India's River Linking Project: These data are for her ambitious IC Rs 5,600 billion River Linking Project whose 14 Himalayan components has five major Nepal related links: i) Kosi - Mechi ii) Kosi - Ghagra (Karnali) iii) Gandak - Ganga iv) Ghagra (Karnali) - Yamuna and v) Sarada (Mahakali) - Yamuna. India's near double digit galloping GDP growth has developed an insatiable appetite for energy. But many in Nepal forget to correlate this with an equally insatiable appetite for freshwater. The Ganga basin is populated by 43% of India's burgeoning 1,027 million people. With Nepal's glacial-fed rivers contributing an astounding 75% of the lean season Ganga flow at Farakka, India's long term water strategy in the Ganga basin hinges squarely on Nepal. But so far India has astutely played down the value of water and Nepal unfortunately has been mesmerized for the last five decades by electricity exports. For these 14 Links to function, India badly needs storage projects on all the major, medium and minor rivers of Nepal: from Kankai, Kosi, Kamala, Bagmati, Gandaki, West Rapti/Naumure, Babai, Karnali, Mahakali down to Danda, Mahali Sagar etc. The Sapta Kosi-Ghagra Link passes through seven heavily populated Nepalese districts (Udaypur, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi and Rautahat) before emerging near Gaur in India. However, India, continues to insist that the proposed River Linking Project is "still being examined in India. We will consult Nepal when this becomes necessary."⁴⁵

vi. Issues for Nepal:

Unquestionably, India's solution to floods and water scarcity lies up in the hills of Nepal. If India wants large interventions on Nepalese rivers then she must concede that stored and regulated water has monetary value⁴⁶. India must stop the oft-repeated arguments that Nepal's water would, at any rate, flow

down to India. This could no longer be the case with the dry season flows as the usage increases upstream. India has painstakingly avoided spelling out her real water interests to Nepal. On the other hand, Nepal has been lulled into believing that export of electricity "at mutually agreed price" would lead her to prosperity. The three agreements, 1954 (revised 1966) Kosi, 1959 (amended 1964) Gandak and 1996 Mahakali, are examples of India achieving by default her strategic water interests from Nepal.

On the DPR preparation of the Indo-Nepal Sapta Kosi High Dam Multipurpose Project-cum-Sun Kosi Kamala Diversion Scheme, the following issues need to be transparently debated and vetted: *submergence of 50.2 sq. kms of Nepal's limited fertile lands up to the tip of Tumlingtar airfield, displacement of about 75,000 Nepalese⁴⁷ mostly for the benefit of people across the border in India, the non-acrimonious meaning of "all benefits accruing to both parties....in the forms of flood control, irrigation, power etc. shall be assessed", the interpretation of price of electricity "shall be mutually agreed" as opposed to the power benefit assessed on the basis of savings in costs as compared with the relevant alternatives available, cost of the Project in proportion to the benefits accrued etc.* No doubt these are important issues. But it is about time that Nepal also vet: *whether this Sapta Kosi High Dam is truly beneficial for Nepal or not, what really happens to the 199 years Kosi Agreement where Nepal has all water rights over Kosi within her territory with India getting the "balance at the barrage site", are our prevailing laws suitable for such large multipurpose projects, what are the practices in India's own multipurpose projects like the recently commissioned Tehri/Uttaranchal and Sardar Sarovar/Gujarat dams, who will operate the Kosi High Dam and its associated structures (India as in the Kosi Barrage or the River Authority/Commission that was conceptualized on the border straddled Pancheshwar project) and what is the international practice etc.* These are issues that Nepal's concerned institutions should mull and vet over before the political storm akin to that of the midnight ratification of "Mahakali Package" hits them without really knowing from where and who.

vii. Kosi Agreement in Retrospect:

Though belatedly, the New Nepal of 2008 have begun to assess what she, in

comparison with India, exactly got from the Kosi agreement. It is reported⁴⁸ that India has "leased" for the Kosi project about 15,000 bighas (9,375 hectares) of Nepalese lands of which 10,000 bighas of land owners, despite the operation of the barrage since 1962, have still to receive compensation. Even the land tax to Nepal at "the Nominal rate" is reported to be unpaid over a long period. This is a slur not only on India but Nepal as well for being both deaf and mute. The 66,000 ha Chatara irrigation in Sunsari and Morang had to be retrofitted with the US\$ 155 Million loan from World Bank to irrigate only 41,800 ha. The farmers of Saptari, 13,800 ha through costly pumping and 11,300 ha through gravity flow, get erratic water supply due to non-maintenance of water level on the main Western Canal. India has been ceaselessly bandying the term "concessional Kosi power" to Nepal for a mere 18.8 million units per annum which she finds "unsustainable" to supply. India wants this "concessional Kosi tariff" to be made at par with the higher power exchange rate. Despite Nepal's repeated requests, as per the agreement, to have the 6 km road on either side of Kosi barrage maintained, India never complied⁴⁹. Ultimately, when Nepal decided to maintain this barrage road herself through the Asian Development Bank loan, India demurred that she had no objection if the contract is awarded to her Indian firm. It was the Indian public sector firm, Indian Railways Construction, that did India's job but at Nepal's cost.

The Kosi eastern and western canal irrigates 978,100 hectares of land in India while Nepal gets a mere 11,300 hectares through gravity flow. The barrage and the accompanying structures all in Nepal have provided India valuable flood control and irrigation benefits. It is, thus, Nepal that has provided valuable "concessions" to India. Yet Nepal has failed miserably to articulate them. Ridiculously, India still contends "no advantage for Nepal if barrage was built in India". India now terms the sediment filled Kosi barrage a "joint asset" to be protected by the proposed Sapta Kosi High Dam. The DPR of this Kosi High Dam is jointly under study with several Joint Project Offices in Nepal but none in India. The Kosi High Dam has roped in both the Kamala and Bagmati basin studies for India's River Linking Project. While India gets the relevant hydrological and other data for the three major river basins, Nepal with no offices in India will have no relevant Indian data when negotiations on the "accrued benefits" begin.

India's former Water Resources Secretary, Ramaswamy Iyer⁵⁰ states "The Kosi/Gandak agreements were not regarded as exercises in 'regional cooperation'". He admits of "occasional blunders and stupidities by India" and stresses that "India, as the bigger country, must go more than halfway in seeking to build good relations with the smaller neighbours." It is amazing that 70 year old Kapileshwar Majhi of Barda, like many others affected by Kosi project, is still waiting to be compensated⁵¹ in 2007 for his 31 bighas of land that the Kosi project "leased" in the late 1950s. If such "blunders and stupidities" persist and New Nepal's political masters fail to handle the Sapta Kosi High Dam with care and wisdom, then one can say with certainty that Kosi, the "Sorrow of Bihar", is destined to transform into the "Sorrow of Nepal"!

End

Writer's Postscript:

It is always easy to get wise later. But one can discern that the Bihar Government's Water Resources Department (under whose jurisdiction the Kosi Barrage falls) appears to have failed to comprehend the magnitude of the Koshi-embankment-breach disaster. Had the Department foreseen that, even at the penultimate moment, then timely mobilization of an army of dumper trucks, excavators, bull dozers etc. may have prevented that breaching it is reported that such equipments were used in the 1993 flood. Fortunately, the discharge of the Koshi river at the time of the breaching was only one lakh forty six thousands cusecs. Previous records at the barrage have discharges as high as nine lakh cusecs. It took nearly a week for the Bihar Government to comprehend that the Kosi had changed its course.

(Footnotes)

- 1 Dr. AB Thapa was formerly Executive Secretary of Water and Energy Commission Secretariate.
- 2 Mishra, DK. 2004. *Bihar: Flooded and Waterlogged*. B Subba and K Pradhan edited. *Disputes over the Ganga*. Panos Institute South Asia. Kathmandu.
- 3 The Indian Embassy, through its August 19, 2008 press release, launched a blistering media blitzkrieg in Nepal's tv, radio, newspapers and journalists charging Nepal's Sunsari administration of non-cooperation in its attempts to strengthen the spurs and conveying the 'gravity of the situation' on 17th August, 2008. The breach occurred the very next day on August 18, 2008 that very day.
- 4 Dr. Thapa, AB. *Gatherings to Mark Disaster Prevention Day and Kosi River*. Spotlight January 12, 2007.
- 5 This desperation was again exhibited by India on the Tanakpur barrage. The famous December 1991 MOU, that an unwary Prime Minister GP Koirala signed, was a master stroke to legitimize the unilaterally constructed barrage and race against the oncoming monsoon to tie the barrage's left embankment to Nepal's high ground.
- 6 *Partnership in Economic Development, An Enquiry into the Indian Aid Policy to Nepal*. 2005. BP Koirala India Nepal Foundation, Embassy of India, Lainehour, Kathmandu
- 7 *Comprehensive Plan of Flood Control for the Kosi Sub-basin*. December 1983. Ganga Flood Control Commission, Ministry of Irrigation, Government of India. Ibid.
- 8 Ibid. 11 Mihaly, EB. 1965. *Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal*

- 9 London: Royal Institute of International Affairs
- 10 Iyer, RR. *Conflict Resolution: Three River Treaties*. Mumbai: Economic and Political Weekly June 12, 1999
- 11 Bhasin, AS. 1994. *Nepal's Relations with India and China*. New Delhi: SIBA EXIM PVT. LTD
- 12 Op. cit. Footnote 11. Mihaly gives *Hul Khabar*, 21 June 1959 as his reference.
- 13 One tends to conclude that, like his ill-informed half-brother Prime Minister GP Koirala on the Tanakpur MOU in December 1991, MP Koirala must have also been very little informed on the Kosi Project. Jagat Mehta, India's ex-foreign Secretary, also makes the same observation - footnote 16.
- 14 Mehta, Jagat S. *India and Nepal Relations: A Victim of Politics*. India-Nepal Relations. 2004. Observer Research Foundation. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- 15 *Partnership in Economic Development, An Enquiry into the Indian Aid Policy to Nepal*. 2005. BP Koirala India Nepal Foundation, Embassy of India, Lainehour, Kathmandu
- 16 Malla, SK. 1995. *Case Study of Kosi and Gandak Projects*. Water Resources Development Nepalese Perspectives. Delhi: Konark Publishers
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Op. cit. Footnote 16
- 20 Mihaly, EB. 1965. *Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. Mihaly gives *Hul Khabar*, 14 June 1959 as his reference.
- 21 Poudel, Sonmath. BS 2059. *Nepal ma Sinchai*. Kathmandu: Jalshrot Vikas Sanshan
- 22 When a Nepalese engineer at Chatara project complained to the visiting Indian ambassador about this excessive silt in the canals, the ambassador condescendingly quipped, "Canal ka niche balu nahi hota to, kya sona milta?" - as related by BK Pradhan, former Secretary/MOWR.
- 23 The Project cost figure of US\$ 155 million is from the World Bank's Project Completion Reports.
- 24 Op. cit. Footnote 18. 27 The Bank's Operational Policy OP 7.50. The World Bank did notify China.
- 25 *Partnership in Economic Development, An Enquiry into the Indian Aid Policy to Nepal*. 2005. BP Koirala India Nepal Foundation, Embassy of India, Lainehour, Kathmandu
- 26 Signed on 19th December 1966 by Dr. YP Pant/Secretary, Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance/HMGN and Shriman Narayan, Ambassador of India.
- 27 *Purba Prashasak ka Samjhana ka Goretoharu*. 2003. Collected by Dwarikanath Dhunge. IIDS Kathmandu.
- 28 Mehta, Jagat S. *India and Nepal Relations: A Victim of Politics*. India-Nepal Relations. 2004. Observer Research Foundation. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- 29 BP Koirala's *Amabrittanta*. 2001. Himal Books. In fact, BP was hot happy with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for not acknowledging this arms supply. He admits meeting India's RAW chief, Kaur.
- 30 *Partnership in Economic Development, An Enquiry into the Indian Aid Policy to Nepal*. 2005. BP Koirala India Nepal Foundation, Embassy of India, Lainehour, Kathmandu
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 DK Mishra. 1990. *Badh se Trashit - Sinchai se Pasht*. Patna. Samta Publication.
- 33 Record of Discussion between MG Padhye, Secretary/Irrigation, GOI and Madhusudan Dhakal, Secretary/MOWR, HMGN at Kathmandu from 19th to 24th April 1983.
- 34 Pande, BB. BS 2038. *Tex Bakhni ko Nepal*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Saian Studies/TU.
- 35 Bhadrapur, Siraha, Jaleshwar/Janakpur, Gaur, Raxaul/Birgunj, Bhairawa, Krishnanagar, Nepalgunj etc.
- 36 Kasi Raj Pande was General Manager of Morang Hydro-electric Company that supplied power to Biratnagar.
- 37 *Power System Master Plan for Nepal, Generation Expansion Plan*, Feb. 1998, Norconsult study for ADB/NEA
- 38 Kurnali/Chisapani, Kaligandaki - 1, Kaligandaki - 2, Trisulganga, Seti, Sapta Kosi and Pancheshwar
- 39 Bhasin, AS. 1994. *Nepal's Relations with India and China*. New Delhi: SIBA EXIM PVT. LTD
- 40 Some believe this so called cheap Chatara-Kursela-Kolkata navigation may end up in the same manner that the much trumpeted World Bank financed Sirsiya/Birgunj dry dock that boasted of 40% cost reduction in the Birgunj-Kolkata transportation.
- 41 *India and Nepal Partnership in Economic Development: An Enquiry into the Indian Aid Policy to Nepal*, published by BP Koirala India Nepal Foundation, Embassy of India, Lainehour, Kathmandu. July 2005.
- 42 Shyam Saran/India's ambassador to Nepal, talking to the Media on July 9, 2004. *Spotlight July 16, 2004*
- 43 Subba, B. *Water, Nepal and India*. 2002. *State of Nepal*. Kathmandu. Dixit KM and Shastri R. Hinal Books
- 44 Dixit, Ajaya. *Urcha Bandh le Uthaye ko Prasna*. Mulyankan 2062. Chaitra/46
- 45 Kantipur Magh 1, 2063 (January 15, 2007) quoting the Land Acquisition Office, Kosi Project/Biratnagar
- 46 In fact, so exasperated was Ambika Pd Upadhyay, Nepal's Barda based Road Department Engineer, that he wrote a letter to the Indian Embassy with a copy to the President of the Republic of India about non-compliance of the Indo-Nepal Kosi Agreement regarding the barrage road maintenance. The Engineer earned "Ainda yasto nagurnu" from his Department.
- 47 Iyer, RR. *Conflict Resolution: Three River Treaties*. Mumbai: Economic and Political Weekly June 12, 1999
- 48 Kantipur Magh 1, 2063 (January 15, 2007)

“Basically, I (went to Beijing) to attend the closing ceremony of Beijing Olympics. We think that the political meetings we held subsequently have also been very good.”

Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda,' on his return from Beijing.

“We welcome and thank for the development partners' continuous support to Nepal's socio-economic development to date, and expect the scaled up support with reasonable flexibility to Nepal in the coming days.”

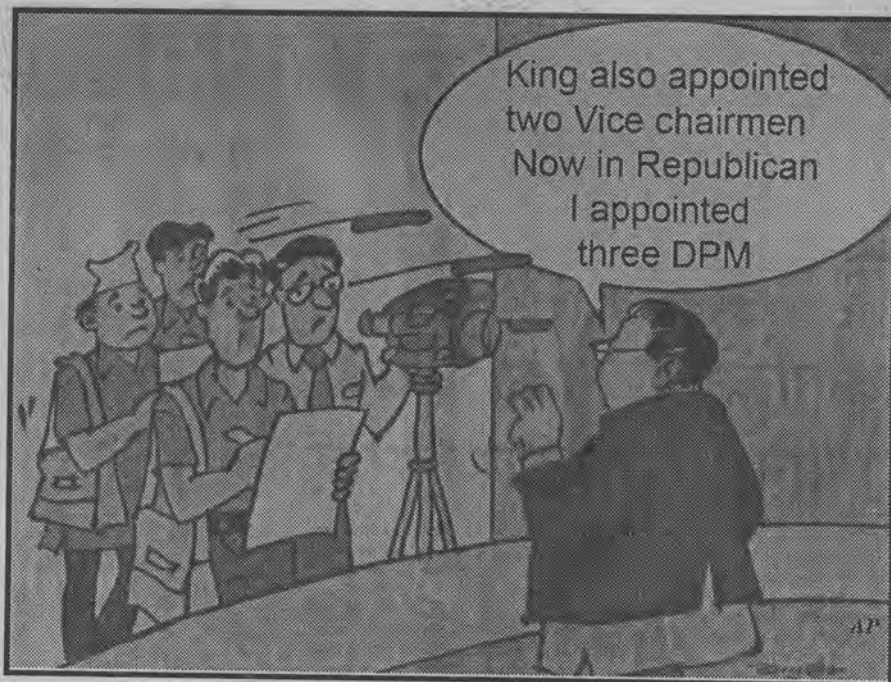
Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, Finance Minister, addressing a local donor's meeting.

“The peace process now must be completed within six months to lay the ground for economic revolution.”

Jhal Nath Khanal, general secretary of Unified Marxist Leninist (UML).

“I requested India not to be skeptical about the PM's China visit but he (Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee) did not respond.”

Upendra Yadav, Foreign Minister,



during his meeting with Indian Minister in New Delhi, in The Kathmandu Post.

“It will take a long time at least a year to totally renovate the damaged embankments of Kosi river.”

Jaya Prakash Gupta, Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives, in Reporters' Club.

“As they say morning shows the day, this government has not shown any promising sign as yet.”

Gopal Man Shrestha, vice president of Nepali Congress (NC).

“We are facing both challenges and opportunities. The state must run like a corporate body to realize the huge potential and deliver economic prosperity to the people.”

Binod Chaudhary, president of Confederation of Nepalese Industries (CNI), addressing an economic summit.

TRANSITION

EXPANDED: The cabinet by including three deputy Prime Ministers – Bamdev Gautam, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai and Upendra Yadav. The newly inducted ministers include Gautam (Home Minister), Bishnu Poudel (Water Resources), Ram Chandra Jha (Local Development), Astalaxmi Shakya (Industry), Gopal Shakya (Youth and Sports) and Kiran Gurung (Forest) from UML; Janardan Sharma (Peace and Reconstruction), Gopal Kirati (Culture and State Restructuring), Lekhraj Bhatta (Labor), Hisila Yami (Tourism), Pampha Bhusal (General Administration), and Matrika Yadav (Land Reforms) from the Maoists, among others. Likewise, Rajendra

Mahato of NSP has been appointed as Minister for Commerce and Supplies; Ganesh Shah of CPN-United as Minister for Science and Technology; Girirajmani Pokharel of Jana Morcha as Minister for Health.

RETURNED: Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda,' after completing his four-day visit to China. Foreign Minister Upendra Yadav, after completing his visit to India, where he attended the meeting of Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC).

RESIGNED: The vice-chairman and members of the National Planning Commission (NPC) from their positions. Vice-chairman Dr Jagdish Chandra Pokharel and members - Dr Pushpa Raj Rajkarnikar, Dr Posh Raj Pandey, Indira

Shrestha, Dr Chaitanya Subba, Bhim Prasad Neupane, Rama Kant Gauro, Deependra Bahadur Kshetry and Maheshwor Man Shrestha - tendered their resignation to Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, who acts as the chairman of the commission.

RE-ELECTED: Narayan Man Bijukchhe, as president of Nepal Workers and Peasants Party (NWPP), by the party's fifth general convention.

LEFT: Six member delegation of Nepali Congress (NC) leaders led by vice president Prakash Man Singh, for China, at the invitation of Chinese Communist Party. Other members of the entourage include Sujata Koirala, Dr. Narayan Khadka, Dr. Minendra Rijal, Shambhuram Simkhada and Pushpa Bhusal. ■



ART

Message of Peace

By A CORRESPONDENT

As it is said, an artist can express his views and inner feelings through any means. Whether it is dark cloud or bright sun or inhuman face, the artist can portray the feelings.

This is what artist Nar Bahadur B.K. has done in his solo art exhibition. As per the title of exhibition, Buddha and Nature, he has painted several faces of Buddha in various colors like green, yellow, purple or an amalgam of hues.

Exhibited at Lazimpat Park Gallery, the whole aim of B.K.'s show is to send the message of peace to the people of Nepal as well as people all over the world. At a time when there is a trend of growing violence and human killings, Buddha's preaching is more relevant to the contemporary world.

Through the paintings of Buddha, artist B.K. has made efforts to show to the world that Buddha teaches not only the non-violence but also its importance in human life. Undoubtedly, the exhibition gives that message clearly.

Inaugurated by Australian ambassador to Nepal Graeme Lade, artist BK presented various faces of Buddha which clearly depicted various moods like in half mediation, complete mediation and eternity.

As a birth place of Buddha, Nepal was known as a land of peace and harmony.

However, the Maoist insurgency had badly tarnished it. Nepal turned into a violent killing fields for quite a long time till the Maoists joined the mainstream.

The ultimate truth lies on the peace and violence is just a temporary phenomenon. This is what one can see in the human life.

"Nepal is known for peaceful land for its many reason but I have concentrated whole my efforts on Buddha since this is also known as a land of Buddha," artist B.K. said. "It is through the eyes and lip of Buddha, I have tried to show different expressions of peace." ■

PHOTO EXHIBITION

Tale of Disappearances

Photographer Kishor Kayastha tries to capture the trauma and tragedy of disappearance

By A CORRESPONDENT

One has to pass through unbearably difficult path when his/her beloved is disappeared for a long time. The time of waiting is always painful and traumatic. This is what photographer Kishor Kayastha captured in his camera.

At the exhibition organized in Indigo Art Gallery, Naxal, photographer Kishor Kayastha's puts up photos narrating the agony and human trauma. The photos depict the endless tragedies and trauma of victims of disappearance. Kayastha's photos show that the people who lost their near and dear ones also seem to have lost their hope in life.

One of the very difficult parts of any photographers or artist is to visualize and capture the situation as it is. It is even more difficult when one has to explain and capture the emotions of people.

Kayastha shows that he has required concentration to catch the mood of people who have lost the hope of their life. The photo exhibition Missing Persons in Nepal, The Right to Know narrates the hidden stories of the

consequences of twelve years of Maoist insurgency.

The exhibition includes photos of the persons disappeared by rebels as well as the government. One of the common things among them is the trauma and



tragedy. All of them have common expression.

Although Maoists have joined the government and the insurgency has ended, the human trauma of the last ten years seems to have a long lasting effect.

The face of a 105-years-old man who is searching his grandson as well as the photos of relatives of 22 persons who are still missing from Kotbada in Kalikot tell common tales of trauma. ■

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