

1 **Contesting with the Ganges Water Machine in South Asia: Theory** 2 **versus Reality**

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17 Recently, there has been much interest in how to manage the water resources of the Ganges
18 River Basin (GRB), the cradle of Asian civilization, currently supporting >500 million people
19 (Figure 1a). This also includes cleaning up the Ganges river, regarded as one of the most polluted
20 mega-rivers of the world¹. Historically, the transboundary Ganges river and its tributaries, flowing
21 through India, Nepal, and Bangladesh, have become extensively polluted and disrupted, mostly
22 because of river engineering and increased discharge of industrial and urban waste. Compounding
23 the problem, in the past few decades, intense groundwater abstraction from the GRB aquifers has
24 led to unprecedented groundwater level depletion in some locations² (Figure 1b). At present, the
25 GRB groundwater levels are strongly influenced by depth-dependent abstraction, which is
26 predicted to intensify in the future, given the increasing water demand.³ Thus, with impending
27 climate change, designing the coupled river water–groundwater management necessary to meet
28 the goal for sustainable access to clean water for a huge population, has become an arduous
29 challenge⁴.

30 To meet this challenge, planners are strongly advocating reviving the “Ganges Water
31 Machine” (GWM)⁵, and recommend shifting the water demand of the very densely populated
32 GRB entirely to groundwater. Theoretically, this would lead to the release of the river waters

33 currently held by dams and canals of the Ganges and tributaries, thereby dramatically increasing
34 the Ganges river flow, diluting the polluted water as well as providing sufficient water in the
35 backyard of every household ¹.

36 The concept of the GWM relies on the assumption that the Ganges river runs through a
37 high-yield, homogeneous porous aquifer that can be used to store transient flood waters through
38 infiltration during the monsoon season and thus act as a perpetual source of water for withdrawal
39 throughout the rest of the year⁵ (Figure 1c). However, the aquifer is far from homogeneous, with
40 recent studies showing considerable lateral and vertical variability in aquifer properties and
41 geochemistry.⁶ Also at present, >60% of irrigation water is already sourced from aquifers.⁷ India
42 is the largest consumer of groundwater on the planet; abstraction from the Indo-Gangetic Basin
43 aquifers represents a quarter of the entire world's groundwater abstraction and has been
44 instrumental in sustaining India's "green revolution" since the 1970s.⁸

45 Studies in parts of the Ganges River delta, which is characterized by a relatively
46 homogeneous sand aquifer, have demonstrated that increased capture of surface water through
47 distributed pumping is possibly already taking place.^{9,10} However, unrestrained groundwater
48 withdrawal for irrigation in the widespread Ganges alluvial plains with a complex
49 hydrostratigraphic framework^{4,6,7} has made it one of the most stressed aquifers in the world,
50 accompanied by alarming side effects: rapidly falling groundwater tables,^{3,11} increased salinity of
51 the soil and shallow groundwater, and mobilization of arsenic, fluoride, and uranium^{7,10,12} (Figure
52 1d). Some of these impacts are mitigated by the widespread incidental recharge of groundwater
53 from unlined canals and irrigation return flow, but the large-scale application of the GWM would
54 substantially reduce this unintentional mitigation and accelerate groundwater degradation.^{6,7}

55 In addition, the Ganges being a predominantly gaining river, $\geq 40\%$ of the river water in
56 present-day summer time may be sourced to local groundwater baseflow. The baseflow has already
57 decreased by $\sim 60\%$ of its volume since before 1970¹³ (Figure 1e). Therefore, increasing summer
58 groundwater abstraction across the aquifer could diminish groundwater storage, dwindle baseflow
59 and lead to a further reduction in the Ganges flow, thereby concentrating the river pollutant load,
60 endangering aquatic wildlife, and increasing the risk of drought and food security for >100 million
61 people.¹³

62 Thus, the concept of the GWM, although theoretically attractive, has several grave
63 shortcomings. (1) The Ganges basin aquifers are already severely overstressed, and enhanced
64 abstraction would only hasten their demise. (2) These aquifers are extremely heterogeneous and
65 have complex and spatially variable river–groundwater interactions;^{7,13} therefore, annual monsoon
66 flooding on the main river channels may not replenish the areas of the aquifer where groundwater
67 is most needed. (3) Parts of the Ganges river catchment are already subject to rapidly declining
68 river levels and cannot sustain further reduction of baseflow from groundwater. (4) The natural
69 groundwater recharge process for the Ganges basin aquifer is slow and heterogeneous,^{3,6} and
70 unintentional recharge from distributed irrigation return flow and unmaintained canals already acts
71 as a huge unintended artificial recharge structure;⁷ therefore, any further overdraft abstraction
72 would destabilize the dynamic equilibrium of the recharge processes. (5) Major parts of the Ganges
73 aquifer are affected by large-scale natural groundwater contamination, particularly arsenic,^{4,12} and
74 other emergent contaminants, e.g., pesticides, polyaromatic hydrocarbons, etc.¹⁴ Although the
75 exact mechanisms are debated, there is reasonable evidence that irrigation may exacerbate arsenic
76 mobilization.^{10,12} (6) Increased groundwater use for irrigation can also significantly increase
77 salinity in groundwater. Given these serious concerns, the potential for effective and widespread
78 application of the GWM concept is limited. Substantially increased pumping of the Ganges
79 aquifers and/or artificial recharge, without developing a systematic understanding of the physical
80 and chemical feedback effects of the Ganges river–groundwater interactions,^{7,8,13} would have
81 potentially catastrophic implications for water security.

82 On the contrary, a scientifically prudent approach to balancing groundwater use with river
83 water and excess rainwater, through a comprehensive water management plan for the Ganges river,
84 canals, and aquifers, does have the potential for success. Hence, we advise against the application
85 of the GWM concept in a “one-size-fits-all” approach. A basinwide, in-depth study of
86 groundwater–Ganges river water interactions is required before any further policy augmentation.
87 There are still many aspects of this unique water system that we do not understand, and past
88 mistakes should serve as a warning not to undertake large-scale changes and hydrological
89 engineering, without careful consideration, which can otherwise lead to irreversible catastrophic
90 outcomes.

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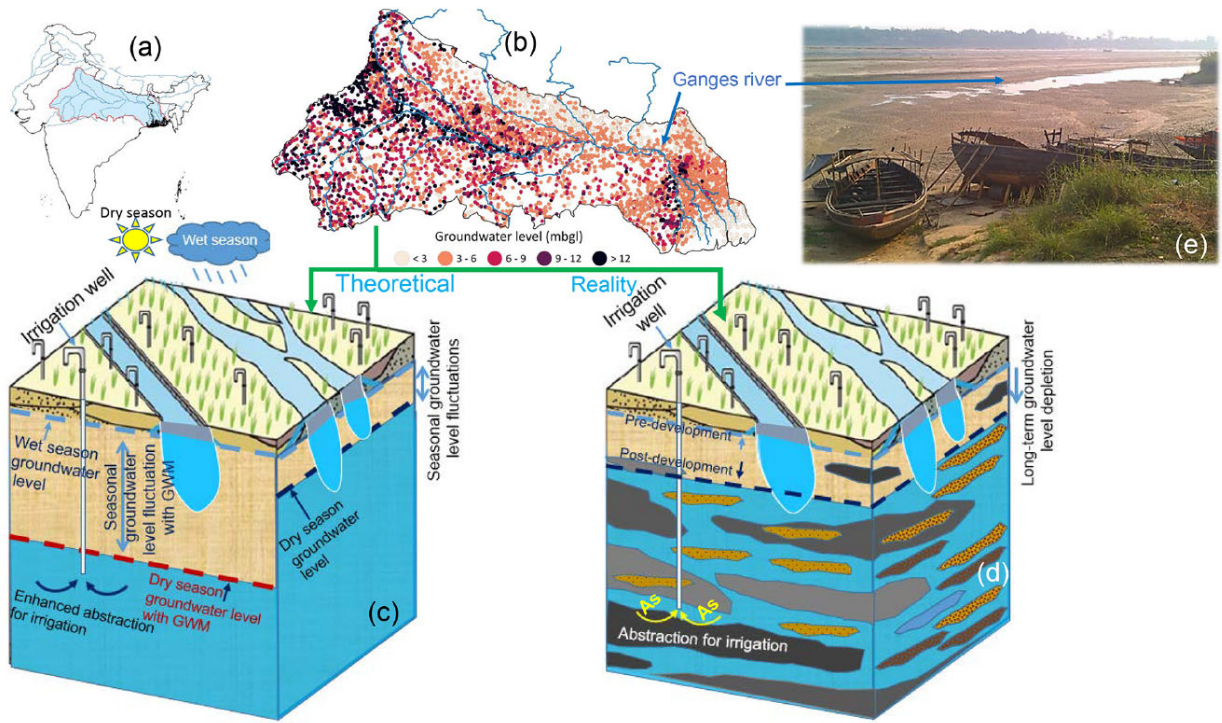
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125 **Figure 1:** Composite figure showing (a) a map of parts of South Asia, displaying the extent of the
 126 Ganges River basin (GRB, blue), (b) a map of the GRB showing the long-term (1985–2015) mean
 127 groundwater level changes in monitoring wells (n = 5435), and (c) a box model showing the
 128 hypothetical scenario proposed in the Ganges water machine (GWM). The GWM scenario
 129 imagines the subsurface aquifer of the GRB as a roughly homogeneous sandbox, with discernible
 130 natural, seasonal groundwater fluctuations as a response to dry and wet seasons. From this
 131 hypothetical GRB aquifer, groundwater can be abstracted at an enhanced rate to substantially
 132 decrease the dry season groundwater level. Subsequently, the wet season rainfall water should
 133 infiltrate to replenish the GRB aquifer to the wet season groundwater level, the GRB subsurface
 134 thus working like a transient repository of the groundwater. However, in reality, (d) the subsurface
 135 of the GRB is highly anisotropic, and incessant groundwater abstraction for irrigation has resulted
 136 in continuous groundwater depletion over the past several decades (as shown in panel b). In
 137 addition, such abstraction has the potential to accentuate geogenic groundwater contamination
 138 (e.g., arsenic and uranium). Panel e shows the outcome of summer drying of one of the lower
 139 Indian reaches of the Ganga River (photographed in May 2016 in West Bengal), likely as a
 140 consequence of reduced baseflow and river capture due to abstraction-induced groundwater level
 141 and storage depletion in the GRB.