

## **Hydro Politics in Indian-Subcontinent: Case for a Human Security Framework in Jammu and Kashmir**

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**Abstract:** In the Indian sub-continent, water is an important category of inquiry. Politics over water has an important role to play in the post-colonial state formation in the region, including Jammu and Kashmir. Hydro politics forms an important site to understand the relation between the two nuclear states of India and Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir, which forms an important and organic part of the Indus basin, has been analyzed through national security framework, which has downplayed the human security Framework. This paper is an attempt to argue for a human security framework as regards to the region.

**Keywords:** Hydro politics, Capital, National Security Framework, Human Security Framework, (NHPC) National Hydel Power Corporation

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### **Introduction**

Hydro politics is politics over water resources. This politics depends on the nature of space and place water inhabits as well as the space and place it reproduces. In the present world politics over water has gained huge momentum and traction. Due to climate change and global warming and riparian politics, water is getting more and more attention of policy makers, technocrats and politicians alike. Different think tanks have hinted at the eminent wars which can happen on water if nation-states fail to cooperate with each other (Chellaney 2011). Hydro politics in the present time tries to bring in discussion about the relationship between humans and natural water resources. This gets reflected in the nature of relation which human communities have with water resources. The politics over water resources in recent times been only defined by issues of national security and securitization. This has taken the debate towards state security, national interest, state sponsored development. This idea of water-polity is dangerous as it gives access to water and power generated to a few corporates and the common people are kept out of this developmental paradigm. Worldwide resources like rivers now a days are commodified on a massive scale. There are examples of privatized rivers in many parts of the world including India (Binayak Das, Ganesh Panagare 2006). With this commodification, the class of people specially corporates are having the privilege of a greater purchasing power establish their power and domination over water resources(Binayak Das, Ganesh Panagare 2006). The abstractive expression of the elite class monopoly by virtue of their class position and control over modes of production over water resources in a state and across its borders is wherein the scope of hydro politics as a discipline lies. Water resources as a natural entity historically has existed beyond the rule of private property over human and nature. But its importance emerged only after the establishment of class society based on the rule of one class over rest(Ghosh 1985). This power now gets reflected through the consolidation of resources by territoriality of the nation states. Water along with other resources becomes the base upon which the act of consolidating the class hegemony over the masses is set into motion. Therein lies the origin of hydro politics in its nascent form. Hydro politics basically means who gets what, when and where with respect to water (Wolf 1996). Markovitz takes our attention towards another definition of hydro politics which talks about who gets left out. The recent rhetoric of Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi about Indus waters was blood and water can't flow together to Pakistan. This happened after the Uri attack on an army camp, Pakistani former General of army and the President threatened India with a nuclear war, in case the treaty is tampered with(Today 2016). All this rhetoric falls with the ambit of national security framework, where water is just another tool of controlling and part of securitization of the state. This rhetoric of blood and water and the counter rhetoric of nuclear war pushes the water debate towards further securitization. Water becomes a metaphor of control and rivers are made to look like taps which can be controlled.

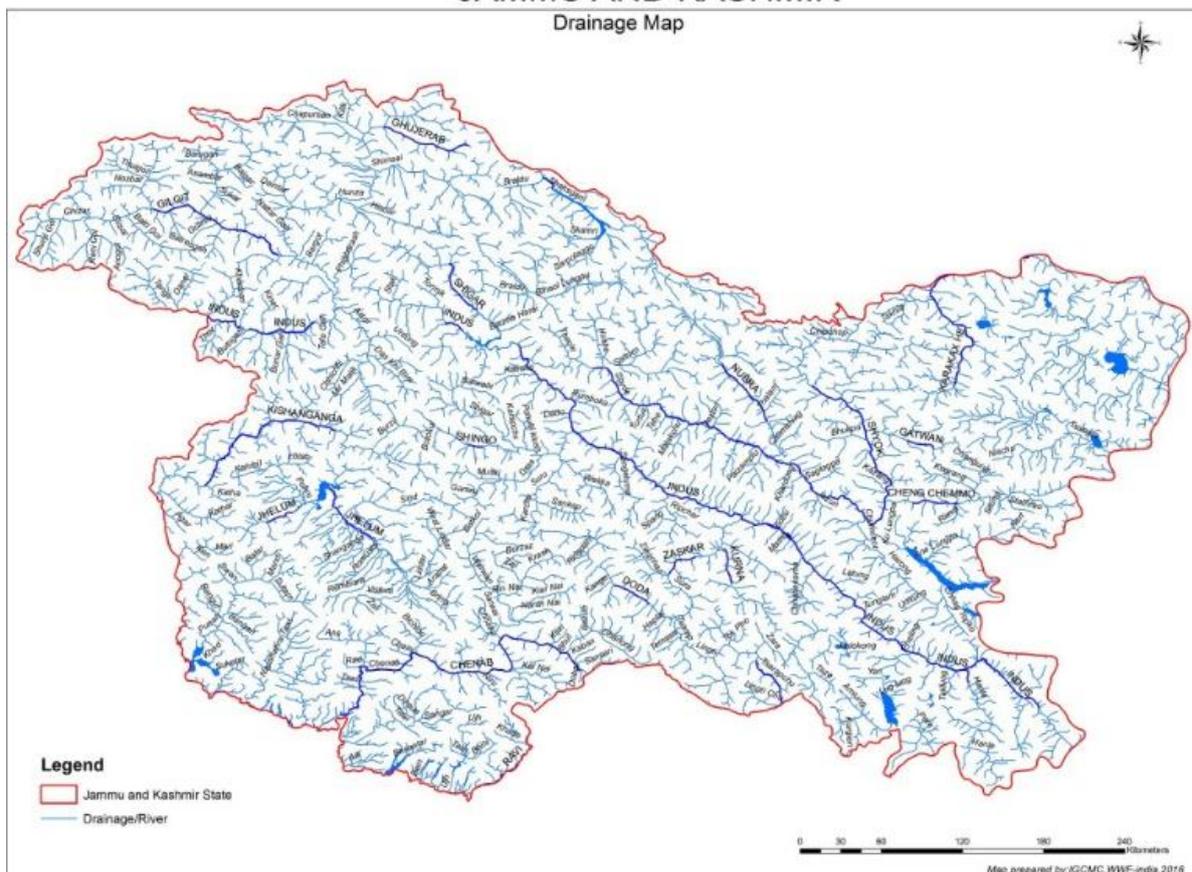
Indus  
~~WATER~~  
Treaty



Illustration made by Suhail Naqshbandi, a very famous cartoonist and visual artist from Kashmir representing Indus water Treaty after Uri attack.

If we closely read Suhail's visual, we see he has represented the rivers as a tap and what comes out of the tap is the missiles representing a war. He has named it Indus War. This is a perfect representation of the debate happening between India and Pakistan over Indus Waters. This representation is about the National security Framework which looks at water as a weapon which can be used by both states (Dutta 2018).

### JAMMU AND KASHMIR



Map 1: Drainage pattern of Jammu and Kashmir, Rivers and their Tributaries, Source: Internet

### **National Security Framework<sup>1</sup> in Jammu and Kashmir**

The relationship India and Pakistan share on water has always been looked through the national security framework. India and Pakistan have fought many wars over Kashmir and the relation between the two has mostly been hostile. This has affected other bilateral treaties and continues to affect the future of the relations between the two nuclear states. This approach of studying an issue erases the human security part of the problem. With this what suffers the most is the people on the ground who matter the most. Human Security brings people back into the debate and that is what democracy is about. This people centric approach has a potential to solve all major issues in the present world and give a boost to democratic values which is under strain all across the globe. The hydro politics of Jammu and Kashmir has to be studied and approached through human security paradigm in order to give a say to the people of Jammu and Kashmir who have always felt left out because of the discourse prevalent between two nation states. National security paradigm brings in a capital that multiplies infinitely the loot of the natural resources in the geo-political margins of the subcontinent (Ahmad 2017). Upon this rests the riparian question of the subcontinent. The upper riparian position of India in Indus river system have been exploitative in order to serve the end of imperialist forces it has temporarily chosen to ally with (Ghosh 1985). The respective bargaining powers of Indian and Pakistani ruling elites have been manifested under the cross border politics over Indus river system and the Pakistani economy is largely dependent on the Indus water system for its economic needs, the agricultural activities in Pakistan are dependent on the Indus river system and for India, and it is of great use for the agricultural activities in the region of Punjab and Haryana (RAO 1995). This gets reflected in the push by the ruling elites in India and Pakistan for the water resource appropriation by respective states. Nation-States work in tandem with the ruling elite to maintain control over the water resources of the region in both India and Pakistan. The National Security Framework is against the spirit of the federal structure Indian constitution is based on. The regional units should have a say in determining the future of

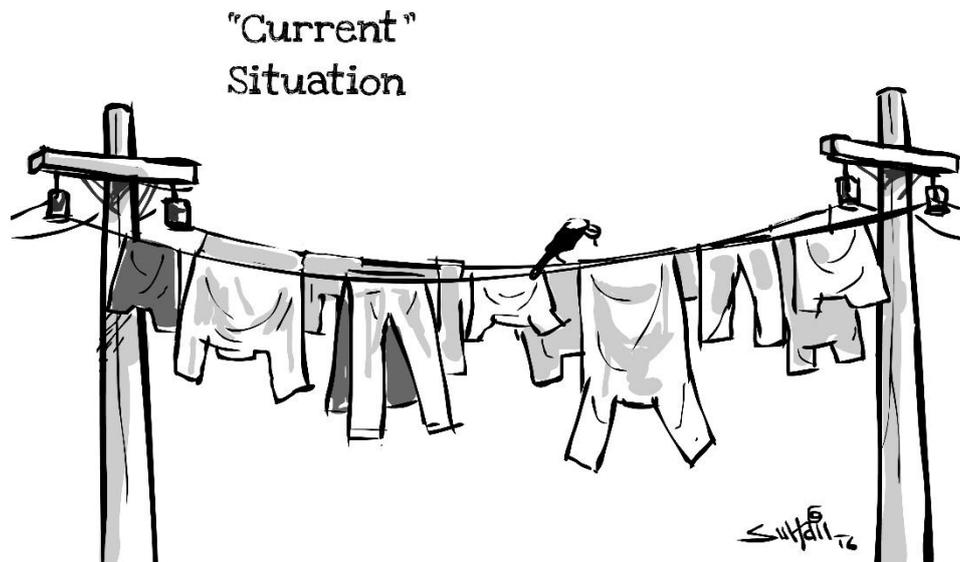
### **Arguing for a Human Security Framework<sup>2</sup> in Jammu and Kashmir**

Rivers have been a lifeline of civilizations. People in every part of the world settled around rivers to start with. Indus valley civilization also prospered around Indus River in India and Pakistan. Rivers in the sub-continent are more than rivers as they are closely associated with the religion, culture and spirituality of the people. Rivers in the Indian context also carry with them a visceral notion of patriarchy. In the subcontinent most of the rivers are named as female goddesses or other feminine entities. The nature of tolerance among the feminine identities is culminated into resource iconography of which rivers are an example. Water therefore is the occasion for the exercise of patriarchal protective power by the state over the presumably feminine identity of the desired geo-body of Jammu and Kashmir. This gets manifested in the language formulated by the state through mass media, popular culture, political discourse etc. for the region. The national security perspective too fits well into this, Pakistan is portrayed as enemy state for which Indian state assumes its masculine identity in order to protect Jammu and Kashmir. The violent relation between the two nation states in Indian subcontinent is largely by *national interest* based debates and tactics. National Interest is not always in the interest of the people on ground.

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<sup>1</sup>Often used in official documents and programs of the nation-states, “national security paradigm” is defined to be the idea that the nations as a whole, are prone to injuries through acts of terrorism, espionage and violent war. Most often, the notion of “national security” includes defense relations, economic institutions and inter-state/foreign relations. Although theoretically encompassing “all” citizens of a nation, the notion of national security can be used to advocate for an abstract political notion, which increasingly rests upon a separation of the civil society from the state, and promotes increasing militarization of the society (Dueck 2015).

<sup>2</sup>The “human security” paradigm promotes for a greater attention to human agents – <sup>individuals</sup> and communities – as against the attention to the state (Kerr 2007). As against the notion of national security, then, the human security paradigm advocated an attention back to the civil society, and a greater integration between the state and the civil society. UN defines the “human security” paradigm as consisting of three things – freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity. The UN definition also refers to “protection” and “empowerment” as essential features of the human security paradigm (2016).



This is another illustration which shows people have put wet clothes on the electric wires as there is no electricity. This is people centric approach or Human security Framework. Source: Personal Blog.

In this visual representation what the artist is trying to do is show the human face of the water politics in Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir generates nearly 3000 MWs of power but it supplies that to other parts of the country (Drabu 2018). There is a huge power crisis in Jammu and Kashmir especially in the winter. Everything from tourism and industry suffers.

There is a possibility of it being against the aspirations and subjectivities of the common people and place. Imperialism in the era of monopoly finance capital survives on the capitalistic hold over natural resources thus water resources too (Ghosh 1985). Using neo-colonial tactics imperialism establishes its political-economic hold over the underdeveloped states, doing so imperialist powers get hold of water resources in subcontinent that establishes its firm hold over the local productive process(Ghosh 1985). This is done by two process, first by commercialization of every natural resources and second by setting up of middle men in those backward and dependent regions. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir this has happened with respect to water where big corporate is making huge dams in a fragile ecology of Jammu and Kashmir and using NHPC as a vehicle (Ahmad 2017).

Understanding hydro politics in the subcontinent, we find that the corporate class in the region creates certain conditions whereby they can have a monopoly over hydro-regions. This is done by employing various big corporates who get the tenders to make these multibillion dollar projects. Also the electricity produced in Jammu and Kashmir is hardly used by the people itself. This monopoly by such class of ruling elite is achieved by various methods which can be both legal and illegal, from bringing a law which dictates evacuation or forceful land grabbing and use of soft power like the misguided notion and understanding of developmental discourse based on normalizing all those cultural values that benefits their hold over the resources, like in the case of Gurez in Jammu and Kashmir (Ahmad 2017). Destruction of communal holdings and creation of private holdings in water is what benefits this class without caring for what happens to the disposed people as well as the fragile ecology of the region. In Indian subcontinent during twentieth century, we see a shift from the direct colonial rule to a condition where semi colonial tactics are used by imperialist powers to exploit the natural resources in the subcontinent (Ghosh 1985). Jammu and Kashmir is one of the most ecologically sensitive areas of the Indian sub-continent. It is also seismologically very active region, any major change in the ecology can lead to a huge catastrophe in the region (Ahmad 2017). That is why governments on both sides should use people centric approaches of development to harness the hydel power potential of the place.

### **Space, Capital and State in Jammu and Kashmir**

Indian and Pakistani states exploit their riparian regions in both sides of Jammu and Kashmir to make electricity and supply it to other regions outside the territoriality of Jammu and Kashmir. Indus Water Treaty which is in operation produces a hydro-political space of its own and also invites capital from all over the world. The space which this foreign capital and capital from India and Pakistan capital produces needs as examination

as in w how does it affect the historicity and body politic of Jammu and Kashmir. Even though there is an international water treaty in place, at times when there is an escalation of tension between two states, it threatens to stop the supply of water into Pakistan, and this is done in the name of resisting the terror from Pakistan (Dutta 2018). India unilaterally took a decision to maximize the use of water for irrigation and for power generation, this was done as a reaction to the Uri and Pathankot attacks, which it has claimed to be done by Pakistan (Dutta 2018). This is done despite Indus Water Treaty that is supposed to settle conflicts between the states and promises an amicable use of water resources by the states. The constant attack on the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir (Qazi 2018) and the engulfing of the rights of Pakistan over the Indus water river system calls for an integrated study of the hydro politics of the subcontinent. Hydro specifies not just water but the whole conditions that creates the flow of water in its natural conditions. This must naturally include the slope and the terrain that determine its flow. Water in the discipline of hydro politics cannot be delinked from the physical and social space that it creates. Besides deciding the social political space, quality and quantity of water resources are in turn shaped by the attributes of the space so created.

Water is the prime drive of human production process. It is a site for reproducing the hegemony of a particular class in the society (Wolf 1996). Water resources like rivers are symbol of the historical material development of human society, this development is marked by the dominance of one class over others, in the present phase of the development of productive forces, imperialist state exercise such symbolical dominance over rivers, to do so the state creates an imaginary notion of its sovereignty over such resources as that can be found within its hegemonic realm (Ghosh 1985). This most of the times is done by developing metaphors of special claim over the region. In the case of Kashmir it is done through Atot Ang<sup>3</sup> i.e., Inseparable part and Shahrag i.e., jugular vein<sup>4</sup> by India and Pakistan respectively. This set of claims erases the voice of Kashmiris and their understanding of hydro politics in the region. Jammu and Kashmir has always been looked through creation of visceral metaphors by both nations to make claims to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. This claim making is a post-colonial construct where in both territory as well as resources have been used in state formation process. The state formation on both sides has been based on violent national security framework which never gave space to a human security one. Pakistan and India used the concepts of *territorial integrity* and *territorial sovereignty*<sup>5</sup> respectively to claim the territory and water.

The power circumference of imperialist powers is determined by the extent to which it can be successful in establishing its rule over the discovered and undiscovered resources (Ghosh 1985). Legality is the initiating process of normalization by state, in this sovereignty fixes the spatial legal extent of hegemony over the resources have to be seen from this political lens. Once the sovereignty is established, the legal dimension of the state gives way to the non-state actors inside a particular geographical region, besides the weapon of legality, act of normalization by the state is carried out by the imagination of development as floated around by the ruling class (Ghosh 1985).

Imperialism in the world around works on the legalized loot of resources by the imperialist powers. We have witnessed the loot of American imperialism in many Latin American countries (theyliewedie.org n.d.).

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<sup>33</sup>Literally meaning an “integral body part”, the term “atootang” is often used as a metaphor to represent the relationship of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union. Historically, the Instrument of Accession signed by Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir, is often taken by the Indian state as a basis of this popular and statist claim. Since this issue has been contested heavily in international bodies such as the UN, in this thesis, I am not as such interested in delving into this issue. For a more detailed exposition of the history of this dispute, please see Bose, Sumantra. *Kashmir – Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003; Snedden, Christopher. *Understanding Kashmir and Kashmiris*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015

<sup>4</sup>Kashmir has been described as the “jugular vein” of the nation of Pakistan from 1947, the year when both India and Pakistan attained independence from British colonialism. More recently, in 2016, the nation’s army chief General Raheel Sharif has described the region as Pakistan’s “jugular vein”, thus reiterating the original claim. Like “atootang”, the idea of a “jugular vein”, too, is used as a metaphor to describe the region’s relationship to the nation (<https://www.rediff.com/news/report/kashmir-is-pakistans-jugular-vein/20160907.htm>).

<sup>5</sup>For a more detailed analysis of the history of the Treaty, see Haines, Daniel. *Indus Divided: India, Pakistan and the River Basin Dispute*. New Delhi: Penguin, 2017; Within Kashmir Studies, this period between 1948-60, in terms of its popular political affect has been under-studied. Yet, this is a period that needs to be studied in more depth. A fuller exploration of the political formations, hopes and aspirations of the period is beyond the scope of this thesis. But, for a historical outlining of the period, see Snedden, Christopher. *Understanding Kashmir and Kashmiris*. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger Publishing Private Limited, 2017

Besides direct plunder several other methods like use of treaty and laws ensure that resource exploitation and control over water resources like rivers are facilitated through such neo-colonial tactics. In Indian subcontinent the Indus Water Treaty as designed by the outside powers have been an effective weapon to facilitate the appropriation of resources by the corporate in both India and Pakistan.

What is to be understood here is that the intention of the world powers who supported the signing of Indus water Treaty had the interest of the big capital in mind and not the interest of the common people. That is why we see till now that the power which is generated goes to big corporates and water for irrigation is used by big farmers on both sides of the border. This was done in the interest of the feudal and the emerging financial elite of the sub-continent.



Map 2: Indus River basin Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=indus+water+basin+map&tbm>

The Indus water river basin is the site for hydro politics in the subcontinent. Conflicts and cooperation becomes the usual discourse in the process to determine hegemony of one power over other (Binayak Das, Ganesh Panagare 2006). Indian and Pakistani state find themselves placed in the basin and according to their ruling class character acts in distinct socio-political ways in order to consolidate their respective claims over the water resources.

Here it becomes necessary to understand the class nature of Indian and Pakistani state in order to fully understand the dynamics of hydro politics in this subcontinent. This can be done with reference to the historical evolution of the ruling bourgeoisie in India and also through a study of the dominant mode of production inside the country (Ghosh 1985). This is a big gap in the literature of the sub-continent.

### Politics of Development in Jammu and Kashmir

The basin creates an occasion for the rhetoric of developmental politics to confront the political aspirations of people. And in this scenario, it is this version of development that is made to look as if it was a successful model, the narrative around development hides the loot of the water resources in Jammu and Kashmir, a region which since decades has been under control of three nuclear states, India, Pakistan and China. The conflicts around water between India and Pakistan thus becomes a tool to appropriate the agency of the people of Jammu and Kashmir over their resources. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are made to believe that they are the part of India and they have the same history as that of the entire subcontinent. This sort of state control is facilitated along with the negation of a very distinct political, social and economic culture in Jammu and Kashmir. This is done under the pretext of national security. The act of appropriating the water resources from the rivers of Jammu and Kashmir reproduces the Indian and Pakistani state's control in the region besides the cultural background to this loot of these sources is meticulously planted in the alien social space of Jammu and Kashmir.

This preserves the feudal dominant structure of the society in the underdeveloped regions, it maintains the degenerated culture that culminates into a new form nationalism, nationalism which has the essence of non-bourgeoisie character in it (Ghosh 1985). This sort of nationalism has its history in the neo-colonial tactics of imperialism. The lack of bourgeoisie development produces such sort of nationalism in the underdeveloped regions of which India is an example. The nationalism propagated by the ruling class has all the essence of feudal Indian society while it also creates common sense background for the survival of imperial capital (Ghosh 1985). Through this ideological background we must endeavor to place Bharat Mata's political and cultural connotation within the regional hydro politics of Indus river system (Ramaswamy, The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India 2011). The patriarchal image of Bharat Mata superimposed on a map that has its own imagination of state and its territory, extending from one corner of the South Asian subcontinental region to the other the depiction represents the expansionist desires in the ruling class of India (Ramaswamy, The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India 2011). In such a cartographical distortion, Jammu and Kashmir is easily

made the part of Indian state territorial extent, the halo of Bharat Mata swallows the region's physical existence in the world map (Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* 2011). Once the region gets into the territorial limit of sovereignty, claim over the natural resources of the region becomes a common affair of the state. This structural adjustment of the object by the subject requires violence of several sort. As is seen in Kashmir, where violence is the way of life for the people. Violence is structurally reproduced through institutions that are different ways to reproduce the Indian state in the region. In fact, the talk of domination in Jammu and Kashmir starts with Indus and Jhelum River turning red. This becomes a reference to the blood shed the region has seen over the years on both sides. This is done both by politicians in India and Pakistan through claims and counter claims. The Indian state had perfectly served the cause of imperial capital during the decades of cold war, preserving its bargaining power. It has not be antagonistic to any one of the imperialist powers while has always welcomed capital with a red carpet. This politics too had its site in water, in a striking manner in order to establish its monopoly over water resource, Indus Water Treaty came into being in 1960<sup>6</sup>. The treaty had its own political history, made by an American technocrat's initiative, it has all the features to promote the modernist material reality in India. The treaty seen in this perspective appears as a foreign invasion in the underdeveloped regions like Indian subcontinent. Indian and Pakistani state are given sovereign control over the hydro resources of Jammu and Kashmir. The treaty has facilitated strengthening of imperial hold over the region. Sponsored by World Bank it stands to serve the material needs of capital (Haines 2017). Produced in haste under the dictates of American and World Bank representatives, it is more like a legislature from the imperialist parliament rather than being a treaty. The language of text signifies this. The textuality of the treaty has imperialism written into it.

We can see that even after the treaty there have been several water disputes between the countries. India has not decreased its hydro hegemonic influence in the region. All the major dam projects by the Indian state has been sanctioned by the World Bank and other such international authorities. Problem with regard to dam construction has erupted only when the American interests seemed untenable. With the backing of one imperialist power in the form of China, Pakistani state too acts to preserve the rule of exchange value over use value embodied in water resources. Exchange value of these resources becomes a possession of the imperial powers like China. The project like CPEC is an example of the political hot spot which rule of capital has creates in the region like Indian sub-continent (Bhattacharjee 2015).

The control over water resources of the underdeveloped countries in this case Pakistan is carried through such projects. China's internal water problem is to be solved through the project, large number of hydel power projects is to be brought by the companies of China (Bhattacharjee 2015). The benefit through water is now harnessed in Pakistan. This is done in return of a political backing which China provides Pakistan in the Indus River dispute with India. But nevertheless Indian state doesn't try to degrade its bargaining power with China and tries to maintain its economic power within the imperialist structure. The implementation part of the treaty is this tilted towards the Indian state. The treaty has further widened the scope of modernist intervention in the river basin. The destruction of ecology through dams as promised in the treaty has been a further boon of this legislation like treaty. The region of Jammu and Kashmir lies in a geological sensitive region that is vulnerable to earthquakes but despite this large mega dams have been built by Indian and Pakistani state.

### **Nationalism and Hydro Politics in the Basin**

Dams as a structure is used to normalize out-flow of resources from the region. Dams are categorically used as a symbol of development, this denotes modernism (Ahmad 2017). But under the garb of development the state monopolizes the water resources for the ruling class i.e. for the corporates. Besides the economics of dams, this also serves as a platform to create a sort of nationalism that fits well into the character of the state that at one hand favor the multi-national corporations and abide by the decisions of the organizations like UN and World Bank. Nationalism varies from state to state, In India the nationalism here is based on the patriarchal background wherein Indian state is projected as Bharat Mata for which a person with 56-inch chest can be a better protector (Kumar 2016). Similarly Pakistani nationalism too is based on religious identities that perpetuates Islamic extremist ideology as a mirror image to that of India. It is this identity that Pakistani state uses to assert its claim over the region of Jammu and Kashmir. Dams constructed by state forces in the region of Pakistan occupied region of Jammu and Kashmir. These are based on religious nationalism. With this it claims water resources of J&K, large scale transportation of water resources from Pakistan occupied region of J&K to Pakistan is carried out through rhetoric behind dams and Islamic nationalism.

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<sup>6</sup> The Indus water Treaty was signed between India and Pakistan in September 1960 with World Bank being the other party. Indus water Treaty has survived three wars between two nuclear states. (<http://mowr.gov.in/indus-water-treaty-1960>)

The loot of resources in the region is carried out by a corporation called National Hydel Power Corporation (NHPC). This corporation is a public and private enterprise. The corporation is engaged in generation of hydroelectric power, profit of this company is based on the sale of the hydroelectric power. While at the same time we see that water resources of J&K that generates power for India is kept away from the reach of people in the region. The people have to power shortage at a large scale. The power gets transported to the cities in India while the people are made to live in darkness especially in the winters when the power generation capacity of the projects falls due to less water in the rivers (<https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/43373-power-starved-jk-transfer-hydro-power-projects-nhpc-state-solutions/>). The snatching of agency over the natural resources of the people is completed through the series of bureaucratic arrangements that keeps intact the exploitative relation between India and J&K through the corporation like National Hydel Power Corporation. To establish the loot of resources in the region, NHPC has to acquire land in the region. This calls for a land grab political set up by the state (Ahmad 2017). People are displaced through such projected and the traditional landlords are allowed to grow and reside in cities with adequate compensation while the poor peasants and landless workers are made thrown out of the agrarian economic structure and mad to survive in the slums of cities (Bazaz 2018). This is what has happened in Gurez a north Kashmiri region where a nearly three whole villages were displaced, this displacement led to their destitution and misery, they not only lost their land and livelihood but also their culture, language and a sense of belonging (Ahmad 2017). The people have lost their distinct language because of migration to Srinagar and other parts of Kashmir.

The creation of specific classes in order to facilitate the easy of exploitation of resources has been the old tactics of colonial state (Ghosh 1985). In Jammu and Kashmir too the Indian state has created such liberal bourgeoisie class that represents those sections of rising bourgeoisie power in state that is aligned to the Indian state for its interest. This class has their representation in intellectual sphere and also in the economic activities of Jammu and Kashmir. Such is the effort of body like JKSPDC (Jammu and Kashmir State Power Development Corporation) that functions within the legal structure of Indian state (Drabu 2018). This autonomous body struggle for a share of pie of the cake which the Indian state as a big brother possess. There is a constant demand from this body to get autonomy over the power projects in J&K but there is a deliberate silence on the need of complete independent authority of the people to determine the resource utility. The JKSPDC is the body of those classes in the region that has a bargaining power with India but has no independent development within it (<http://www.jkspdc.nic.in/>). In fact, in many occasions the Indian state has agreed to provide autonomy to this body over particular hydel power projects. But those promises have never materialized. The MoU's signed between NHPC and Jammu and Kashmir Government have been missing. Such is the silence and secrecy maintained over this issue that no one wants to talk about it, Even Right to Information application showed that both Parties have claimed to lose the documents on which whole drama between the two stands (<http://www.uniindia.com/mou-between-j-k-nphc-on-dul-hasti-power-project-document-missing-government/states/news/513040.html>).

Thus hydro politics of the region is mediated through predatory nature of the capital. This erases the possibility of human security framework. The space which this relationship has produced leads to the erasure of the aspirations, needs and desires of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The treaty in place also operates in the same way, taking away the rights of people from their water and giving it to two nation states as they are they allies of the foreign capital. This is an attempt to understand the onslaught capital and the space and politics it has created since signing of the Indus Water Treaty. Involving the people of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh will democratize the treaty and bring back people and their agency into the debate. People and their subjectivities are important to consider with respect to decisions which are taken on their behalf. States should start involving people and give them rights to decide about their natural resources.

### **Conclusion**

Securitization of the resources in the region of J&K by Indian and Pakistani state backed by the imperialist powers like US, China, UK etc. has snatched the people's agency over it. The Indus water basin has been the hot spot of political economic rivalry between different state powers, beginning from the cold war politics to the present inter rivalry between Indian and Pakistani state. The region around the Indus basin that is the Jammu and Kashmir has been the object of war and conflicts. While we have also seen that the conflicts around the river system have been noted by the world powers like World Bank but as solution they have reproduced the same hydro hegemonic arrangement. The need is to look for an arrangement away from the present matrix set-up by the capital. We must look for an arrangement wherein the resources are utilized in a localized manner where people are the very part of decision making process. People have to be brought to the center of the whole process.

This paper argues for a people centric and people oriented understanding of hydro-politics. The problems of the common people ranging from basic democratic rights over water and its use to using of water

resources for generation of electricity and catering to everyday needs of the people. Water can't be reduced to metaphors and then kept away from the common people. This is an attempt to rescue the water from a national security framework which talks about securitization and is anti-people to more humane and people centric framework.

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