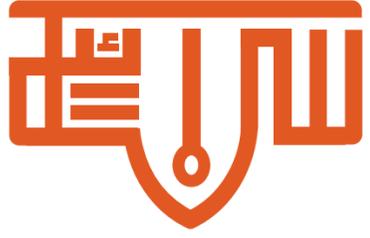


BUDGET DISPARITY

Punjab's Resource
Extraction from
Wasaib

Sirai ki Lok Sanjh

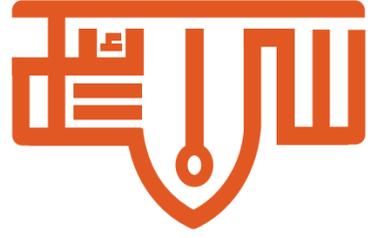




Extraction

چونڈھن، کُٹ پٹ

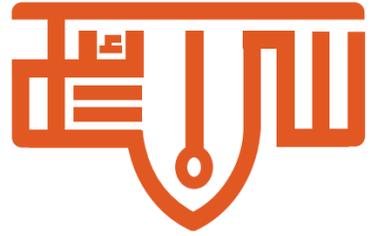
- **Extraction** is an act of snatching in which dominant regions systematically drain resources and labor of **marginalized** persons, communities, or **regions**
- Historically, extraction has been central in all colonial occupations. Some examples; extraction of Indian resources by the British East India Company
- Utsa Patnaik estimates this extraction at **\$45 Tr**, almost half of the Global GDP (\$106 Tr, 2023)



Extraction

چونڈھن، لٹ پٹ

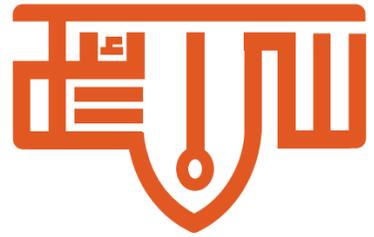
- Siraiqi Wasaib has faced direct extraction of the British and Punjab since 1850
- More than 10000 Maunds of gold was stolen after the siege of Multan
- This treatment of Wasaib continued throughout the British period and after 1947
- Central to this exploitation is an overstretched Punjab and its political control over Wasaib.



Extraction at Work

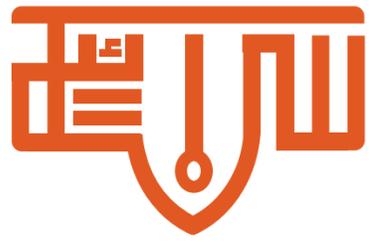
Extraction typically starts with snatching political sovereignty

- Violent Annexation of Multan by British and Punjab
- Bahawalpur merged; oil & cotton taxes pooled in Lahore
- Giving away Wasaib's river Sutlej in IWT
- Widespread corporate land grab in Cholistan (1 million acres) & Thall
- Discriminatory crop pricing policies (around 300 bn of farmers in Wasaib lost only this year)



Punjab Budget and NFC

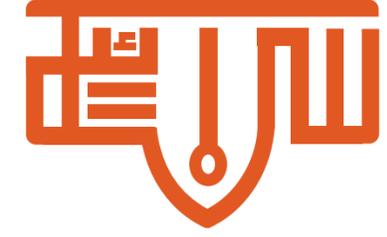
- Besides these historical extractions, Siraiqi Wasaib loses billions each year, with Punjab collecting taxes/ revenues from Wasaib and investing them out of the Wasaib
- Analysis shows stark disparities suffered by Wasaib on account of political dominance of Lahore
- For example **NFC Awards** that stipulate provincial shares in federal divisible pool based on **following formula**.
- Population **82%**, Poverty/Backwardness **10.3%**, Revenue Effort **5%**, Inverse Density **2.7%**



What changed vs. the 2018-19 worksheet?

Item	2018-19 base	2024-25 update	Δ (x)
Provincial divisible-pool size	Rs 2 466 bn	Rs 7 240 bn	$\approx 2.9 \times$
Punjab's envelope (pre-split)	Rs 1 201.6 bn	Rs 3 690 bn	$\approx 3.07 \times$
Siraiki province (simulated)	Rs 435.3 bn	Rs 1 336.9 bn	$\approx 3.07 \times$
KP envelope	Rs 430.9 bn	Rs 1 220 bn	$\approx 2.83 \times$
Sindh envelope	Rs 596.8 bn	Rs 1 850 bn	$\approx 3.10 \times$
Balochistan envelope	Rs 236.6 bn	Rs 667.6 bn	$\approx 2.82 \times$

این سال (2025-2026) دے بجٹ وچ سرانیکلی و سیب کوں وفاق دی پاسیوں 1474 ارب روپے ملن ہاچے ساڈا انج صوبہ ہوندا۔



Federal Divisible-Pool outlook, FY 2025-26

Budget assumptions just tabled in the National Assembly on 10 June 2025

	Population 82 %	Inverse density 2.7 %	Poverty / backwardness 10.3 %	Revenue effort 5 %	Total transfer (Rs bn)	Share of pool
KP	1 087.9	16.4	225.7	18.9	1 348.9	16.45 %
Punjab (after carve-out)	2 393.8	7.9	68.0	120.3	2 590.0	31.59 %
Siraiki Province	1 260.1	18.6	135.9	60.1	1 474.8	17.99 %
Sindh	1 605.5	18.4	208.1	208.0	2 040.0	24.88 %
Balochistan	376.7	160.2	207.5	3.8	748.1	9.12 %
Total (≈ Rs 8 200 bn)	6 724.0	221.4	845.2	411.0	8 200.0	100 %

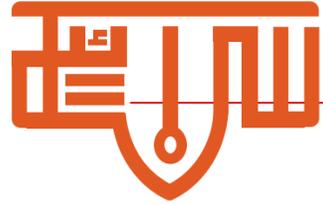
The 35 % promise—and the reality in the ADP 2021-22



Total ADP 2021-22	560 bn
35 % floor pledged in ADP Guidelines	196 bn
Rs explicitly tagged to the 13 districts (all sectors, line-by-line)	189 bn (34%)
Invisible / untagged gap	7 bn

South Punjab can see 34 paisa out of every development rupee— as per the 35 paisa guaranteed in writing.

The 35 % promise—and the reality in the ADP 2025-26



Total ADP 2025-26 (budget speech)	1240 bn
35 % floor pledged in ADP Guidelines	434 bn
Rs explicitly tagged to the 13 districts (all sectors, line-by-line)	65 bn (5%)
Invisible / untagged gap	369 bn

South Punjab can see barely 5 paisa out of every development rupee—far short of the 35 paisa guaranteed in writing.

Healthcare & Education Funding with and without ring fencing



Sector	Provincial Allocation 2021-22	Trackable share for South Punjab	Gap to 35%	Provincial Allocation 2025-26	Trackable share for South Punjab	Gap to 35%
Education (School 54 %, Higher 24 %, Special 3 %, Literacy 3 %)	54.2 bn	21.4 bn	+2.4	148.5 bn	2.23 bn	-49.74 bn
Health (Specialised, Primary & Secondary, Population Welfare)	98 bn	34.8	+0.5	135 bn	9 bn	- 38 bn



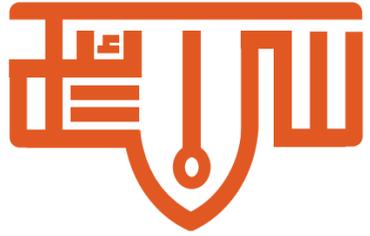
How South Punjab-ear-marked education money in FY 2025-26

Sector	Scheme (title / brief location)	District (or "Generic South Punjab")	2025-26 ADP allocation (PKR m)
School Education	Establishment of Cadet College	Multan	200.0
	<i>No other scheme is booked only for South-Punjab districts; all province-wide initiatives (PEF, PEIMA, CM-Meal, etc.) are tagged "Punjab" rather than a South-Punjab head.</i>		
Higher Education	MNS UET – civil works	Multan	17.0
	Ghazi University – block construction	D.G. Khan	20.0
	Women University DG Khan – academic block	D.G. Khan	20.0
	University of Layyah – start-up campus	Layyah	3.5
	Khawaja Fareed UET (main campus) – Ph-II	Rahim Yar Khan	1.0
	Khawaja Fareed UET – Chemical Block	Rahim Yar Khan	20.0
	Usman Buzdar School of State Sciences	Bahawalpur	1.0
	Cluster of 10 Government Associate Colleges ■ Dinpur (Layyah) 32.0 ■ Chak Mandi Town (Layyah) 20.0 ■ Bakhshan Khan (Bahawalnagar) 25.0 ■ Govt College Minchinabad (Bahawalnagar) 1.0 ■ Manthar, Jajja Abbasyan & Taranda Saway Khan (Rahim Yar Khan) 13.2	See right-hand list	112.2 (subtotal)
Special Education	Govt Middle School (Taunsa)	D.G. Khan	40.0
	Govt Primary School (Muzaffargarh)	Muzaffargarh	40.0
	Govt Special-Education Centre (Fort Abbas)	Bahawalnagar	78.6
Literacy & Non-Formal Education	<i>No South-Punjab-specific line item; the entire PKR 4 bn sectoral envelope is booked as province-wide programmes.</i>		

Total that is explicitly tagged to the 13 South-Punjab districts in 2025-26

- PKR ≈ 559 million





Violation of the 35 % Ring-Fence in Punjab ADP 2024-25

Required Siraiqi allocation (35 % of Rs 842 bn) = Rs 294 bn

- **Visible in book:** only **Rs 34 bn (7 %)** – rest buried in “Punjab-wide” rows

1. **Health:** need **Rs 14.9 bn**; visible **Rs 7.9 bn**

2. **Education:** need Rs **14.9 bn**; visible **Rs 1.0 bn**

➔ South Punjab Secretariat powers diluted; no separate volume, no CSV released

➔ Transparent, tagged budgeting & a Siraiqi province are the remedy

How the new Punjab Budget hides the numbers?

- **No separate South-Punjab** volume (last printed in FY 2022-23).
- “**South Punjab Allocation**” column left **blank** on most province-wide schemes.
- Split projects now labelled “**Multi-District (South)**” without a rupee figure.
- Planning-Portal CSV still unpublished; **data cannot be machine-audited.**
- A fresh clause lets Finance cut **ring-fenced funds** “subject to cash-flow”.

Proposed Corrective Measures

1. **Publish the missing CSV** today—with open District and South Punjab Flag fields.
2. **Insert numeric South-Punjab amounts** for every umbrella scheme before the Appropriation Act.
3. Restore a **South-Punjab annex** or dashboard listing only the 14 districts, so the **35 % test is visible**.
4. Transfer the missing **Rs 49.74bn (education)** and \approx **Rs 38 bn (health)** into district-tagged projects before release orders.
5. Legislate a **Provincial Finance Commission**, ending ad-hoc allocations and guaranteeing **formula-based shares** for all districts.



THANK YOU