

Scenario 106

DIVIDING PUNJAB:

After independence of Bangladesh in 1971, in the remaining part of Pakistan, Punjab had four divisions - Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and Sargodha. The NWFP (now called Khyber PK) had two divisions - Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar. Most of the divisions were named after the divisional capitals, with some exceptions.

From 1955 to 1970, the One Unit policy meant that there were only two provinces -East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan had the same divisions as East Bengal had previously got, but West Pakistan gradually gained seven new divisions to add to the original six.

The Balochistan States Union became Kalat Division, while the former Balochistan Chief Commissioner's Province became Quetta Division. Most of the former Sind province became Hyderabad Division, with some parts joining the princely state of Khairpur to form Khairpur Division. The former princely state of Bahawalpur became the Bahawalpur Division.

The Federal Capital Territory [then Karachi was the Capital] was absorbed into West Pakistan in 1961 and merged with the princely state of Las Bela to form the Karachi - Bela Division. In 1969, the princely states of Chitral, Dir and Swat were incorporated into West Pakistan as the division of Malakand with Saidu as the divisional HQ.

In 1969, West Pakistan was regrouped into four new provinces. Gradually over the late 1970s, new divisions were formed; Hazara and Kohat divisions were split from Peshawar Division; Gujranwala Division was formed from parts of Lahore and Rawalpindi divisions; Dera Ghazi Khan Division was split from Multan Division; Faisalabad Division was split from Sargodha Division; Sibi Division was formed from parts of Kalat and Quetta divisions; Lasbela District was transferred from Karachi Division to Kalat Division; Makran Division split from Kalat Division. The name of Khairpur Division was changed to Sukkur Division.

During the military rule of Gen Ziaul Haq, the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology (headed by Justice Tanzilur Rahman) was tasked with finding ways to islamise the country. One of its recommendations was that the existing four provinces should be dissolved and the twenty administrative divisions should become new provinces in a federal structure with greater devolution of power, but this proposal was never implemented.

In early 1990s, Naseerabad division was split from Sibi Division; Zhob Division was split from Quetta Division; Bannu Division was split from Dera Ismail Khan Division; Mardan Division was split from Peshawar Division; Larkana Division was split from Sukkur Division; Mirpur Khas Division was split from Hyderabad Division. The capital of Kalat Division was moved from Kalat to Khuzdar

In August 2000, local government reforms abolished the "Division" as an administrative tier and introduced a system of local government councils, with the first elections held in 2001. Following that there was radical restructuring of the local government system to implement *"the principle of subsidiarity, whereby all functions that can be effectively performed at the local level are transferred to that level."*

This meant devolution of many functions to districts and *tehsils* (sub-divisions), which were handled at the provincial and divisional levels. At abolition, there were twenty-six divisions in Pakistan proper - five in Sindh, six in Balochistan, seven in Khyber PK and eight in Punjab. Abolition did not affect the two divisions of Azad Kashmir, which form the second tier of government.

In 2008, after the general elections, the new government decided to restore the divisions of all provinces. Punjab had nine divisions (with total of 36 districts) with Sahiwal Division being the newest. In Sindh after the lapse of the Local Governments Bodies term in 2010 the Divisional Commissioners system was restored.

In July 2011, following excessive violence in the city of Karachi and after the political split between the ruling coalition partners, the Government of Sindh decided to restore the Commissionerate System in the province. As a consequence, the five divisions of Sindh were restored namely, Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas and Larkana with their respective districts.

Karachi district was de-merged into its 5 original constituent districts namely Karachi East, Karachi West, Karachi Central, Karachi South and Malir. These five districts form the Karachi Division since then.

VICIOUS DRAMA STARTS:

The Living History of Pakistan Vol-I

In mid 2011, during his press conference, taking Holy Quran on his head, whatever Dr Zulfiqar Mirza said and in what tone and tenor he said was too much severe; should have been investigated seriously and thoroughly.

Amongst many other deliberations, one thing disclosed in that press conference was of grave importance, i.e. the interest of America in disintegration of Pakistan and dissolving of ISI. This worried every Pakistani because aggression and enmity of US towards Pakistan, activities of CIA, MOSSAD and RAW within territorial limits of Pakistan were alarming.

In February 2007, for about two weeks CNN had been running an advertisement of a book about Pakistan; named as '**Divide Pakistan To Eliminate Terrorism**' penned down by an unknown author Syed Jamaluddin, an Indian by origin but living in France. Main theme being that '**the terrorism on international level is due to division of India in 1947**'.

Astonishing theory it was being propagated which had no reference document in any library the world over. The author opined that Pakistan emerged as a failed state for a one single reason; assembling almost eight different nations in the name of Islam. Further more Pakistan has been masterminding terrorism, providing all possible support to terrorism, nurturing terrorists and a threat to international peace!

Jamaluddin, in his book, came with a simple solution to the terror menace; division of Pakistan in several small states so that there should be no ISI. The map of **Jinnah Pur** was also included in that book.

An Indian scholar living in America named Guru Dev added fuel to fire by commenting that:

'The author says thanks to India, people of East Pakistan who were harassed and tortured by Pakistan became an independent state called Bangladesh, in 1971, but what about rest of its provinces who are craving for independence but are suppressed by ISI and Pakistan Army.'

During the same days, another such like book titled '**Descent into Chaos**' written by one **Ahmad Rasheed** was also sponsored by America & India. This book was perhaps published by eight publishers with different title designs because the author had blamed ISI for international terrorism and extremism. No substantive evidence was given by Ahmad Rasheed to justify his claims but because the two big nations were providing financial and media aids to the book, it went on.

Pakistan Army and ISI were criticized with blatant lies and termed as more dangerous than Hitler's Nazi army. In order to convert the whole world to peace, according to his biased and unfounded estimation, *'it is necessary to disintegrate Pakistan into several small states; initiated by 'Formation of Republic of Jinnahpur.'*

However, despite the sizable financial and diplomatic support of the enemy states, both the authors could not sell this idea of dividing Pakistan in 2007. Five years later, the world historians noted that the US & India had found more influential people within Pakistan [*pointing towards PM Gilani & President Zardari*] to accomplish their mission by announcing formation of Saraiki province and, of course, Hazara & Jinnahpur could not be pushed away from the scene.

SARAIKI SOOBA VOICE:

The province of Punjab is the hub of about 110 million people which is more than the composite population of any of the European country. Much difficult to control as a provincial unit composed of various ethnic, cultural and linguistic clans and tribes. There have been cogent voices to split it into more provinces since decades; Saraiki Suba was the most loud and viable demand but due to political intricacies, the rulers never opted to heed toward that popular demand of the inhabitants.

The Punjab Assembly once passed a resolution, a mandatory and procedural requirement under the Constitution of Pakistan, but did not agitate it in the Parliament because the rulers [Sharif Family] never wanted sincerely to dilute their administrative and financial power. Thus the resolution passed in Punjab could not travel up to Islamabad with ill intentions of both PPP & PML(N) [though on different grounds].

Promoters of Saraiki Province claimed to include about 23 districts, 62% of the total area of Punjab [1,49,419 km²]. Administrative Problems due to Long Distances within Punjab from Rahim Yar Khan [RYK] to Murree and Attock / Mianwali is over 1000km in length and capital being located at Lahore has multiple problems especially because of more poverty. Distance between RYK and Lahore is approximately 560 km.

Even in the present 21st century, in most of the Saraiki areas, human beings and animals drink water from same pond. People have lowest ratio in the Armed Forces and in public services. No Agriculture University - despite the fact that, it is mostly the agriculture based area which produces approximately 57% of the total agricultural produce of Punjab. No Medical University – only one Nishtar College caters for the teaching needs of the whole areas around.

The Living History of Pakistan Vol-I

No Engineering University - in the whole Saraiki belt; no IT or Science and Technology University; no Cadet College; no International Airport to cater for the people from 23 districts, one in Multan is only for the local flights. This has adverse effect on travelling abroad and export of fruits, vegetables and the other commodities abroad.

This is unfortunate and step brotherly treatment to the Saraiki belt, where the existing communication infrastructure is also in very bad condition. The Saraiki belt produces about 65% of the total cotton crop, but there is only one textile mills in Multan. Due to shortage of canals, 11 million acres land of Bahawalpur and Multan division has been rendered **banjar** [deserted] due to shortage of water.

Since there is no Urban / rural quota, for admission in medical and technical colleges; no special quota in armed forces and civil services; due to shortage of industries, most people are jobless; therefore, compelled to migrate to Karachi and abroad accepting least paid and low category jobs. Shortage of TV and radio stations, with no facilities of dry ports, industrial states, industries etc pose another set of problems for inhabitants. On top of it only 11 to 18 % of the total budget of Punjab is normally allocated for the development in this belt; the history proves it.

The problem remained that many politicians from South Punjab elected for the provincial and national assemblies were given the high ranks and portfolios in cabinets but when in power, they always went for their personal development – not for their voters.

Amongst them Yousaf Raza Gillani, Prime Minister of Pakistan from 2008-12; Latif Khosa, Governor Punjab; Zulfiqar Ali Khosa, Minister & then Governor Punjab for about a decade; Mustafa Khar, Chief Minister, Governor Punjab and Federal Minister for decades; Farooq Leghari, Federal Minister and then President of Pakistan; Dost Muhammad Khosa, Minister & Chief Minister Punjab); Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Federal Minister; Hina Rabbani Khar, Foreign Minister; Javed Hashmi, Federal Minister for two decades and many more figures from Bahawalpur, RYK and Bahawalnagar areas.

None of them ever spoke in favour of regional autonomy; AND never agitated strongly for the development budgets for their areas.

In the second week of August 2012, the Senate Secretariat nominated six senators to a Commission for the formation of South Punjab province and restoration of Bahawalpur province; Rafique Rajwana [later made Governor Punjab] was, however, there to represent PML(N) and none else from South Punjab.

PPP was at the forefront of support for a South Punjab province, but the PPP's majority on benches avoided to nominate a single senator from the region to the Commission on new provinces. The composition was PPP's Sughra Imam and Farhatullah Babar, ANP's Haji Adeel, PML(Q)'s Kamil Ali Agha, and JUI-F's Abdul Ghafoor Haidri besides PML-N's Rafiq Rajwana.

Each party had nominated their own senators to the Commission but MQM was ignored. An independent Senator Mohsin Leghari, who had won the Senate seat on a one-point agenda of raising his voice for the formation of a South Punjab province, was ignored in the Commission.

Mr Leghari had submitted around 100 resolutions in the assembly secretariat for the formation of South Punjab and raised his voice for allocation of funds to and for jobs in the Punjab Public Service Commission for South Punjab. He had the support of around 40 MPAs from South Punjab in the Senate elections. Mr Leghari termed the nomination for Commission as 'eyewash.'

In furtherance of the cause for new provinces in Punjab, the National Assembly Speaker Dr Fehmida Mirza nominated 12 [out of the 14] members for the Commission and were notified.

In addition to the above named Senators, PPP's MNAs Arif Aziz Sheikh, Jamshed Ahmed Dasti, Syed Ali Musa Gilani, PML(N)'s Tahmina Daultana and Ch Saud Majeed, as well as MQM's Dr Farooq Sattar were also nominated. Earlier, the Punjab Assembly on **9th May 2012** and the National Assembly on **21st May 2012** had approved the resolutions for the establishment of new provinces in Punjab with an overwhelming majority.

ANP's Haji Adeel also clarified that the Commission's workings would be confined to Punjab only and they would not consider for the creation of a Hazara or Muhajir province, as no other provincial assembly had passed any resolution in favour of new provinces.

Carving out more provinces in Pakistan was not a new demand. The PPP-led governments had been rallying since decades for the formation of a new province in southern Punjab for *Seraiki* representatives. President Zardari then directed for the Commission but later found bullying and bulldozing the issue, perhaps, with the next election in mind.

In Punjab, the PML[N] was not just bothering because it was running the province's government. The PML(N) did not initially approve two names from their Punjab Assembly to complete the Commission; contrarily putting the blame that *'the new provinces issue has been made controversial by forming the new provinces commission unilaterally.'*

The PPP was raising questions that why its leadership was refusing to nom-

inate its two members to the Parliamentary Commission and restraining others nominated by the Speaker NA from attending its meeting to be held on **28th August**. The issue of Hazara and FATA could be addressed later as demanded by the PML(N); thus the PPP declared vacillating stance of the PML(N) as hypocritical.

The reality was that the PML(N) was not in favour of the division of Punjab province as it would erode its political clout and its main base of political support but it did not have the courage to admit it publicly. The demand for creation of four provinces first and the objections raised on the formation of the Commission were termed illogical and ill intentioned by many. Farhatullah Babar, the newly elected Chairman Parliamentary Commission on New Provinces (PCNP) in Punjab, said that:

'There have been no requests by other provinces. How can the commission go to other provinces and say it will form more provinces when they have not set forth any such proposals? This proposal has come from Punjab itself; therefore, the work of the commission is limited to the province alone.'

To a question why only representatives from Punjab could not form the commission alone, the Chairman said:

'When you talk about creating a new province, it requires amending the constitution and amendment of the constitution cannot be handed over to any one province or political party.'

The Commission was given one month time to complete its task. PML[N] was still missing; as their three members, nominated by the National Assembly Speaker, boycotted the meeting in protest. The PML[N] stayed away from the meetings of the Commission since its formation last year. The opposition kept serious reservations over the Commission, saying that it had no representation from Punjab – the province that was being divided. Secondly, the opposition argued that instead of the speaker choosing the members of the Commission, it was the respective party's right to choose the members as per authorisation given to the parties for sending their Senators.

The opposition leader Ch Nisar also rejected the term '*National Commission*' for the panel, and added that it has no right to call itself a '*National Commission*' because it had no representation from Punjab and the PML[N]. He opined that the Commission was not even formed by the federal government, but was established by Mr Zardari, through his speaker, which was wrong; having no provision in regulations.

SARAIKI PROVINCE OR BAHAWALPUR:

On 18th December 2012; former Federal Information Minister Muhammad Ali Durrani supported the demand for restoration of Bahawalpur province and creation of a Seraiki province comprising other areas of the region. Mr Durrani was among the five prominent figures from south Punjab who were called by the Parliamentary Commission [PNCP] to give their viewpoints on the issue of creation of one or more new provinces in Punjab. Others were Ghazanfar Mehdi, Masroor Baig, Iqbal Pitafi and Ashiq Khan Buzdar.

The PNCP continued with its regular in-camera meetings, ignoring a boycott by the opposition PML(N). Mr Durrani had stressed the need for restoration of Bahawalpur province whereas the others favoured the formation of one Seraiki province. In his presentation, Mr Durrani gave historic perspective of Bahawalpur State and said that it was the first state to sign the instrument of accession with Pakistan on **3rd October 1947**, as a province of the newly - born country.

On **30th April 1951**, a supplementary instrument of accession had been signed and Bahawalpur became the only state in Pakistan which was given the status of a province. The first elections in Bahawalpur were held in 1952 to elect 49 members of the provincial assembly, of which 80 per cent members belonged to the middle class. Bahawalpur had a provincial assembly, an election commission, a provincial secretariat, revenue board, an independent public service commission, a high court, and government's printing press with defined provincial boundaries and there were more than 40,000 state employees.

In the draft constitution of 1954, Mr Durrani said, Bahawalpur had been given the status of a province with four seats in the Senate of 50 members, seven seats in the National Assembly with a provincial assembly of 49 seats. Bahawalpur was merged with the West Pakistan one-unit, ***and not in the Punjab province, on 17th December 1954.*** However, when one unit was abolished, Bahawalpur was not restored as province and martial law administrator Gen Yahya Khan merged Bahawalpur with Punjab as a division of the province through the Province of West Pakistan Dissolution Order issued in March 1970.

Evidently; the promises made by the Quaid e Azam and the agreements signed between the State of Bahawalpur and the Pakistan government in 1947, 1951 and 1954 were disregarded and not given any importance. As a result of this injustice, a restoration movement under the banner of ***'Bahawalpur Muttahida Mahaaz'*** started in which two persons were killed and thousands imprisoned.

In the 1970 elections, 85 per cent people voted for the candidates fielded by the *Bahawalpur Muttahida Mahaz* and **MNAs Nizamuddin Haider and Makhdoom Noor Muhammad did not sign the 1973 Constitution in protest** against non-restoration of Bahawalpur as a province.

The movement for restoration of Bahawalpur province, initiated by former federal minister Mr Durrani, who was a PML[Q] leader but later he allied himself with the PML[N]. It was blamed that Mr Durrani, assisted by his sister, Abida Durrani, while residing in Dera Nawab Sahib, were running the affairs and had acquired Rs:800 million from a Norwegian NGO for the women development in the Seraiki belt – allegedly no development seen.

Another significant name of the Bahawalpur movement was Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi who might have been struggling for hereditary benefits and his title of "Nawab" from the Pakistani government due to which he never had a strong presence in this movement.

According to local political experts, Durrani had been trying to be a candidate from NA-183 Ahmedpur East - his birth place - but was stunned when Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi announced to contest election not only from NA-183 but also from NA-185; and had also launched his own political party "**Bahawalpur National Awami Party**". There were also rumours that Nawab Abbasi had reached a deal with the PPP for seat adjustment indicating that he would take a side role with regards to the Bahawalpur province movement.

The third main element of this movement was Usman Daud Abbasi, a relative of Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi and former deputy speaker of Punjab Assembly. Later Usman Abbasi joined Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf [PTI] and announced to contest election against his cousin Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi.

Another major player of the movement was Makhdoom Ahmed Mehmood, the then Governor of Punjab. His father Makhdoom Syed Hassan Mehmood was the Chief Minister of Bahawalpur State; therefore, his son was eager to occupy his father's chair which could only happen had the region gained the status of a province. But due to former premier Yousaf Raza Gilani's intervention, he had left the movement for the sake of governorship.

On the other hand, local communities of the three districts - Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar - had never supported this movement because the settlers, migrated from different areas of upper Punjab, had more bets at stake. Thus, there was no serious campaigning for the Bahawalpur province once Mr Durrani himself joined the PML[N] – he had to go with his party's wishes and whims.

Seth Ubaid-ur-Rehman, the main leader of Bahawalpur Restoration Movement during 1970's, once told the media that times had changed and there was no need to struggle for the provincial status. He claimed that the Nawabs of Bahawalpur were just fighting for their title.

Here one can differ with the above media noting because the Bahawalpur province was not needed for Mr Durrani's seat in the Parliament or Nawab's titles BUT the province was needed as a devolution of political powers – a fundamental requirement of the democracy. Bahawalpur or for that matter other provinces in making, were required so that people should not travel to Lahore for their routine visits in education, health, land records, judicial attendances, IG police's office and crime branch etc.

The most important that all the development funds would not be used by one Chief Minister sitting at Lahore – Bahawalpur province's funds would come straight from the Federal Finance and they would prioritize their development plans.

At the national level, it was a tussle between the PML[N] and the PPP. Nawaz Sharif did not want to sacrifice a major and important chunk of Punjab as *Saraiki* Province. According to experts of *Saraiki* belt, the PML[N] wanted to create a buffer zone between the *Saraiki* belt and Sindh, because *Sindhi* and *Saraikis* have same culture and norms, while both of them used to dislike "**Takht e Lahore**". As Lahore was not a keen supporter of the movement of *Saraiki* province, the Punjab Assembly passed a resolution for the Bahawalpur province.

The fact remained that the then Punjab Governor Makhdoom Ahmed Mehmood was also in the favour of a *Saraiki* province as the people of the *Saraiki* belt had decided to only support those candidates who were supporters of a new province – ***Saraiki Suba*** and not the Bahawalpur Province.

BAHAWALPUR SOUTH PUNJAB:

On **26th January 2013** at last, the Parliamentary Commission [PNCB] evolved consensus when it proposed '*Bahawalpur South Punjab*' as the name of the province to be carved out of Punjab and also approved its draft report to be presented in the National Assembly's next session. Three days later, the PNCB presented its report to the National Assembly recommending the creation of '***Bahawalpur Janoobi Punjab***' [**BJP**] province,

constituting the Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan divisions, along with the Districts of Mianwali and Bhakkar; with its capital at Bahawalpur.

The Commission, when constituted, was given the task to slice out two new provinces in Punjab as per resolution passed by the Punjab Assembly, which demanded the restoration of Bahawalpur's status as a province and the creation of a new unit in southern Punjab. However, the Commission had focused solely on one new unit.

According to the draft report of the Commission, four different models were proposed for the new province; issues such as the distribution of economic, financial and administrative resources, demarcation [of boundaries], seat allocation in assemblies, minority and constitutional amendments were discussed. The PC's report also included a draft of 24th Constitutional Amendment Bill 2013, which had already been sent directly to the Ministry of Law for onward completion of procedural formalities.

According to original draft report, the new province would have a share of 59 seats [47 general seats and 12 special seats for women and minorities] in the National Assembly while the provincial assembly would be composed of 124 members [101 seats allocated for general members and 23 special seats for women and minorities]; subject to the approval of the Election Commission. A consensus was also seen for Bahawalpur as the capital of the new province, whereas the provincial assembly would be situated in Multan – a perspective issue for the future.

The main issue remained that whether or not the PC had proceeded within its Terms of Reference (TORs) in recommending one province of *Bahawalpur Janoobi Punjab*, instead of two separate provinces as discussed earlier; especially that why Mianwali and Bhakkar were included in new BJP.

Referring to ***the 'Pakistan Today' dated 3^d February 2013:***

'Pakistan is a constitutional republic. Andthe allocation of funds, resources, developmental work, representation in the legislature, and apportionment in the bureaucracy between provinces etc is done in light of roughly three factors: population in terms of representation; needs in terms of development work; and ownership in terms of natural resources.

As a result, the demand (by any region) for the status of a province is more than just a desire for the regional political forces to gain local administrative autonomy. The conferring of a provincial status

incorporates the promise of fundamentally improving the socio-political conditions of the region.'

The homework done on the basis of above given principles, the new BJP would require about 30% share in federal civil services [so called CSP, PSP & other 12 Services' Groups] and the same 30% share of National Finance Commission [NFC] award, commonly known as Development Funds.

At that particular time of ending 2012, the BJP's area and population was **getting only 12-15% from Punjab's allocations** in both sectors. The Commission report, however, pointed out that:

*'This region [proposed Bahawalpur Province] accounts for 84% of Punjab's cotton, 41% of the province's wheat, 36% of its sugar. Similarly, 85% of Punjab's ginning cotton factories, 40% of flourmills, 30% of sugar mills, and 25% of the province's fertilizer manufacturing units are installed in this region'; **whereas only one region named Lahore was getting more than 25%'**.*

Thus no threat was expected to its stability and economic wellbeing.

The PML(N) was not able to formulate a strategy on the proposed bill at that time but the Leader of Opposition in National Assembly Ch Nisar Ali Khan pointed out lacunas in the proposed bill; mainly urging the Commission to comply with the Punjab Assembly resolution of carving out two provinces instead of one province. PML[N]'s Khwaja Asif told the media next day that:

'Unless members of Punjab Assembly were involved in the decision or the matter is initiated from them, any action in this regard by the centre is contrary to the Constitution'.

PML[N]'s that tall leader was not ignorant that the Punjab Assembly had already passed a resolution on the Bahawalpur province. Kh Asif had in fact criticized the makeup of the Parliamentary Commission; arguing that the head of the Commission, Farhatullah Babar, was from Khyber-PK – he should have been from Punjab.

The Parliamentary Commission was headed by Farhat Ullah Baber from Khyber PK with members from all parties and provinces. The division of a province was a provincial matter to start with; it should have been divided on administrative and not on linguistic grounds. Khwaja Asif MNA told the media on **27th January 2013** that:

'We [PML-N] are in favour of creating new provinces along administrative lines. If they are created along ethnic lines, then this will harm the nation,'

In fact the new province was not created on linguistic or ethnic basics what the PML[N] had claimed – *Bhakkar, Bahawalnagar, Multan and Bahawalpur all had significant Punjabi population. Dera Ghazi Khan had Pashtuns and Balochs. Mianwali was the home of the Niazi Pashtuns and has a substantial Punjabi population.* And still the same situation prevails.

Additionally, *Saraiki* is just a dialect of Punjabi and people cannot be *Saraiki* as it is not a tribe or clan. Also, 17 million people speak *Saraiki* across KPK and South Punjab and their neighboring regions of Balochistan and Sindh so this language is not localized. So, the "*Saraiki*" province is just a naive, media term.

Now pondering into the Article 239(4) of the Constitution: *'that any Constitutional Amendment having the effect of altering the limits of a Province must necessarily be passed by the Provincial Assembly of that Province with a majority of two-thirds of its total membership'*, which already provided that there would be two provinces not one. The PPP government, while not having the required votes in the Parliament to pass the Constitutional Amendment Bill, was just kidding with the nation.

The nation was once more made fool by floating ***a false hope of 'making out provinces'***. Mr Zardari and PML(N)'s Nawaz Sharif were playing with the nation after sorting out their '*Muk-Muka*' that the scheme of the new provinces would be chalked out in a manner that ultimately there would be nothing 'in shape' and Punjab would not be deprived off his development funds & area of control.

The PPP got announced the PC from the Speaker, without consultation of Opposition Leader, not including expected members of the concerned areas in the PC, making out PC's Chairman from a faraway territory, picking no Senator of that areas, including Mianwali & Bhakkar in it without taking will of that areas and so many other gimmicks.

Moral: ***'na nou man tel ho ga, na radha nache gi'*** [where there is NO will, there is no way]. All done deliberately; the PML[N] helped PPP to complete five years without hindrance, then PPP helped Nawaz Sharif to keep control [& funds] of the whole Punjab as before.

Nevertheless, more provinces are the way to go if Pakistanis want to squash out the fires set by deprivation and negligence. Pakistan covering an area of 796,095 km² has only 4 provinces (+4 administrative units). Countries close to Pakistan in terms of area have considerably large province counts and almost all of these countries are higher than Pakistan in Human Development Index (HDI) listings; Turkey (81 provinces), Chile (54 provinces) and Egypt (27 Governorates) being a few of these.

New provinces are not the only way to development; though it is one of the necessary steps. Smaller areas to administrate means more *hold* over the region and better allocation of resources and funds. The motives of the PPP government were shadowy but new provinces on administrative grounds were the need of the country.

A cogent question here: why were they in favour of new provinces **only in Punjab** when they opposed de-limitation **in Karachi**? Why breakup only Punjab? Why not other provinces too, on administrative lines? Why not have 30 to 40 provinces (the size of one or two districts)? This was nothing but an election gimmick by PPP, Q-League and MQM. While on the other hand control - freak and Laptop - Sharifs & N-League would never let breakup of Punjab (even on admin lines).

MUTINY GROWS IN PUNJAB?

by **Anatol Lieven** (author of Pakistan: A Hard Country)

The US strategy towards Pakistan remained focused to get Islamabad to help Washington's campaign against the Afghan Taliban. There were large problems with that approach - firstly that Pakistan's strategic calculations and the feelings of its population made it impossible because US was standing with India. Secondly; the war in Afghanistan had become a temporary US interest till then; ***the chief concern was to avoid the damage to US military's prestige - an obvious failure.***

For America, the prospects for success in Afghanistan were depressing but they propagated as if they were saving Pakistan from terrorism. It was a desperate try because Washington knew that 86% Pakistanis did hate them. However, some positive loyalty could be expected from Pak-Army and one key province Punjab – but with the passage of time those feelings also vanished.

The above expectations could be true till April 2011; but after US attack of 2nd May 2011 at Abbotabad – every thing changed promptly [Anatol

Liever's article in '**National Interest**' of March - April 2011 is referred]. A lot changed since; and Britain had to assume a central role in resolving the Afghan imbroglio and it prevailed. See Liever's painful remarks in the said article:

'.....Disintegration of Pakistan is still on the [Indo-US Zionist] agenda but it is hoped it will follow rather than precede heightened Civil War in Afghanistan that is likely to result from NATO / US withdrawal'.

A clear warning for political and military elite of Pakistan in March - April 2011 – but Gen Kayani, Gen Pasha and President Zardari all kept sleeping.

Pakistan was then being ruled by a four party coalition for five years – Zardari League, MQM, ANP and JUI(F) – all of who had a history of opposition to Pakistan. Zardari's dad – Hakim Ali – was the President of ANP in Sindh after he was expelled from the PPP allegedly for trying to blackmail late Prime Minister Z A Bhutto. No details there but it was well known that ZAB was so angry with Hakim Ali that he sold all his assets and moved to the UK only to return after the execution of ZAB.

Now some paragraphs from Liever's above said article given **verbatim**:

*'The relationship of Asif Zardari with his wife Benazir was characterized by the Hollywood film **'sleeping with the enemy'**. Not referring to their marital relationship; but the point is that for securing US sponsorship of the NRO, every one wondered: **"what is the quid pro quo that the USA wants from Asif Zardari?"***

*It appears that Asif Zardari signed up to disintegration of Pakistan. He has been tasked to destroy the two institutions that hold Pakistan together: **1) the armed forces and 2) the Punjab**. The Memo written by Pakistan's Ambassador Hussain Haqqani at the behest of President Zardari to the US Government revealed how AZ intended to undermine the command structure of the armed forces on the pretext of 'civilian control.....*

*In not understanding the nature of enemy schemes and being so inadequate in articulating viable popular opposition the PML(N) and TIP share equal blame. **India has for decades funded opposition to Kalabagh Dam and promoting Seraiki province**. Disintegration of Pakistan has been at the top of Indian agenda since 1947. There should have been no doubt left after the invasion and separation of East Pakistan in 1971. But the very same political par-*

ties that are in the ruling coalition today were at the helm in West Pakistan in 1971.

Their leaders readily embraced the Indian propaganda that East Pakistan separated because of 'maltreatment' by the Punjabis. Ever since, the Punjab has been the favourite whipping boy – blamed for every real or imagined grievance. But the Punjab sacrificed in any inter - provincial deal – [see] the recent finance award as well as the Water Accord of 1991. But the Indian propaganda continues to be mouthed by President Zardari and his coalition partners.

*Not content with the Punjab giving in to every demand of cut in its legitimate share, the Zardari Administration is now embarked on the military and the Punjab province. **The 2008 announcement of cancellation of the Kalabagh Dam, the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, and now the Freudian Slip..... the BJP (Bahawalpur Janubi Punjab) case..... PML(N) get no votes – just ridicule and disgust.***

*The people and politicians of Sindh have been wiser in understanding that **the real reason for the new Local Bodies Ordinance is to give Indian protégés – the MQM – perpetual control over not just Karachi but all the urban centers of Sindh.....***

In Pakistan, land has always belonged to the provinces but river water is owned by the federation. This is a sensible division that has stood the test of time. Large reservoirs of water in dams have been built and operated by the federal government but the barrages and the canals have been owned and operated by the provincial governments.

Kalabagh Dam is an exception because it is a dam as well as a barrage. Its right bank canal would irrigate DIK area of South KPK, and the left Bank canal would irrigate the area between Rivers Indus and Jhelum.

The reservoir would serve the interest of South Punjab and Sindh Province as Sindh gets 37% of the water of any reservoir built on River Indus. Tarbela Dam, built in the KPK has increased supply of irrigation water at Sukhar as well Kotri barrages.

Kalabagh Dam would be even more beneficial to Sindh because it would conserve huge amount of extra water from all the tributaries

of River Indus down stream of Tarbela and hill torrents that have caused death and destruction in South Punjab.

*Kalabagh Dam is so detested by India because it would link all the provinces of Pakistan into a nationwide irrigation system. **Farhatullah Babar included the Districts of Mianwali and Bhakkar in BJP** in his proposal. The people of the two districts understood his intent and protested. **They understood that it would imply that the only dam in the Punjab – the Kalabagh Dam – would be located outside the province.***

Farhatullah Babar proposal undermines the link canals and the entire irrigation system of the Punjab..... However; India and its protégés in Pakistan have good reasons for hope.

*The reason why the Indo-Zionist lobby wants the division of the Punjab: **"If Pakistan is to be broken as a state, it will be on the streets of Lahore and other great Punjabi cities, not in the Pashtun mountains."***

East Pakistan was the largest province of Pakistan until 1971 but its people were not able to see the benefits in the union. It split from Pakistan and is forever reduced to the status of a vassal state of India..... [but who cares for such facts].

The Punjabis are 60% of the Pakistani nation now. They see the vital need for maintaining the union and the Army is willing and able to defend every part of Pakistan. The only way Pakistan may not succeed in maintaining the integrity of the federation is that the political process brings a Boris Yeltsin to power and the armed forces are too discredited or demonised to resist threats to national integrity.

***Pakistan has had a Boris Yeltsin in the shape of Asif Zardari in power for five years** but the military has maintained national cohesion despite him. But that would not last forever. Pakistan's enemies hope that Mian Nawaz Sharif would play the role of blunderbuss Boris even better. Pakistan is not out of the woods yet. ++*

[Author of the book does not want to offer any comments – **Pak-Army and the Pakistan loving intelligentsia should be able to read in between the lines.**]