

Politics of Federalism in Pakistan: Problems and Prospects

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the politics of federalism in Pakistan. There are multiple geographic, economic and demographic variations that demanded special apparatus of management. As security, economy and identity were the common goals of all units; federal system was the most suitable answer to these issues and demands in the case of Pakistan. With an analysis of the concept, present research examines the history and constitutional development regarding federalism in Pakistan. Political life is teeming with institutions. Democracy must also flourish within the structures of political parties. If it doesn't, democracy will flounder. Federations may vary at the level of centralization, and in the forms of governance, but political institutions are important. The paper concludes by suggesting some policy measures to improve federalism in Pakistan. Relatively decentralized and inclusive governance is more likely to enable Pakistani federation to accommodate interests, identities and working of institutions.

KEY WORDS: federalism, elections, constitution, Identities, center-province relations

Introduction

Federalism is adopted to organize and administer relationship between federating units and the center. It is a device to harmonize the sentiments of autonomy without affecting the unity of the state. National affairs are managed by the center while local interests are administered by the provincial government. In the opinion of Dicey “a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of state rights.” These arrangements are reconciled through a constitution. As far as origin of the federation is concerned it is result of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. There are common dangers and economic interests that led federating units towards a federation. This is the way that led to the US, Switzerland and Australian federation came into being. Secondly this is geographical enormity of the state that leads towards decentralization and federation.

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America is probably the first state to experience federation. This method of administration of the state became popular in the 20th century when several other states adopted it due several compelling reasons after Second World War. This method was adopted as the substitute of Empire system as it allows the control of the center with the prescribed limit of autonomy. The significant factor is that the authority is wielding through a written constitution. A federation can survive and emerge under certain conditions. There must be geographical contiguity. This factor tends to provide better communication and defense apparatus. It was mainly because the absence of this factor that British Empire could turn into federation while it was easy for America to emerge as federation. Pakistan also faced problems due to the absence of this geographical contiguity. There must a strong desire of unity among the federating units. Generally these are security concerns and economic gains that bring the units together into a federation. Usually in the presence of strong neighbor weaker states tends to create a federation. Again, initial thirteen states of US felt themselves weaker than British Empire and they joined in a federation with the purpose of a strong defense against the common foe. With this common interest, federating units also maintain their local autonomy. They surrender only a partial sovereignty to the center and keep control of their local affairs secure with them. Along with cultural and economic interests it is essential that there must be a complete equality among the component units. In the absence of this factor a successful federation can never operate. Dominance of Prussia is the historical example in the downfall of German Empire. It was the same sense of inequality and disparity that brought about debacle of East Pakistan. As federalism is a delicate compromise between unity and autonomy, there require a mature political ability and legalism for the continuity and success of this system. There must be a deep regard for the constitution of the state among the polity and there must a willingness to accept the decisions of the parliament and judiciary. Without consent of the masses and the element of legitimacy federal system can never exist and operate in its true essence.

Case Study of Pakistan

Federalism has been a serious issue in the constitutional history of Pakistan. Pakistan appears at the glob as country of diverse geography with the distance of more than 1000 mile between its two wings. Apart from this there were several other factors which contributed later on in the issue of federalism. These factors have their trace in the British era that will be discussed in detail.

British Legacy

Pakistan was initially comprised of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan and Bengal. Each of these provinces was kept under a separate administrative setting

by the British authorities. British authorities had taken all measures in order to consolidate their rule and to keep local authorities under control. Incidentally the provinces became part of Pakistan had less experienced federal and constitutional norms. This legacy seriously affected the course of democracy and constitution in later period of post independence (Sayeed, 1967: pp. 48-51. Jalal, 2007: pp. 563-570).

As a part of policy British authorities recognized the authority of Balochi and Pakhtun tribal chiefs under the Sandeman treaty which is also called 'forward policy'. This area had never been under constitutional apparatus. It was controlled from the center and the purpose of this province was to provide defense shield against the invasion from the North. Even this province was not given the status of a province which was demanded by All India Muslim League in 1927. After independence this legacy has been visible at all stages of constitution making. As far as Punjab is concerned, its Western part had totally different arrangement than that of the rest of the province. In Western Punjab land owning class was given total protected and in 1900 Punjab Alienation of Land act was promulgated to facilitate the land owners with the free transfer of land within the agricultural tribes. These land owner Muslims, money lender Hindu Jatts and Sikh community remained at the side of government authorities at all times. In the rest of Punjab, government blessed Unionist Party supported the British policies and never let both All India Muslim League and Congress to establish their roots in the province. These coercive and dominant trends kept on rise even after independence. Moreover the predominant of Punjabi soldiers and officers in the British army made the position of this province even more authoritative (Waseem, 2010: pp. 126-127).

NWFP, now KPK was the area that was kept under the political agent. The settled areas of the province like Hazara, Mardan, Peshawar, Kohat, Banu and Dera Ismael were later on became part of British administrative system. Consequently federal and constitutional norms were no well establish in them as well. Although Sindh was separated from the Bombay Residency but it was an area that has not experience the vibration of development like rest of Bombay province. The land owning class could not learn constitutional norms even after 11 years of getting the status of a separate province. East Bengal on the other hand had a totally different scenario. This part of the British India had experienced many political and strategic incidents. The level political training of this province was totally diverse from that of NWFP, Baluchistan and Punjab. This entire diverse and difficult legacy had its implication on the process of constitution making and federalism in the post independence era (Ahmed, 1990: p. 20-25).

Constitutional Development and Issue of Federalism

As discussed earlier that no area came under Pakistan's administration has fully experienced the constitutional norm due to varied reasons and requirement of the

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British rule. There were multiple geographic, economic and demographic variations that demanded special apparatus of management. As security, economy and identity were the common goals of all units; federal system was the most suitable answer to these issues and demands.

Pakistan adopted the Government of India Act of 1935 with minor changes. It served as the first interim constitution. It worth noticing that British Government created a federal system but it was exclusively designed to serve the British purposes and the tilt of authority in this act was more towards center than the federating units. The federating units were given a share in governance but the real authority rest with the center. The powers of federating units were limited. There were hopes that a constitution shall be adopted in short period of time but it had taken almost a decade to frame a constitution (Khan, 2001: pp. 884-89).

The Government of India Act o 1935 kept on promulgating for almost a decade. Although few changes were made in the Act but this Act allowed a prevailing position to the Governor General against the provinces and the assembly. These powers of Governor General had given this Act a shape of quasi-federal character. While the situation inherited by the country demanded a well thought scheme of federalism with the clearly demarcated powers of the centre so that the authority and the effectiveness of the center could be preserved along with the autonomy of the federating units. The situation prevailed in the county for almost a decade presented a piece of grim scenario.

No doubt that people had got sufficient political training the period of freedom effort and they had secured Islam-based nationwide identity and they had high hopes of applying these two elements successfully for overcoming the political and strategic issues faced by the newly born state but the outcome was contrary to their expectations. The process of constitution making bring forth such issues and problems those were beyond the capability of the leadership and political elites (Ahmad, 2009: p. 19-80. Sayeed, 1967: p. 60-70. Shafqat, 1989: p. 87-97. Wheeler, 1970: p. 91-110. Choudhury, 1969: p. 67-84. Choudhury, 2007: p.49-60). These issues created obstacle in the way of the successful working of the notion of federalism. The major issues included;

1. Issue of representation in the center and in units
2. Powers and amount of independence extended to the federating units
3. Issue of national language
4. Issue of the form of elections.

Each issue is required to be discussed under the clauses of each constitution that was promulgated from 1947 till the current situation of 1973 constitution. The nature of the Act of 1935 is discussed earlier. Under this Act vice- regal system continued with immense powers rested with the center and the Governor General. Although attempts were made to plug in the parliamentary system but this system cannot co-exist within the vice-regal system. The gap created by this void was naturally filled up by the military and bureaucracy.

This factor played a vital role in the future constitutional development of Pakistan. It is obvious that ethnic mobilization and political instability in Pakistan is the result of discrepancy in the theory and practice of federal arrangements. Though the Pakistani federation fulfils minimum criteria of federalism but it operates more likely as a unitary system federal system operates in practice as a unitary system, the less is system's capacity to accommodate ethnic and territorial differences. So, it seems to suggest that the inability and incapacity of the Pakistani federation to manage ethnic diversity lies in the vagueness of operational dimension.

Federalism under 1956 Constitution

As discussed earlier, there was considerable geographic and demographic imbalance between two wings of the state. It was natural for East Pakistan's elites to favor a bicameral legislature which could guarantee their upper hand in over Western wing. West Pakistan on the contrary was in favor of parity between two wings as supremacy of East Pakistan was totally unacceptable for the elite class of Punjab. On the same grounds both reports (1950, 1952) of BPC (Basic Principle Committee) were rejected. Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula tended to present solution of the problem by adopting principle of parity of both wings. One unit scheme of 1955 combined four provinces of West Pakistan into One Unit that was again a big issue.

Quantum of sovereignty was another issue related to the federal nature of the constitution. Eastern wing along with NWFP (present day KPK) and Sindh were in favor of greater self government and wanted to restrict the center only with defense, foreign policy and economic affairs. This demand again was strongly opposed by the Punjab that was in favor of a strong center with effective powers. Punjab infact was in favor of such pattern of federalism that was set in the provisional constitution of 1947. Issue of national language was another obstacle between two wings. As the language of majority Bengali was demanded to be declared as the national language while rest of the provinces were vulnerable regarding their own languages. Urdu could be a best solution but Eastern part was not ready to accept it. Lastly consensus was acquired by declaring both Urdu and Bengali as the national languages.

The constitution of 1956 exerted to answer all issues raised by multiple challenges at the period of time. This constitution had derived lots of clauses from provisional constitution of 1947. This constitution was promulgated on 23rd March 1956. As far as quantum of sovereignty was concerned, this constitution sanctioned thirty subjects to the center and ninety four subjects were granted to the federating units. A national monetary council and a finance commission were also set up. The duty of monetary council was to advise government on the formulation of fiscal policies and responsibility of finance commission was to manage distributable taxes and sanctioning of loans.

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As the prerequisite of federation, a federal court was created which was responsible of the interpretation of the constitution. Although this constitution managed to respond all the challenges regarding demographic, fiscal and linguistic issues yet the leverage of power tilted towards the center. It was no doubt result of the constitutional and cultural heritage.

Federalism under 1962 Constitution

Unfortunately 1956 constitution could not get operational opportunity and the country moved from vice-regal system to martial law situation. The powers were now concentrated in the hand of one man with no constitutional attitude. Ayub Khan was infect a military bureaucrat and he had no motive to introduce a parliamentary democracy rather he worked to strengthen his one man rule. The constitution he introduced referred to the federal system as mentioned in article 1 which officially narrates the name of the state. The relation between federal government and the federating units is explicitly narrated in the preamble. This constitution again tilted in the favor of a strong center. Mainly two lists are given to set the quantum of the power; central list with 49 items and Concurrent list. Office of President was equipped with immense powers and privilege with the creation of impotent unicameral legislature that had no power to check the highhandedness of the office of the President. Same pattern was followed in the provinces where governor were present to speak on the behalf of the President. They were nominated by the will of the President and equipped with enormous powers. The essence of federalism and its utility was rather crushed in a varied cultural, multilingual and demographically imbalanced state with politically non compromising leadership. Consequently this constitution met with a disaster and it vanished with the resignation of the President. This highly centralized rule stretched over a decade ended in another Martial Law. Powers were again concentrated in the hands of one individual and the institution of Army. This authoritarian rule continued till 1971 till the time East Pakistan tragedy had taken place. There are multiple analyses on the downfall of Dhaka but with reference to the federalism and its utility, it was lack of federal design of the constitutions which carved out one of the solid reason of the East Pakistan debacle.

Federalism under 1973 Constitution

Federalism is a vital bond that keeps the territory together under one administration. In case of Pakistan the issue and nature of federalism has created multiple hazards in the consolidation and survival of the state. When Ayub Khan stepped down and Yahya Khan took over as the Chief Martial Law administrator, he introduced issued some ordinances that fell heavy on the unity and

consolidation of the state. He broke the One Unit scheme and restored the previous status of the West Pakistan. The West Pakistan Dissolution Order of 1970 made Baluchistan as an independent province with its Baloch states. It was a big decision that proved quite problematic after the elections when both leading parties i.e. PPP and Awami League could not secure even one seat in each other's opposing wings. This vividly made clear the polarization of the underlying philosophy of leadership and of masses on the both sides of borders. The six points of Mujeeb ur Rehman demanded a weak center limited to the issues of defence, foreign policy and treasury etc while there was a forceful demand for strong units.

The role of strong center was severely penalized by the East Pakistan leadership with the demand of separation from the West Pakistan. East Pakistan debacle was an inevitable result of the mal management of the issues of federating units by the center.

Consequently 1973 constitution was the result of many compromises as the wounds of East Pakistan were yet bleeding. This constitution introduced bicameral legislature which was a new thing as prior to this unicameral legislature was introduced with the federation. Position of Prime Minister was strong and Parliamentary system was adopted. The president was a titular who was the represent of the state. This constitution issued two legislative lists; federal list and the concurrent list. Apparently there was adequate autonomy awarded to the units but according to some analysts, there was no guarantee available against the federal government's violation and this constitution declared executive more strong than any other institution which indicate a strong towards a strong center. Keeping in view the ethnic designs and representation provincial languages were also awarded de jure recognition. The subsequent scenario proved this step a constitutional flaw which exacerbated already tense ethnic situation.

Constitutional Amendments and the Federalism in 1973 Constitution

The constitution of 1973 was parliamentary in nature. Bicameral legislature was introduced with the system of federation. This British model of democracy was very soon distorted by the amendments incorporated both by civil and military authorities. The bodies like Council of common interest remain dormant for a longer period of time. Although it introduced democratic system but the procedure of passing budget was exactly like that of the Government of India Act of 1935. The current budget is divided into two main parts charged and non charged categories. The charged items include the Defence, President, Governors and debt receiving expenditure. The center reserves 90% of revenue with it. There were arrangements available in the constitution for the equal sharing of resources but the bodies like council of common interests could not be activated for a longer period of time even now, National Finance Commission is doing any better for the

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consolidation of the federation. Hence it is required to analyze significant amendments incorporated in the constitution (Hanif & Khan, 2012, pp.23-26).

The Eighth Amendment

Eighteenth Amendment is the most significant document incorporated in the institution as this amendment changed the very nature of the constitution. In 1979 Bhutto administration was taken over by the army and Martial Law was imposed. This Martial Law extended till the incorporation of 18th amendment in the constitution. The prime objective of this amendment was to empower President to dismiss Prime minister and to dissolve Assemblies at his discretion. The important part is that the governors enjoy the same powers in the units. With this amendment President acquired the power to appoint the services chiefs and provincial governors with nominal role of Prime Minister in this process. As far as election of the Prime Minister was concerned, President could ask any member of the elected Assembly to contests if he/she claims majority on the House. This procedure was a clear departure from the Parliamentary tradition to the Quasi- Presidential form. The concentration of the powers in the center and in the office of President violated and seriously affected the federal character of the constitution.

Thirteenth Amendment

Thirteenth Amendment was the reversal of afore said amendment as this amendment deleted 18th amendment and revive the original federal parliamentary character of the constitution. It was introduced by the Nawaz Sharif administration in 1997. This amendment curtailed the powers of the president and now he was bound to act on the advice of the Prime Minister which was compulsory in nature. As part of original draft of the constitution the tilt power was towards the executive. There were same issue and challenges as were in the time of Bhutto administration. The federal units were now under the immense pressure of the executive while previously they were under the center headed by the President.

Revival of 8th Amendment- LFO 2002

Nawaz Sharif administration saw a downfall at the hands of army which yet again promulgated Martial Law and taken over the affairs of the state by abrogating the operational constitution of the time. LFO 2002 was the revival of the Eighth amendment. The President regain the power of dissolution of Assembly. Beside this the powers to appointment the Chairman Joint Chiefs of the Staff Committee, three Services Chiefs and provincial governors was restored to the office of the President. The advice of Prime Minister was required but it was not incumbent to

follow this advice. LFO also provided legal and constitution protection to the 11 Orders and Ordinances of the Military Chief prior to this amendment. These orders were included in the Sixth Schedule of the constitution and they could not be amended without prior permission of the President. In order to keep Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto from the office of the Prime Minister, it was also mentioned that no one can hold the office of the Prime Minister more than twice. The position of President hence became stronger than before. The federal character yet again was deeply distorted by these clauses of centralization of powers and concentration of them in the office of the President (Shafiq and Wahlah, 2006: pp. 198-229).

Seventeenth Amendment

This amendment is again incorporated in the constitution during Musharraf era. This amendment was introduced on 31st December 2003. Article 11 of 1973 constitution was amended through this amendment. This made an incumbent President to seek another through a vote of confidence through the assembly rather than holding new elections. This amendment revitalized the office of president. The procedure of this election through assembly was also prescribed by involving Supreme Court in the procedure. The worth mentioning fact is that such centralized amendments kept on affecting the federal character of the constitution. Parliament suffered a lot as it was made subservient to the executive. The ratio of debate in the assemblies on the key policies remained at the lowest. This process of ignoring the national representation seriously undermined the original notion of federalism contained in the constitution (Kennedy, 2006: pp. 1-11).

Eighteenth Amendment

As it is discussed previously, 8th and 17th amendment changed the Parliamentary and federal features of the constitution and tilted the balance of power in favor of the president. The discretionary powers of the president gave constitution a quasi-federal outlook. In a parliamentary democracy Prime Minister reserves the actual powers as the representative of people while President is a titular head as representative of the federation of the state. In the amended constitution after 8th and 17th amendment the situation was vice versa. 18th amendments again changed the situation and exert to restore the original spirit of the constitution. The major changes brought forward by the 18th amendment are the following (Waseem, 2010: p. 18. Khan, 2001: p. 100-110).

- i. It restores the federal and parliamentary nature of the constitution.
- ii. The amendments incorporated by the authoritarian rules of General Zia-ul-Haq and General Musharraf have been removed.

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- iii. Provincial autonomy is increased by affective steps towards devolution of authority. Concurrent list is removed and residuary powers are transferred to the provinces with few exceptions.
- iv. The scope of Council of Common Interests is increased. This council includes representatives both from center and the units to resolve the issues of mutual interests. Reformation of National Economic Council is also done. It currently occupies the advisory status in the review and suggestion of overall economic condition, formulation of plans and policies and distribution of national revenues. National Finance Commission is the protector of this share in revenue which cannot be reduced beyond that given in the previous National Finance Commission award.
- v. Article 6 of this amendment enhanced sphere of definition of the offence of 'high treason'. According to this Article suspension or keeping this constitution in abeyance or an attempt of doing so shall be regarded as a 'high treason'. In addition to this definition, it is described that even Supreme Court cannot validate any such act.
- vi. Parliament has been given supremacy as the powers of President are transferred to the elected house of the people. President's power of holding referendum or dissolution of assemblies has been removed from the constitution.
- vii. Article 62 and 63 have removed and introduced some codes of conduct regarding the qualification and disqualification for the elections of national and provincial assemblies. Previously it was disallowed for any such person to appear as a candidate who was involved in moral turpitude and false evidence. This has been removed currently. This was mainly incorporated to validate the candidature of the members who stood disqualified in some political cases.
- viii. The number of ministers, including minister of state, has been limited to the 11% of the total number of the parliament. This is now 49 out of 446 members of parliament. In case of provincial assemblies it cannot be more than 15 or 11% of the total membership of the provincial assembly. This provision will be effective after General Election.
- ix. Article 140-A is retained. This article is pertaining to the devolution of power to the local bodies. The change is that now these elections shall be held under administration of Election Commission of Pakistan.
- x. A new High Court has been created in Islamabad. The Judges of this High Court shall be taken from all four provinces and the territory of Islamabad territory.
- xi. Election Commission of Pakistan has been consolidated by increasing the term of Election Commission from three to five years. The procedure of the election of CEC is also enhancing the credibility of the post as the

representers of both ruling and opposition members are included in the procedure.

- xii. The Caretaker is decided to be instated with the consultation of both leader of opposition and the Prime Minister. It is also decided that the family of the Caretaker Prime minister shall not contest election.
- xiii. Previously it was decided that the both Parliament and Provincial Assembly were authoritative to legislate on concurrent list with the preference of Parliament over Provincial Assembly. In the 18th amendment this authority is transferred to the provinces exclusively.

Federalism after 18th Amendment: Nature and Issue

18th amendment has brought forward positive effects on the constitutional development. At the same time there are several challenges before it. As far as positive effects are concerned, the first pleasant impact is seen in the Center-Province Relations. 18th amendment empowers the provinces. Concurrent legislative list is deleted by amending Article 142. These subjects are transferred to the provinces. Appointment of Governor is yet power of the President but the Governor must be enlisted in the voters list and the resident of the respective province. It is made incumbent on the federal government to consult provincial government before the construction of new hydro-power stations. This is big favor for water resources of the federating units. CCI is made effective to manage the disputes and differences between provinces and center. In the Article 160 NFC has been made bound to allocate shares not less than the previous one. More importantly, emergency cannot be imposed in any province without prior consent of the provincial assembly of the province concerned.

This amendment has strengthened the political system as well. Abolition of the Article 58(2) b has regenerated the spirit of democracy. Now sword of Damocles is removed from the Assembly and it has sufficient guarantee to work with its full potential with complete tenure. The working days of the Senate have been increased from 70 to 100 and same is for the Provincial Assemblies. Election Commission has been given responsibility of holding local body elections. This also increases the authenticity of the elections. As prior endorsement of the provincial assembly is required for the promulgation of emergency, endorsement of National Assembly has also been made compulsory for the promulgation of emergency in the country. The power of the President is now bound with the consent of the representatives of the people at both provincial and national levels.

Parliament has also got sufficient strength under this amendment. The laws contained in the 6th and 7th schedule of the constitution could not be brought under the sphere of legislation of the Parliament but now this restriction has been removed and even without prior permission of the President these laws can be amended. Non Muslims are also given representation in the in the Senate by

increasing its number from 100 to 104 under the Article 59. Judiciary has also been a significant place. Without a strong and effective judiciary a successful federation cannot be created and run smoothly (Sattar, 2012: pp. 74-87).

Issues

18th amendment has brought some issues as well. These are challenges that are lying before the institutions that are equipped and empowered after incorporation of this amendment. Federating units are given the right of legislation over the concurrent list. The devolution of power has been introduced from center to the units while priorly the provincial powers were devolved to the local bodies. With this devolution now provinces are required to create infrastructure for the utilization of these powers. With the transfer of powers some 20 ministries and 100 autonomous bodies are transferred to the provinces. There is need of a exerted efforts thousands of employees and man a institutions. It is also a big challenge to work within the limits of 18th amendment. A well discipline and mature leadership is required to carry on this task of keeping up with the consolidation of the state Report of the Sub-Committee on Provincial Autonomy: March 2007, *PILDAT*, (Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan: November 2007; March 2007. Salamat, 1992; p. 66, 68. Sering, 2009: p.1).

Central Governments intervention to federating units

| Year | Description |
|---------|--|
| 1947 | Congress ministry in NWFP had 'the support of 33 members out of 50'. But it was replaced by a Muslim League ministry. |
| 1947 | Sindh assembly opposed the decision of central government to take Karachi out of the control of Sindh and passed a resolution unanimously. The Chief Minister of Sindh had to pay for this resolution and he was dismissed soon. |
| 1948 | Inclusion of Kalat state into Pakistan |
| 1955 | One-unit Scheme (amalgamation of provinces and states into the province of West Pakistan.) |
| 1962-69 | Ayub's Presidential period (Federal system operated like British Vice regal system of 1930s.) |
| 1970-71 | Military action in East Pakistan and its separation |
| 1972-73 | End of tripartite accord and dissolution of Balochistan government. NWFP government resigned as protest. |
| 1977-88 | Constitutional amendments by Military Regime undermined the parliamentary and Federal nature of the constitution |
| 1988-93 | Dissolution of provincial assemblies (1988, 90, 93) |
| 1994 | Governor Rule in NWFP and installation of favourable government |
| 1995 | Governor rule in Punjab and installation of new government |
| 1999 | Removal of Nawaz Sharif government along provincial government |
| 2002 | 17 th Amendment has undermined the federal character of the state |

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The above given table reflects the nature of relationship between the center and provinces in Pakistan. The problematic relations have created the environment of uncertainty and instability. Federalism and even the integration of Pakistan has challenged many a times due to this disturbed environment. New efforts are made in the 18th amendment. The center-province relations are very well catered in the 18th amendment. Provinces are awarded sufficient autonomy. The operationalization of this important federating clause requires a mature operationalization. Only a well organize, mature and well trained leadership can secure the amount of provincial autonomy. As concurrent list is now the legislative authority of the provinces, a well designed economic policy can bring about economic equilibrium throughout the state. NFC award and economic condition of the state should be translated in a viable economic policy for the state. Same is the case with reconstruction of the Federal Public Service Commission and the Provincial Public Service Commission. This is now a heavy task on the shoulders of Implementation Commission to carry out this task successfully. This paper focuses on the politics of federalism in Pakistan. There are multiple geographic, economic and demographic variations that demanded special apparatus of management. As security, economy and identity were the common goals of all units; federal system was the most suitable answer to these issues and demands in the case of Pakistan. Political life is teeming with institutions. Democracy must also flourish within the structures of political parties. If it doesn't, democracy will flounder. Federations may vary at the level of centralization, and in the forms of governance, but political institutions are important. Relatively decentralized and inclusive governance is more likely to enable Pakistani federation to accommodate interests, identities and working of institutions.

In short 18th amendment is a package which offers favor and power but at the same place it poses challenges for the provinces to show capability of shouldering the responsibility of the enhanced powers. It bounds leadership with task of keeping the integrity of the state along with the autonomy of the federating units. This paper argues that ethnic mobilization and political instability in Pakistan is the result of discrepancy in the theory and practice of federal arrangements (Adeney, 2007: p. 116). Though the Pakistani federation fulfils minimum criteria of federalism but it operates more likely as a unitary system. It is commonly believed that if a federal system operates in practice as a unitary system it loses its capacity to accommodate ethnic and territorial cleavages. These groups feel more insecure and reactionary. So, it seems to suggest that the inability and incapacity of the Pakistani federation to manage ethnic diversity lies in the vagueness of operational dimension and passed a resolution unanimously.

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