

CPEC and Federalism: An Analysis

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Abstract

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is considered being the Game Changer not only for Pakistan but also for the whole of South Asian region, Central Asia and Middle East. CPEC is the main component of Chinese One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative that was designed to provide alternative communications trade routes to continue the economic growth rate of Beijing which was lasted for last three decades. Apart from its international posture, Beijing also dreamed to reduce the gap between Eastern and Western China to address the question of sovereignty, to ensure the control of central government in Western China, that was threatened by the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIMI) in Xinjiang province. Pakistan also has reposed high expectations in CPEC in terms of politics, economics, social and strategic that still dominate the national and foreign policy since its inception. Among them, Pakistan has a federal form of government that divide the powers between center and provinces which is guaranteed by the written constitution of Pakistan. Being a two-way traffic, federalism could not flourished smoothly and did not provide the actual and fair distribution of state power between the centers and federating units since the establishment of current constitution in 1973. This piece of work examines and analyses the contribution of CPEC to the addressing of issues that dominated federalism in Pakistan since 1947 and broke the state into two parts in 1971. It will also elaborate that CPEC will strengthen the system by providing equal share to the provinces in the billion dollars project or it will widen the gap by ignoring the small provinces in their legitimate rights. The study finds that unlike China, by analyzing the two years outcomes of CPEC, serious issues were raised from the small provinces. Additionally, the study come to the conclusion that if the central government could not take the issues and grievances of already War torn parts of Pakistan (KP, Baluchistan) and Sind, CPEC will lose its essence to make Pakistan in real terms a federal republic state, the one that is envisaged in the constitution.

Keywords: Federalism, CPEC, Pakistan, 18th Amendment, Constitution

Introduction

Being a diverse society, Pakistan cherished and struggled for a federal form of governance before its inception in 1947 due to its diverse society alienated on the basis of language, culture, ethnic grouping, religious classification and territorial dissimilarities (Sayeed K. B., 1954). From its name, Pakistan is a republic not a democratic state but the people are committed to the democratic values and trying to practice federal form of government but could not succeed in it due to multiple

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factors. Many scholars blame East Pakistan in the way of federalism and its adjustment with West Pakistan (Ahmad s. J., 1990). Others declared lack of leadership and the dominancy of one major unit on the other that marked the center stronger than the provinces. With the breakup of Pakistan in 1971, the sole responsibility for the failure of federal form of government came on its leadership and policy makers who still have no priority to address the issue (Adeney K. , A step towards inclusive federalism in Pakistan? The politics of the 18th amendment, 2012).

Along with other issues and problems Pakistan also face the issues of federalism and its real practice in the country that heavily damaged and marked a security oriented state. These domestic issues were coupled with external challenges that ultimately led to the issues of sovereignty including Greater Pukhtoonistan, Sindhodesh and Independent Baluchistan. Different strategies and reforms formulas were experienced to address the internal and external challenges but could not succeed to declare the end of these problems (Mushtaq, 2009).

China Pakistan Economic Corridor emerged as the dominant hope for the people of Pakistan to address economic, political, strategic, and issues related to good governance. Being part of the Chinese Belt and Road initiative, CPEC is considered to be the game Changer for Pakistan that will alter the existing role of Pakistan by strengthening its domestic and foreign abilities and capabilities including, infrastructure, energy, communication, and economic zones. By describing its three years output, CPEC would achieve a lot for both the Iron Brothers, Pakistan and China. Some people define it as the economic revival for Pakistan and others comprehend it as a Zipper of Central Asia, South Asia and Middle East (Shapiee, 2017).

Every state has to balance its growth and maintain an equal distribution of powers and resources for sustainable development. CPEC being a developmental long term project has also the capacity to address the grievances of small provinces in Pakistan that were ignored for the last seven decades. Apart from external and security interests many people belong to academic community also expect that CPEC will address the issues of federalism in Pakistan that is considered to be the root and origin of all other problems in the country. This dilemma has direct connection to the policy makers and their agenda priorities that to what extent their interests suits them to address these issues (Abid, Journal of Pakistan Vision).

Governance in Pakistan

Democratically, World has to be divided broadly into two types of governmental system; Federal and Unitary. First type of governance is mostly adopted in those states which have large territory and population with different kinds/class/cast/sects of people. In federal government, the authority is divided between central government and provincial government while in unitary form of government the authority is in the control of Center. Federalism aims at that provinces should enact each other to a more central governing body, passing on their responsibilities and individuality from the state in process. Federalism is a governmental system in which a written constitution divides the powers between a central government and sub divisional governments (provinces), it is selected to assemble and administer relationship between federating units and the center, it is allocation of powers in a well-structured way. In federalism the national affairs are managed by the central government while local interests are administered by the provincial government. Federalism is a device to coordinate the sentiments of sovereignty and freedom without affecting the unity of the state. Federalism helps to adjust different regional, ethnic, somatic identities and interests in a political union. It is a system of political and economic administration which is created by responsive decisions to be made achieve shared political objectives. In the opinion of Dicey “a political mechanism deliberated to adjust national unity with the preservation of state rights”. In federalism, federating units lose individual sovereignty and create a single sovereign state, which assist federating units to gain common economic interests and counter common dangers (Ahmad, 2014).

Characteristically speaking, Dicey argues that fair/adequate distribution of powers between the central government and federating units is an essential feature of federalism. In a federation the states or provinces are united for making strong defense against their common opponents, with this common interest the federating units also maintain their local autonomy (Abbasi, 2009).. The federating units give there partial sovereignty to the center and keep control of their local affairs and contrive to secure themselves. For continuity and success of the system, mature political ability and legalism is necessary because federalism is a refined accommodation between unity and autonomy of the states or provinces or federal units. There must be written constitution that would explain the powers of the federal level and federating units. The source of their power will be the constitution which would be amended by full majority and not mere with simple majority. There must be an independent judiciary that would interpret the constitutional laws. For the existence of legitimacy of federal

government in a time being it is necessary that there must be willingness to accept the decisions of the parliament and the judiciary (Muntzra, 2008).

Factors that Govern Federalism Smoothly

There are certain factors which are significant for the smooth running of the federalism which are as follows;

- There must be Common Nationality and a Sense of Community among the units. In some developed countries such as Germany the sense of common nationality has been inherited, while in US (United States), Australia etc, it was partly invented. For example, the people of fifty-two states of US are calling themselves ('Americans') one nation, while in recently formed federal systems like India, Nigeria etc. the sense of common nationality is missing and that's why the smooth running of federal system in India, Nigeria etc. is endangered. The sense of community among the units can only be produced when all the federating units share some common bonds like cultural, historical and ethnic bonds or common political goals.
- In a federal system there must be Equity in Distribution of Resources and Wealth according to size, population and geography of federal units. A major reason of the failure of federal system in most of the countries in the world is imbalance or inequalities in the distribution of economic resources or wealth among federating units, i.e. because of inequality and disparity, the East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was separated from Pakistan. For the smooth working of federal system there must be strong desire of unity among the federating units, and usually it is the economic gains that bring the federating units together into a federation. If in a state, there is one or more powerful units which dominate the rest of the units than there will be struggle for supremacy which will affect policy matters of a state and thus, in that state federalism will be difficult to function.
- Geographic Contiguity is quintessential for the successful working of federal system. Geographic contiguity contribute to provide better defense and communication appliance, the geographic inevitability plays important role in promoting the maintenance of union within federal systems. It was the absence of the geographical contiguity which led to the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and faced many other problems (Nazir, 2008).
- Geographic contiguity assists to develop a sense of community and making it easy for the individuals of the federating units to travel, interact and develop

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economic bonds. In those states where the people are too far apart; the national unity will be difficult to achieve (Nazir, 2008).

- For the smooth working of federal system there must be Greater Decentralization. The element which assists to keep non-centralization is the distribution of wealth and state resources in equitable way among the members of federation.
- The most important factor in maintaining federal Non-centralization is the subsistence of a non-centralized party system. The non-centralized party system primarily develop out of the constitutional arrangements of the federal compact, but once they came into existence they incline to be boundless to function as decentralizing force in their own right (Friedrich, 1950). The US and Canada are the example of states in which there is non-centralized party system.
- Democratic system assists in smooth working of federalism because it has Greater Pliability to react according to the needs and aspirations of the people and it can afford the diversity. Democratic and decentralized political system increases the chances of the citizens to participate in the politics (Friedrich, 1950).

Rationale of Federalism in Pakistan

Federalism was chosen by the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and all the Muslim League, that spearheaded the Pakistan movement. The history of demand for federalism in British India was carried by AIML (All Indian Muslim League), All Indian National Congress (INC), Pakhtoon Khudai Khidmathgar movement and some other political groups. The Indian National Congress (INC) and All Indian Muslim League (AIML) worked jointly for the cause of federalism in British India. The Minot-Morley Reforms (constitutional reforms) in 1909 were carried-out for the demand of separate electorate system for the Muslims in British India, so that the Muslims could safeguard their interest and elect their representatives for themselves. The Indian national Congress (INC) and All Indian Muslim League (AIML) worked jointly for the demand of larger share in central legislature, separate electorate system and weightage system under Lucknow Pact 1916. The proposals of Lucknow Pact were shockable for British government. In response for demand for federal system in British India the Montagu Chelmsford Reform in 1919 were presented. However the demands were undertaken acceptably by the British

government which made the Muslim League for greater demand of provincial autonomy through 1924 resolution.

In 1927, both parties INC (Indian National Congress) and AIML (All Indian Muslim league) boycotted the Simon Commission. In 1928, 'All Parties Conference' was held and proposals were presented by the Nehru Report for the upcoming reforms. The Nehru Report (1928) was against the Muslims rights and it was in favor of united government, so in response to Nehru Report Quaid presented his famous fourteen points in which he demanded provincial autonomy and federalism. In 1930 at Allahabad, Allama Muhammad Iqbal addressed the nation and articulated the federal vision of All Indian Muslim League (AIML). Allama Muhammad Iqbal had raised the voice for the first time that Muslim majority regions should be unified into separate/autonomous state (i.e. Pakistan) (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002). Jinnah fourteen points were very precise and based on arguments that these points were not only for Pakistan but for the united India, the British government couldn't reject these points. Thus the Government of Indian Act 1935 was presented by carrying the recommendations of Simon Commission and Round Table Conferences in 1930 and 1931, hence the principles of federalism was embraced. According to this act (1935 Act) three lists of powers were elaborated; Provincial legislative list, Central legislative list and Concurrent legislative list. In this Act more powers were given to Governor General and less powers were given to legislative assembly. The State official representative i.e. Governor had more powers than people's representatives. This act was the last act of British India and it was badly criticized by Indian politicians (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002). This act was not successful in establishing fully responsible government in India. The act of 1935 was adopted (to run a state) with certain modifications in Pakistan after 1947.

Constitutional Development and Issue of Federalism

The Constitutional crises were developed soon after the first constituent assembly started its function. There were some factors which has had altered functioning of the federal system as an issue in Pakistan, which are as follows;

Initially after interdependence Pakistan was composed of five provinces; Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, NWFP (now KPK) and Bengal (East Pakistan). Due to diversity of nature of Pakistani units, the British authorities have kept each Pakistani unit under separate administrative settings (Sayeed, 1967). The British authority had recognized the authority of Pakhtun and Bloch Tribal Chiefs under the 'Sundeman Treaty' which is also known as 'forward policy'. These areas were controlled from the center and the

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purpose of this province was to provide security from the North and would provide defense shield against the invasion from the North (Waseem, 2010). The NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) was under the authority of political agent. The settled areas of NWFP like Mardan, Hazara, Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and D.I Khan were later on became part of British Authority or British Administrative System (Zaidi, 1992). Sindh was included in the Bombay Province but it did not get developed as Bombay, until 1935 Act Sindh was declared as separate province and its capital was declared Karachi.

Before independence, East Bengal and West Bengal had faced many political and strategic incidents. East Bengal had Muslims in majority and West Bengal had Hindus in majority. The East Bengal became part of Pakistan (were known as East Pakistan) after independence. The Geographical separation of East and West Pakistan, poor communication, lack of political, economic and trade activities caused serious problems to adopt federal system.

Although, Punjab got full support of the British Authorities because most of the Punjabi soldiers and officers were in the British army. In 1900 Punjab Alienation Land Act, it was declared to aid the land owners with transfer of free land within the agricultural tribes. These land owners of Punjab had always supported British Authorities all the time to keep British governance going on. These elites had supported British politics and never let Congress and Muslim League to establish their roots in Punjab. These dominant trends kept on raise, even after independence of Pakistan (Jaffrelot, 2005).

This absolute differing and crucial legacy had its implications on the process of constitution making and federalism in the post-independence era.

Post-Independence

After independence of Pakistan government of Indian Act 1935 was adopted with certain modifications to run a state. After independence and particularly after the death of Quaid, certain voices were lifted against the federal form of government, implying that a unitary form of government would be better for the new country (Rizvi, 2006). There were certain issues which did not let federalism to flourish in Pakistan and became hurdles in making of first constitution of Pakistan (1956 constitution) which took almost nine years. These problems/issues are as follows;

1. Issues of National language

East Pakistan (Bengal) population was 55 percent of the total population of Pakistan and West Pakistan population was 45 percent of the total. The mother tongue (language) of East Pakistan was Bengali, they couldn't speak or write Urdu and on the other side West Pakistan people could read and write Urdu but could not understand Bengali, so it was difficult to choose national language of Pakistan, that is whether Urdu should be national language or Bengali should be national language of Pakistan (Adeney, 2007).

2. Administrative Problems

Pakistan faced many administrative problems in its initial stages because of shortage of trained personnel, proper buildings and office equipment. Karachi was chosen as capital of Pakistan; Sindh Assembly building was used as constituent assembly and federal court was elaborated at Lahore.

3. Refugees issue

According to 1951 data, there were 7.2 million refugees in West Pakistan and 7.5 million refugees in East Pakistan. The Pakistan government had to feed, settle and protect these millions of refugees. The refugee's camps were established in Gujranwala, Sialkot, Lahore, Kasur and Karachi.

4. Problems of Representations in Center and in Units

The distribution of seats between East and West Pakistan was a problem because East Pakistan had more population (55%) and less area while West Pakistan had less population (45%) and larger area. It was the problem for the leaders that how to distribute the seats for the representatives in the units, either on equality bases or on population bases, because East Pakistan composed of one single province Bengal and its population was greater than the rest of four provinces of West Pakistan. Therefore, the dilemma was, If they distribute seats on bases of population than Bengal will get clear majority each time and hence they will dominate rest of the four provinces of Pakistan and If they distribute seats on equality bases from each province than it would be injustice with Bengal because they will not get enough representation and budget as according to their population needs (Adeney K. , 2009).

5. Pakhtunistan Issue

The issue was created by regional political party with the help of Afghanistan and India. They claimed that 'Durand Line' should be removed and NWFP should be

annexed into Afghanistan. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his fellow companions demanded separate independent state for Pakhtuns called “Pakhtunistan”. This was one of the major issues in 1950’s.

6. Death of Quaid

Quaid-e-Azam was a brave, intelligent leader and politician, the death of Quaid was a great shock for this new country. After death of Quaid some groups said that we should not follow the Indian Act of 1935 but instead we should make new form of government while other groups argued that Pakistan came into being because of an Islamic ideology, so Islamic state should be made. In response P.M Liaquat Ali Khan on 12 March 1949 presented objectives resolution in constitutional assembly. It was framework for the future constitution of Pakistan. In that resolution, it was clarified that Pakistan will be federal democratic country with parliamentary form of government.

Unjust military resources distribution and wealth distribution between Pakistan and India, water issue, Kashmir issue etc. were some other issues which worked as obstacles/hurdles in constitution making process, and that’s why the crucial task of constitution making in Pakistan was delayed.

1956 Constitution and Federalism

Constitution making process was delayed and one of its reasons was the distribution of seats in National Assembly between Bengal, NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan and Punjab. East Pakistani (Bengali). Elites demanded bicameral legislature for 1956 constitution, Punjabi elites were opposed it because they couldn’t, in anyway, tolerate the supremacy of Bengali’s upon themselves. On the other hand, NWFP (now KPK) and Sindh also demanded weak center with limited powers and strong units. All of these reports were rejected. Choudhry Muhammad Ali Bogra presented unique formula in 1955, known as one unit system, in which West Pakistan’s four provinces was declared as one unit and East Pakistan (Bengal) was declared as second unit. The seats were distributed between two units on 50-50 bases. ‘Bogra Formula’ was accepted at that time, and soon after eleven months 1956 constitution was presented. 1956 constitution was the first constitution of Pakistan, this constitution provided for federal system in Pakistan, and Pakistan was named as Federal Republic according to article first of 1956 constitution.

Urdu was initially adopted as national language in two provinces. In East Pakistan (Bengal) 98 percent of the people spoke Bengali, in West Pakistan 63 percent people spoke Punjabi and rest were Pashtu, Balochi and Sindhi speakers while Urdu was

mother tongue of only 3.24 percent people of the total population. The language issue was resolved by declaring both Urdu and Bengali as national languages.

In 1956 constitution, legislative powers were divided into three groups; the provincial list (consist of 94 items), concurrent list (consist of 19 items) and central list (consist of 30 items). The total seats of national assembly were 310 in which 150 seats were given to East Pakistan and 150 were given to West Pakistan and the rest of 10 seats were left as reserved for women's. This constitution was semi-rigid constitution (66 % of the majority required for amendment), in this constitution the judiciary was independent and parliamentary system of government was approved(Choudhury, 2005). This constitution couldn't work for a long time, and only 2 years later in October 1958, this constitution was overthrown by General Ayyub khan and country was governed without constitution for 4 years and 2 months (Oct 1958- june1962).

1962 Constitution and Federalism

1962 constitution is known as "one man" constitution. On 7 Oct 1958 General Ayyub Khan had imposed martial law in the country, Provincial Assemblies, National Assembly, and constitution of 1956, which was parliamentary in nature, was abolished by him. All the political parties and political parties campaigning were banned. Ayyub Khan said that politicians were responsible for everything (unpleasant situation of Pakistan) because they were weak, corrupt and immature to run a state. General Ayyub khan introduced B.D System (Basic Democracy System) in 1959, in which majority of B.D members were bureaucrats. This system had four components.

- Union Council
- Tehsil Council
- District Council
- Divisional Council

Eighty thousand (80,000) members were included in UC (Union Council) which were elected by civilians, forty thousand (40,000) each from East and West Pakistan. These eighty thousand members were responsible to elect Tehsil Council members, District Council members, Divisional Council members, MNA's (Members of National Assemblies) and MPA's (Members of Provincial Assemblies). Even President of Pakistan was also to be elected by these eighty thousand UC members. In 1962, second Constitution of Pakistan was presented in which Ayyub Khan became legal President and country was named as "Republic of Pakistan". The constitution did not mention the federal system in Article first. However, the constitution adopted the

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federal structure of 1956 constitution three lists of legislative powers were there; Central list, Provincial list and Concurrent list. The constitution had only described the powers of central list which contains 49 items, according to which legislation will be made (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002). This constitution had allotted/given more powers to the president, both as head of the State and Government. It was rigid and written constitution with unicameral legislature (no senate only National Assembly were there) and indirect electoral system. The governors were the head of each province which was nominated by the President. The essence of federalism and its utility was crushed by highly centralized rule and because lack of strong federal design in constitution, Pakistan faced tragedy in 1971.

1973 Constitution and Federalism

1973 constitution was third constitution of Pakistan. It was implemented on 14 August 1973 with a historic speech of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in which he said that “the days of coups were ended and that violence in politics must stop” (Khan, 2010).

In article first of 1973 constitution, Pakistan was named as “Federal Republic to be known as Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. In 1973 constitution West Pakistan is to be known as Pakistan because East Pakistan (Bengal) had been separated. NWFP (now KPK), Sindh, Baluchistan and Punjab were given full response as province and the ‘One Unit System’ was abolished. The powers in 1973 constitution were divided between federal list and concurrent list. The federal list further included two parts; first part includes 59 items on which Parliament could legislate only, while second part included 47 items on which federal (parliament) and provincial legislatures could legislate, however in case of emergency or conflict the central government will exercise supremacy of powers according to article 143 of the constitution. 1973 constitution is written constitution with bi-cameral legislature (two houses) upper house and lower house for the first time. Upper house is called Senate which was composed of 60 seats and lower house is called National Assembly which was composed of 200 seats (Rizvi, 2006; Kundi & Jahangir, 2002). The authority were distributed among federal units and all the citizens have given right to select their representatives. This constitution was parliamentary in nature and president is only symbolic head of the state. In 1973 constitution Islamic Provisions were explained according to Quran and Sunnah.

The Bhutto era was marked as stronger role of central government because two days later after implementation of constitution former Governor and Chief Minister of

Baluchistan was arrested along with a member of National Assembly on charges of corruption and incendiary activities. In NWFP the National Awami Party was banned because they were in favor of making Pakhtoonistan up to Kabul. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had offered Abdul Wali Khan to become CM of NWFP, but he refused. Bhutto government had declared NAP (National Awami Party) as incapable of handling affairs of the state and its leaders along with Abdul Wali Khan were arrested on charges of conspiracy against state in Feb 1975 (Khan, 2010). They were remained in prison until 1977. According to some analyst the political disruption in these two provinces was a blow to federalism. The boost of federalism was warred by a military coup in 1977, when Zia-ul-haq imposed martial law and suspended constitution for eight years.

Eight Amendment

The eight amendment was the first amendment in constitution of 1973. The military government had crippled the perspective of federalism and provincial autonomy, and suspended the constitution of 1973. Pakistan once again became unitary state because martial law administrator was not subject to constitution, he had the supreme authority for federal and provincial affairs, although according to official sources Pakistan was a federal state but only in name. The orders issued by President in that era were taken in form of the 8th amendment, when 1973 constitution was restored through a presidential order. In these order 65 articles were amended, modified, added, substituted, deleted and omitted. After 8th amendment the powers of the president were increased than it was in constitution of 1973 originally. With this amendment, the president could dissolve National Assembly, president could appoint the services chiefs and provincial governors, with nominal role of Prime Minister in this process. To elect Prime Minister, the President could ask any member of the elected assembly to contest if He/she claimed majority on the house. The tenure of members in Senate was increased from four years to six years, and provincial representatives seats were increased from 14 to 19. The number of representatives in Senate was increased from 63 to 87 with five seats reserved for technocrats, professionals or Ulemma. In National Assembly seats of women were increased from 10 to 20. With this amendment, the powers were centralized and president enjoyed strong powers, which seriously affected the federal nature of the constitution of 1973.

Thirteen Amendment

This amendment was presented by Nawaz Sharif administration in 1997. In this amendment the strong powers of the president under 58(2)-B to dissolve assemblies or

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elected governments, were removed. After this amendment the president will not act without the consent of the Prime Minister advice.

Revival of 8th Amendment-LFO 2002

The restoration of the 8th amendment was once again made by military ruler in 2002. General Musharraf took over control of a state in 1999 by overthrowing democratic government of Nawaz Sharif, and became legal president of the state. With revival of 8th amendment the president once again got his supreme powers to dissolve assemblies, and could also appoint the chairman of Joint Chiefs of the Staff committees, three Services Chiefs and Provincial Governors. It was mentioned in constitution that no one can become Prime Minister more than twice, this point was established for keeping Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto away from office of Prime Minister again. With revival of this amendment the powers were once again centralized and hence the federal character of constitution was once again twisted.

Eighteen Amendment

Eighteen amendment was passed by National Assembly on 8th April 2010, Senate passed it on 15 April, 2010 and President signs it on 19th April, 2010. It was first time in the history of Pakistan that president willingly signed a document to decrease his powers. The following are the major modifications that are made by 18 amendment, which are as follows.

- The powers of the president to dissolve assemblies were abolished/removed.
- Judicial independence was increased by this amendment, the appointment of judges of Supreme Court will be carried by judicial commission.
- The powers of the president to impose emergency in the provinces were removed and will not nominate the Chief Election Commissioner.
- Parliamentary form of government was retained, and president will be symbolic head of the state and will follow the advice of Prime Minister in all matters.
- The Prime Minister can be elected for the third time.
- The name of NWFP was changed into KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).
- The amendments which were made by military rulers in constitution were removed.

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- Provincial autonomy was increased. Concurrent list was removed and excessive powers were transferred to the provinces with few exceptions.
- Article 6 will be applied on those who will try to keep constitution in dormancy, or suspend constitution. Article 6 is ‘High treason’, Supreme Court of Pakistan cannot even validate any such act.
- New High Court was established in Islamabad and its judges will be taken from all provinces.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

CPEC being part of Chinese Belt and Road initiative (BRI) has many hopes in Pakistan as Beijing invested \$62 billion in a war torn state Pakistan aimed to counter its multidimensional problems including, the Malacca Dilemma, the US Pivot to Asia Policy of Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), Per Capita gap between Eastern and Western China and the issue of sovereignty that threatened and posed threat to the security of Beijing in Western China namely, the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) in Xinjiang autonomous region of China. By opting to CPEC, Beijing has adopted the security through development concept to develop its most poor and ignored area by connecting it with the rest of the world. They have also kept in mind the security issue to be settled through development (Markey, 2016).

Apart from Chinese interests in CPEC, Pakistan has also envisioned many interests and benefits that could enable to remerge economically, politically and militarily in the region to play a more positive role in the regional and global politics. The timing for signing of the joint project was crucial as Pakistan was heavily damaged by the US war on terror in Afghanistan Politically, economically, and socially. Its infrastructure were badly affected by the war, its armed forces and civilians were killed and injured in the US war of invading Afghanistan but at the same time Pakistan was blamed for its double role openly supporting the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan but secretly providing help to those organizations who are targeting the US that resulted to isolated Pakistan in the region and stopped its economic and military aid to Pakistan (Friedman, 2006).

Prospects of CPEC

Being a developmental project, CPEC has countless benefits to Pakistan as it was going through a tough time where Pakistan was politically isolated, militarily involved in the War on Terror, economically damaged by the long fought in Afghanistan and Pakistan, energy crises were on the peak and the people were socially lost their hopes

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to reemerge and rise (Javaid, 2016). There may so many costs of the project but for Islamabad, there were no other option to opt for. On the one hand it provided economic benefits while on the other hand it also strengthen the already best relation between Beijing and Islamabad (Haider, 2015).

- **Financial Benefits:**

Financially speaking, this project has marked by many scholars as a game changer which totally changed the existence economic landscape that has been practiced for the last seventy years (Ali, 2015). It has got the term opportunity of the millennium for that Pakistan has no option to lose and will try it best to materialize and operationalize with all of its costs and challenges (Ali M. M., 2017). It has also been called as a fate changer for Pakistan that will bring prosperity and hope to the war torn people of Pakistan (Khan M. A., 2017). It has also a uniqueness that it has been marked as the flagship project of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative that further multiplied its significance in the region and at global level. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has play its role in regional and global politics as a political actor but this joint venture of China and Pakistan turned its image from a geo-political to geo-economic actor connecting the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe (Rahman, 2017). The project has also changed the image of Pakistan from a terror sponsor state to Asian top Stock exchange image that attracted the international foreign direct investment (Esteban, 2017).

What is important to note that with such a huge capacity and volume will this project address the issue of federalism in Pakistan that has been a dilemma for many scholars in the long history of democracy of Pakistan? The state has miserably failed to provide justice in politics, economic, and in social fabrics of the multi-ethnic society which resulted to the break of state in 1971, but the elite policy makers could put those blunders as a lesson for the nation to teach and still involved in the exploitation of minority unites (Stoopman, 2015). Both Pakistan and China has opposite approach to the same project as Beijing took it as security through development where that planned to put an end to the security issues through development of the Sinkiang region but Pakistan invested and further modernized the already developed region of Pakistan like central Punjab while totally ignored the war torn provinces of KP and Baluchistan where the state has failed to ensure its law and order (Malik, 2017).

- **Regional [Diffusion of rivalry, with India due to balance of threat]**

Pakistan foreign relations always dominated by Indo-Centric factor that evolve around New Delhi behavior towards Islamabad. During Cold War, Pakistan joined SEATO

and CENTO as a balance of threat perception to India (Wagner, 2016). New Delhi huge capacity and its larger size always pose threat to its existence and security. Post-Cold War, Washington installed New Delhi in its long term planning for the 21st century while containing China. Post 9/11 2001, Pakistan has also feel the US behavior towards India and as a result Pakistan was compelled to find out other options than Washington. So Islamabad was successful in getting help of Beijing and Moscow as a new balance of threat to India. CPEC being the project of Beijing, has put Islamabad as dominant in its dealing with New Delhi that enable politically stable and economically provided a hope to the people of Pakistan. The joint project also marked the question of sovereignty for India as it passes through Gilgit-Baltistan to which India considered part of Kashmir. CPEC also put an end to the Indian policy of isolating Pakistan politically, economically and militarily (Alam, 2015).

- **Political realignment due to ease of foreign debt and a resulting freedom in political decision-making]**

Politically speaking, Pakistan was foreign policy was dependent on US and West during the Cold War which compromised its decision making. Being a newly born state it was heavily dependent on the US for economic and security aid to counter the larger Indian threat (Noonari, 2017). Accordingly, Pakistan adopted Asian oriented policy with special reference to China and Russia as the main actors in economic and security aid to deter the Indian threat along with the US proxy war in Afghanistan against Pakistan. In this regard, CPEC eased the foreign debt while liberating its foreign policy decision making. The freedom of political decision making also contributed to the solutions of state security issues including the separatists' elements which exists for a long time and got the help of foreign forces in KP, Baluchistan and Sindh (Khan M. U., 2016).

- **How it will contribute to address the issues of federalism?**

CPEC being a developmental and livelihood project has the capacity to come up with sustainable solution to the issues Pakistan is facing since long. CPEC has also marked as the connector within and outside Pakistan. Externally, it connects Western China and Russia to Middle East and emerging markets of African nations. Additionally, it further connect the Central Asian Republics to India and Middle East through Afghanistan and Pakistan (Savita, 2015). Internally speaking, CPEC has been planned to connect Pakistan different provinces through rail, road and other means of transportations. The issues sovereignty which Pakistan faced due to lack of physical and mental communications. CPEC will contribute to the issues of federalism which

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faced Pakistan for the last seventy years by developing the underdeveloped regions of KP and Baluchistan through building roads, schools, colleges, universities, providing health facilities, and attracting foreign direct investment that will find out the root cause of Terrorism, extremism and separatism. So by eradicating poverty, will leads to the elimination of all these issues and will bring prosperity in the regions that damaged the most (Joshi, 2017).

- **So Does CPEC will cure everything?**

CPEC is not like a computer machine that will come up to solutions to every things but rather a human planned project that needs further additions and changes according to the demands and sources available on the spot (Hussain, 2016). The answer is No because of the policy makers' priorities which they set while setting the agenda of the policy. If these issues are not in our agenda to settle in the contour of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor then despite of injecting billions of dollars will not solve our problems including the issues of federalism. The second possible answer is Yes, if the policy makers declare it the nation top priority and put it on agenda (Boyce, 2017).

Conclusion

Every human society, at every stage have to face new challenges and have to deal with new problems and Pakistan has no exception. Being a colony of the British and divers society, Pakistan post-independence has opted for democratic setup with federal form of government but since its inception could not able to practice federalism in its true spirit due to many issues including the division of state power between the center and the federating units, the equal distribution of state wealth on the five provinces and failed to come up with common language and culture. As a result, these issues led to the break of state in 1971 and ultimately provided grounds for 1973 constitution with clear demarcation of powers between the center and the provinces but the said constitution also failed to practice federalism in its true essence. CPEC is not an auto solution to Federalism or any other problem in Pakistan. Rather this is quality of leadership and setting agenda that would matter in the end. The issues of federalism has mainly voiced by the minority provinces and the federal government has little to do care about their grievances. CPEC is all about connectivity, infrastructure, communications, investment and an attempt to address the issue of Pakistan including the problems faced in governance but all this depend on the leadership of the state and their priorities while setting the agenda of the state. All this study is just a probe in the ways that CPEC may help, IF ONLY we agree to

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use that social, financial and political opportunity to settle these issues. So CPEC will contribute in addressing the issues of Federalism if it is our agenda.

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