

## **Federalism, Evolution Theory and Practice: The Pakistani Federal Canvas**

*Federalism is the most refined and effective state structure that most of the nation states in the modern times have adopted for the working and functioning of the state machinery. Though, there is a space for debate that which system, whether unitary or federal system is better because unitary form of government in some states is equally producing good results and ensuring public goods however, most of the countries in the West have adopted the federal structure for their states and they are producing better results and apparently their supremacy in the world is connected with the success of their system. The founding father of Pakistan had adopted federalism as the ultimate panacea of all the challenges confronting the regions. The concept of federation which was afoot after the passage of Indian Act of 1935, has had been applied in Pakistan since 1947. The history had witnessed federal structure, successfully or unsatisfactorily but it has been working since the birth of the country. In fact, the history of federalism is the oldest one and therefore numerous thinkers and philosophers have written sufficiently about the concept of the state, its structure and its functioning in various epochs of history. Therefore, it is of immense importance to understand how and why the federalism emerged and what kind of functions it performed from ancient city states of Greece to modern times and what the philosophers have spelled out about the better and smooth functioning of the federal structure in modern times. However, an attempt is made to understand the different theories about the federalism so that theoretical framework of the thesis can be built to prove the point that, where there is mature and refined federal structure, the state machinery functions for the betterment of state and society as the federating units take more duties to shoulder the responsibilities of the internal matters whereas the external matters and key subjects remain in the domain of the federal government. The hypothesis of this paper is, while keeping in view the success of the system of federalism at international democratic canvas, why it has not been given its complete fruits in the chequered political environment of Pakistan while comparing other countries. This research is to understand the various theories, that will enable us to understand and construct the history of working of the federal structure of Pakistan and to explore how Federalism dealt with the problems of marginalisation and widespread polarization in Pakistan.*

**Keywords—Federalism, Punjab, Pakistan, Theories, Practices**

### **Introduction**

The US federalism is viewed as the best and the most comprehensive around the globe. The American government hypothesis is built on the idea of self-rule of the combining units. That is the fundamental reason of the achievement and smooth working of the American federalism throughout the US history over two hundred of years. Since its establishment, the United States dreaded focal oppression. This dread was so strong that at first, the recently free US was a Confederacy. In any case, following four years it ended up obvious that a barely more grounded local government was decent enough in binding together the country and tackling its most prominent problems. The idea was a restricted Federation, inevitably it was conceived that a Federalist structure would be embraced. Thus, the local government was reinforced. The US Constitution was revamped to give more energy to the local government. The Bill of Rights was made to explicitly ensure the privileges of people and states. More prominent balanced governance was established in the local government (bicameral lawmaking body, more noteworthy energy to US Supreme Court). The Founding Fathers of US were mindful so as to guarantee that numerous parts of Confederacy still existed, for example, States having their own constitutions and types of self-decided governments. The federating units have their own tenets in view of the idea of self-rule.

From the outset, it is important to understand the definition, meaning, application and evolution of the federalism. Carl J. Friedrich, an American philosopher has explained the term federalism in the following lines:

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*“Federalism appears to be on the group level what association is on the interpersonal level. It unites without destroying the selves that are uniting, and is... organised cooperation of groups as groups.”<sup>2</sup>*

The history of federalism in the world is as old as the history of governance system in the world. Here it is important to discuss the theory of federalism and its practical shape. It is believed that federalism has remained in practice since ancient times. It was in practice in the Greek City States and these city states were united for worship and for the resistance against the enemies. “In the medieval times three notable confederations were established”.<sup>3</sup> These three confederations were “Lombard League”,<sup>4</sup> it was in the northern Italian cities, the Henseatic League in the north of Germany achieved political and commercial strength and the third one was the Netherlands confederation. While making an inquiry about federalism a question comes in mind that what were the reasons for the adoption of federal form of government. An examination of the world states exposes a striking fact about the federal form of government that all these world nations are geographically large.

*Nearly all countries very large in area have adopted the federal principle. Among these far flung nations utilizing federalism in one form or another may be listed the Soviet Union, United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico.*<sup>5</sup>

Precisely all the world states with federalism, there is strong concern of historical and ethnic reasons which were the main hurdles on the way of unitary form of government. In the evolution of modern state federal form of government was the natural solution of issues. America, which is a vast country, federalism was thought to be the solution of political concerns “...yet wished to preserve individuality in local affairs.”<sup>6</sup> Federal government, the term is used for political discussions and is not clearly and specifically given a clear meaning. Going into the inquiry of federalism and federal government it is “an association of states, which has been formed for certain common purposes, but in which the member states retain a large measure of their original independence”.<sup>7</sup> In the present world, federalism is been associated with the United States of America, but this also a debate as it is not written in the constitution of United States as a federalist government or federal state. None the less “it has always been called the federal constitution, and now a day everybody regards the United States as an example of federal government.”<sup>8</sup> For the understanding of federalism, in the view point of many historians one must study the American system of government. According to the American constitution “field of government is divided between a general authority and the regional authorities which are not subordinate to one to another, but co-ordinate with each other”.<sup>9</sup>

In the modern concept of state there are three major types of government. These three include unitary system where most of the power is held by the federal government with a very little power shared by the political subdivisions. The most uncommon is confederation, which can be explained as a union of equal states. And these states make a union with some powers at the national level. Generally it is observed that conflicts occur among the states, and they lead into the breakdown of confederations. The most important and viable type of government is the federal system. In federalism few government share powers in a same geographic area, the central government holds lot of powers; however the smaller political units also hold substantial powers. The United States, India, Pakistan, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Belgium, Brazil and Australia are the examples of the federal system of government.

## **Federal Structure in the US**

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<sup>2</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, “New Tendencies in Federal Theory and practice”, Quoted in, Ivo D. Duchacek, *Comparative Federalism, the Territorial Dimension of Politics* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 188.

<sup>3</sup> John H. Ferguson, Dean E. McHenry, *The American Federal Government* (New York: McGraw-Hill company, 1953), 64.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> K.C. Wheare, *Federalism Government*, Fourth Edition (London: Royal institute of International Affairs, 1963), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 2.

In the United States of America, there is a written and ratified constitution. The US constitution provides a system of dual federalism comprising both the national and the state governments as sovereign in their competence and matters.<sup>10</sup> It is observed that over the times the role of national government has largely expanded and practically the US federalism has largely become cooperative and interactive. In the beginning of the US federal history most of the functions of the government remained with the states, “for the first two generations under the constitution, the United States resembled a confederation almost as much as it did a federation.”<sup>11</sup> It is generally believed that for the first fifty years of the operation of federalism it operated in a much decentralised manner.<sup>12</sup> So far as, the present situation of American federalism is concerned it is “much more centralised that it once was.”<sup>13</sup> In the American federal system, the constitution grants powers simultaneously to the US government and the state governments. In the constitution of US, Article 1 section 8 grants the federal government of the US government the powers of coining money, regulating the inter-state trade and commerce, declaring war, rising an army and navy and also to establish laws of immigration. Generally, the public opinion has remained on the side of State autonomy, with less federal interferences, especially in the fiscal matters. “From the time that George Washington took the oath of office in 1789 to the stock market crash of 1929, most Americans clearly favoured small government in general and a very small federal domestic presence in particular.”<sup>14</sup> The history of US federalism has remained evolving; the present shape is based on the concept of state autonomy, with less federal interference. “*Federalism in old style is dead. Yet federalism in new style is alive and well and living in the United States. Its name is intergovernmental relations*”<sup>15</sup>. In this story of change there are historical reasons marked by the great crises of the social change, several economic shocks and the turn of agrarian society to a stable industrialized society. According to Thomas R. Swartz and John E. Peck that “Tracing the great changes in the relationship between Washington and the state-local systems over the last two hundred years, however, it provides only part of the picture of the American federal system. Contemporary federalism is marked by fiscal diversity, intergovernmental competitiveness, and state local resiliency, three significant features”.<sup>16</sup>

### Provincial Autonomy

Individual liberty was the main concern in mind of the US constitution makers. The declaration of the independence is called the “*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*” The American constitution makers thought that the liberty of the society could be under threat by the distant government (which was the British) and the local government too. Though the local government was to be democratically elected but it can also reflect, the majoritarian passion “and short term selfish interests.”<sup>17</sup> At the same time democracy was a necessary condition for the protection of human rights. James Madison was of the view that the rights of the individuals can be better protected in a large and extended republic in which the leaders and the representatives of varied interests could participate and encourage in decision making and the rights of the minority party should be protected. It was also in the minds of the constitution makers that the accumulation of powers in the hands of faraway federal government can again give birth to imperial rule, which can again be a threat to human liberties and individual rights. So the solution was sort out in the form of federation where states would be responsible for the domestic decision making and policies. And the strong federal government will go ahead with the matters of national concern, like commerce international and foreign affairs. The result of this debate shows that there is a dual federalism in the United States with dual sovereignties, such as state and the national government. In the American constitution, there are many fiscal provisions that describe the fiscal matters and powers of the states and the federal government. It is written in

<sup>10</sup>Ronald Hamowy, *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (Sage, 2008), 169.

<sup>11</sup>Daniel J. Elazar, “Confederations and Federal Liberty”, *The Journal of Federalism* 12, 4 (1982): 13 For a same finding, see Jake Rakove, “The Lagacy of the Articles of Confederation,” *The Journal of Federalism* 12, 4 (1982): 45-56.

<sup>12</sup>For details see Ellis Katz, “The Development of American Federalism, 1763-1865,” *The Federal Idea: A History of Federalism from the Enlightenment to 1945*, Andrea Bosco, ed. (London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1991), 39-50.

<sup>13</sup>Akhtar Majeed, Ronald L. Watts, and Douglas M. Brown (Ed.), 301.

<sup>14</sup>Thomas R. Swartz and John E. Peck (Ed.), *The Changing Face of Fiscal Federalism* (New York: M. E. SHARPE, INC., 1990), 18.

<sup>15</sup>Micheal D. Reagan and John G. Sanzone, *The New Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 3.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas R. Swartz and John E. Peck, *The Changing Face of Fiscal Federalism*, 17.

<sup>17</sup>Akhtar Majeed, Ronald L. Watts, and Douglas M. Brown (Ed.), *A Global Dialogue on Federalism: Distribution of Powers and Responsibilities in Federal Countries*, Vol. 2 306.

the US constitution “the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare”.<sup>18</sup> There are many fiscal clauses which put limitations to both federal and the state governments. The federal government for example, is prohibited from taxing the exports of American products.<sup>19</sup> It is also written in the constitution and the constitution stipulates that all the federal taxes must be uniform throughout the United States.<sup>20</sup> So this is a check and a different rate of tax cannot be imposed on any state from any state. The concept of provincial autonomy is gradual and evolutionary. Most of the federal governments believe in the concept of provincial autonomy. That is considered one of important aspect which gave freedom to a certain level and on the other hand keeps the unity of federation. In the American federal system the state and the federal government both enjoy a very high level of autonomy. The US states write their own constitutions though the elected constitutional conventions, and generally get the ratification from the voters by polls. Public officials also selected through the voters and there is no governor as a federal representative, appointed by the federal government in the states. Keeping in view the cultural and traditional realities, the states structure their governments and fulfil their needs, (there are some exceptions that a reader can find regarding the structure of government in states within the US). It is important to mention two changes, which were, through the popular pressure adopted. These are those western states where progressive movement of American politics was generally strong “...adopted the direct initiative, a system under which voters, by collecting signatures on a petition, can place an issue directly on the ballot to be voted upon the citizenry at the next election.”<sup>21</sup>

The division of powers is considered the most important principle of the system of federalism. It is 2<sup>nd</sup> in the list of the description of federalism and is indispensable quality of the federal state.<sup>22</sup> The division of powers is a distinctive feature of the constitution of a federal state. While in a unitary state the concentration of powers and authority is considered the most important feature. The division of powers is the first manual of instructions of the federal state and also the first check point for any inspector of the federal constitution.<sup>23</sup> The federal system is a system of dual government, so the prime objective of the federal government involves around the division of powers and authority between the federal and federating units.<sup>24</sup> In federal system each government coordinate and also remain independent with other governments. The two governments, infect two set of governments execute their executive powers at different spheres and different levels. Through this the contents of these two spheres must be determined by some precise methods.<sup>25</sup> There are various ways of dividing the powers between the governments within federalism, however around three ways have been suggested by the constitutionals and political theorists. In the views of some theorists the powers exercised by the general government should be specific and rest of the powers should be left for the federating/regional governments. It is a way through which the position of federal and the power sharing component government can be strengthened. In this way of federalism the powers of federating units are not mentioned by names, so this infect gives unlimited authority and powers to the federating units. The 2<sup>nd</sup> important way described by the political scientists is to allocate and define the powers of the federating units and to leave rest of the powers to the federal government. This way of power sharing has “strengthen the federal authority at the expense of the separate members of the federation.”<sup>26</sup> There is another way of division of powers described by the political theorists; it is to divide and distribute the powers in three lists, which is called the federal, provincial and concurrent. In all of these three methods, the real spirit of federalism actually needs that the division of powers should be made in a way that neither general nor regional government is subordinate to the other.<sup>27</sup> It can be said

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<sup>18</sup>U.S. Constitution, Article 1, Section 8.

<sup>19</sup>U.S. Constitution, Article 1, Section 9. Quoted by Bernard P. Herber, *Fiscal federalism in the United States of America*, Research Monograph No. 10 (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, The Australian National University), 2.

<sup>20</sup>U. S. Constitution, Article 1, section 8.

<sup>21</sup>Akhtar Majeed, Ronald L. Watts, and Douglas M. Brown (Ed.), *A Global Dialogue on Federalism: Distribution of Powers and Responsibilities in Federal Countries*, Vol. 2, 302.

<sup>22</sup>C. F. Strong, *Modern Political Constitutions* (London: The English Book Society, 1975), 88.

<sup>23</sup>S. Rufus Davis, *The Federal Principle: A Journey Through Time in Quest of Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 142.

<sup>24</sup>A. V. Dicey, *An Introduction to the Study of the law of the Constitution*, 151.

<sup>25</sup>William S. Livingston, *Federalism and Constitutional Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 10.

<sup>26</sup>C.F. Strong, *Modern Political Constitutions*, 89.

<sup>27</sup>K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 12.

that the division of powers is indispensable for the federal system for a long and stable political structure. All the federal systems have always the capacity to improve, adopt and inculcate new things.<sup>28</sup>

For the survival in a compatible world, the federal structure must have space and “capacity to work, manipulate, improvise, bridge, adjust, extend, bend and accommodate the division to cope with the new, the unforeseen and unintended situations”.<sup>29</sup> It is particularly important for those societies which are still developing and operating federal system. These societies see rapid changes in political, social and economic spheres and as a consequence are in a state of constant improvement and change. It is important that the constitution and its federal provisions should be responsible for any such new changes and changes should not go to the extent of danger to federalism.

### **Federalism in Pakistan**

The Government of India Act 1935 is not simple in the understanding of the issue of federalism.<sup>30</sup> It is, instead of providing a common distribution of powers tells us a more unusual and complex way and three lists of subjects have been put in, i.e. the federal, the provincial and the concurrent. In the concurrent list of subject, if a law is passed by the federal legislature on any matter mentioned in the concurrent list, the provincial legislature cannot do legislation on it. It is through this the provincial government were made subservient to the central government. In the act of 1935 some important affairs, like external affairs, defence, ecclesiastical affairs and tribal areas were reserved ones for the governor general,<sup>31</sup> who managed them with the help three councillors appointed by the governor general himself. It was through this way the division of powers were made and the provincial legislature was deprived from a significant portion of provincial autonomy. The governor general was not only an executive authority but also lots of legislative powers were given in the act of 1935. Pakistan adopted 1935 act with modifications and the central point was that it enshrined federalism, that federal structure is still in practice. While making a comparison of all the existing systems in the world, federalism is considered the best suitable to the contemporary world and the modern states. Federalism creates unity and preserves the exclusiveness of the provincial units. In Pakistan federalism is not been properly understood. Generally federalism promote pluralism and show respect to diversity, it also create a balance between the national and regional powers. It is believed that the system of federalism promote good laws and viable strong institutions, which led to the strong economies. The federal system needs checks and balances in the administration and politics. The success of federation also relies upon the independent judicial structure, civil society and media for educating the people regarding their obligations. Federalism is based on sharing and coexistence and sovereignty is also shared for the purpose between the federal government and the federating units.

The federal composition has changed three times in Pakistan; in 1947 the federation was based on four provinces (Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and East Bengal). This composition was changed to two as a result of one unit in 1955, comprising of East Pakistan and West Pakistan.<sup>32</sup> In 1970 again the federal structure was changed from two to five federating units, the one unit of West Pakistan was annulled and Baluchistan was given the provincial status. In 1971 after the dismemberment of the country, the federation of Pakistan was left to four provinces, along with Federally Administrative Areas. Now another unit is added to the federation of Pakistani that is Gilgat Batistan.

The constitutional development of Pakistan and the principle of division of powers tell us a central issue. Since the days of independence, there is a debate going on in Pakistan regarding the division of powers between centre and the provincial governments, particularly with reference to strong centre and provincial autonomy. Throughout the history of the country the federal composition of the country has changed three times till 1971. First it was changed from four (Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and East Bengal) to two, East and West Pakistan in 1955 with the making of one unit. In 1970 again the federal composition was changed from two to five with the annulment of one unit and giving the provincial status to Baluchistan. It is observed that all the changes, adjustments and alterations were done to resolve the issue of federation and the division of powers, and failure in this cause resulted in breakup

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<sup>28</sup> S. Rufus Davis, *The Federal Principle: A Journey Through Time in Quest of Meaning*, 142-143.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>30</sup> Mansoor Akbar Kundi, “Federalism in Pakistan: Problems & Prospects”, *Asian And African Studies*, 11, 2002,1,37.

<sup>31</sup> G.S.Chhabra, *Advance Study in the History of Modern India* Volume-3 1920-1947 (Lotus Press, 2005), 69.

<sup>32</sup> *The Daily Dawn*, October 16, 2011.

of the country. There was also failure of many constitutional models, who were devised with misconceived approach and ignoring the needs of visible political structures. All the constitutional structure of Pakistan has come out from the act of 1935.<sup>33</sup> This situation is described by justice retired Durab Patel as “legal fundamentalism”.<sup>34</sup> The main point which was needed to be done soon after the independence of the country was the provincial autonomy that contained in the legislative lists of the act of 1935.

### **The 1973 Constitution**

The constitution is meant to guide the laws, political culture and system. Fundamental rights are enshrined in the constitution. It is a partially rigid and partially flexible constitution. Its first three chapters enunciate rule, mandate and separate power of the Government branches. It is parliamentary nature constitution having bicameral legislature, executive head is the Prime Minister and apex federal judiciary is led by the Supreme Court. Article 129 deals with the matter of the provincial governments. The constitution describes “that the executive authority of the province will be exercised by the name of the governor of each of the respective province, through the Chief Minister and his Cabinet.”<sup>35</sup> Chief Minister exercises the executive authority as being head of Government. He is elected by the provincial Assembly and he further selects his cabinet to run the affairs of the government. The Chief Minister can act directly in its functions as the constitution grants him or can act through his cabinet ministers. The Chief Minister exercises the executive authority by the name of the governor as provided by the constitution of Pakistan.

Talking about the federation, it is important to say that it is a parallel dual type of government. The federal capital is Islamabad, and the federating units are the provinces. “The opposite is the unitary system, whereas the name itself explains, it is only one tier of government. The question comes in mind what two tiers of government will do and who does what”.<sup>36</sup> The most limited federal type of government can be called a one limited to currency, defense and foreign relations whereas the strongest federal government could have enjoying all the powers except very limited issues of the provincial governments.

What was concurrent, out of the total 25 federal system countries round the world, many of these countries have a scope of legislation where both; the governments (federal and units) have the competence to legislate. It was the perception about the concurrent list that in some areas, it has been found useful to keep legislating at both levels. The 1973 Constitution was enshrined by “47 subjects in the Concurrent Legislative List.”<sup>37</sup>

The concurrent subject list was based on forty seven subjects and it was really difficult to find anything that would enhance provincial autonomy if legislative control were to be handed over exclusively to the provinces.<sup>38</sup> There were concerns of the small provinces regarding this concurrent list and reason behind its abolition was the always growing federal government, which can use the concurrent list to expand its reach and size.

It was observed that the fear of a big and powerful federal government had driven political parties from the smaller provinces to do and follow the obvious cut of its powers. So abolishing the concurrent list was in fact to enhance provincial autonomy. After the 18th Amendment, the Article 142(b) is been read as “Parliament and a Provincial Assembly shall have the power to make laws with respect to criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>*The Daily News*, February 26, 2012.

<sup>34</sup>Justice Durab Dorab Framrose Patel was born in 1924 and died on 15 March 1997. He was a jurist, and lawmaker who served as a former Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan and also former Chief Justice of Sindh High Court. Justice Patel was a prominent campaigner for human rights, and was a founding member of the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) in 1987 and one of the co-founder of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid*, 88.

<sup>36</sup><https://study.com/academy/lesson/unitary-government-definition-examples-advantages-disadvantages.html>. Unitary Government: Definition, Examples, Advantages & Disadvantages, Retrieved on 16.03.2018.

<sup>37</sup>*The Daily Dawn*, April 8, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>39</sup>The constitution of Pakistan of Pakistan, Part 5, Distribution of Legislative Powers.

The 18th Amendment has abolished that concurrent list of subjects. Therefore after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment provincial autonomy is more comprehensively described in the constitution. It is about the “control over resources and more finances and revenues for provinces.”<sup>40</sup>

The defence in the federation and defence related rest of the areas, including cantonment areas and defence related housing are the central subjects. The military navy and air force, all have their dealing with the federal list of subjects. Similarly the external affairs and the state dealing with agreements and treaties, including the agreements related to education and culture. The agreements related to criminals and all the accused persons are the concern of the government of Pakistan. Migration, citizenship, nationality and neutralization, all are dealt with by the federal government in accordance with the government of Pakistan. The issues of immigration into or outside telegraph and posts telephone related all areas, broadcasting and telecommunication, the legal tender, coinage and currency, foreign exchange and bills, public debt of the federal government federal public service commission, public pensions and federal public service and so on as enlisted in the ‘constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The performance of the provinces in the subjects which constitution of Pakistan gave to them is also very important to see and to evaluate the position of division of powers in Pakistan. For instance, the agriculture sector is a provincial subject, so it can be asked to the provinces what the improvements they have brought in the agriculture sector. From the agriculture sector another question comes in mind and that is about the presence of feudalism which is dominating the political scenario of the country. That is a federal question, the politicians at centre level are mostly the feudal lords and even at provincial level the domination of politics is by these feudal. Since they are dominating the central and provincial level legislatures as well as the decision making bodies, as a result of it nothing has come out as reforms in the agriculture sector. The history of the country has seen agricultural reforms twice in its life span since 1947.<sup>41</sup> However these reforms could not bring positive results as the objectives set for introducing these reforms were not met properly. The extraordinary privileges enjoyed by the feudal class in Pakistan could never be reduced and the downtrodden classes also remained unprivileged.

The question of provincial autonomy require a more pragmatic and viable approach. It is a fact that the centre provincial relationship and issues cannot be seen in isolation in the overall study of the state and society.<sup>42</sup>

## **Conclusion**

It is believed that federalism is the most refined and effective state type of government that most of the nation states in the modern times have adopted for their states. It has helped them to devolve powers to the federating units so that powers and functions of the state can be shared and shouldered by the federating units. Contrary to unitary system the federal system proved more successful in the western world like UK and USA. The history of Pakistan reveals that he federal structure has been working successfully since the enactment of the constitution of Government of Pakistan 1973. Here the conclusion is that Pakistan has remained under a highly centralized political setup. The autonomy, whatever it is given through the constitution has actually failed to make any improvement in the social sector and the people of the provinces. The question of social justice is also attached with the concept of provincial autonomy. So these two interrelated issues can be solved through a proper mechanism which must be shown in the constitution and also in the practical stage.

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<sup>40</sup>Daily Times, August 30,2016.

<sup>41</sup>*The Daily Dawn*, September 3, 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Syed Jaffar Ahmed, *Federalism in Pakistan A Constitutional Study*, 104-107.