



Federation of Pakistan and the Role of Council of Common Interest (CCI): An Analysis

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ARTICLE INFO			ABSTRACT
Article History:			<i>This study explores the evolutionary growth of federation of Pakistan, how to divide up funds and what the constitutional body known as the Council of Common Interest is supposed to do in case of crises, according to Pakistan's 1973 constitution. Pakistan may be a newly formed nation, but its federal political history is woefully inadequate and appears to disregard federalism's guiding principles. The smaller provinces of the country have grievances towards the central government for their rights. The constitution of 1973 provides the constitutional body to resolve the contradictions and conflict between the central government and the constituent units. According to Article 153 the Council of Common Interest was created to harmonize the central- Provincial relations and insure the spirit of federalism in true sense. CCI is also liable to Institutional checks on power sharing and federal mechanism. To suppress the federalist approach a bitter experiences were practiced by the centralist forces in the country. The attack on the federalism in Pakistan did not stop on historical One Unit. The Centralist forces changed the paradigm of federation of Pakistan by 1971 crises and in result the East Pakistan separated. The 1973 constitution of Pakistan provides the various forums to build trust and promote inter-provincial relations such as National Finance Commission (NFC) and the National Economic Council (NEC) and the CCI. But proper working of these bodies is a hard question in the federal history of Pakistan. This research paper is the scientific analysis of CCI in solving of the problems of federation of Pakistan.</i>
Received:	March	03, 2025	
Revised:	April	20, 2025	
Accepted:	April	26, 2025	
Available Online:	April	28, 2025	
Keywords:			
CCI. Federation. Autonomy. Fiscal. Provincial			
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Introduction

Federalism is the system of government where the powers are distributed between the two sets of government called provincial government and the central government. Federalism regulates the affairs of government through the coordination of both governments. It produces the mechanism to run the country and maintain harmony without any violence. The Central government holds the national affairs while the federating units hold the provincial subjects and runs the local interests. "A political compromise aimed at reconciling national unity and the preservation of the rights of the state" (Desi). In the view of Desi it is the reconciliation through constitution. With the help of the constitution, these arrangements are reconciled. These are some security concerns as well as economic gains which make the federating units united. They surrender mainly partial sovereignty before center so as to control the safe local affairs falling in their domains. Apart from political, cultural and economic identities and their interests, there comes a need for the equality among the constituent units. "In case of the unavailability of this factor, a successful union may not work. It was the indeed the very same sense of inequality which had created the defeat of East Pakistan in 1971" (Ahmad 1990). The Constitution of 1973 makes a federal system having more fiscal, administrative, and political powers. But miserably, it was never gained in real sense. Apart from this, the federal structure was made by martial law dictators, who were Gen. Zia-ul-Haq in the year 1977 and General Musharraf in the year 1999 and had imposed martial law which gave birth to centralization. In order to establish federalism having a real spirit, 18th constitutional amendment was made in the year 2010 so that the imbalance in the structure of the federal could be addressed properly.

The 18th constitutional amendment introduced the significant changes in context of the federal structure of Pakistan. The federalism in Pakistan from country's independence to 2010 will be analyzed through this milestone amendment in the constitution of Pakistan.

Concept of Federalism

The division of authorities in between provincial and central government is actually concept of Federalism. Only in the heterogeneous societies, such kind of the system mostly suits. In order to create the unity of the societies, most of the countries in the globe have such type of the system being composed of various ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups as required for federal System. "The federal system makes two levels of governments. In which one is the central government that normally found in the whole country while the second one is the provincial government that governs the provinces concerned. Equally these governments are governed by single federal constitution" (Ahmad 1990). Federalism is a joint derivative charter that is purely by federal federations having multi-ethnic directions that desire to shape a system of government under the patronages of the central government. "The Union is managed in a broad political system for the transfer of import materials like communications, currency, defense, foreign affairs, foreign trade, etc. to the central government by releasing the remaining purposes of constituent units under the authority of a written constitution" (Kapur & Kapur, 1980). Depending on the rate of decentralisation, this connection is more tangible in democracies. On the flip side, it's usually somewhat political in authoritarian federal governments. Sharing political power in their local companies based on the principle of decentralised collective involvement is an honour for the federal units. A federalist system is more suitable for multiethnic nations that allow for political and regional autonomy. Ethnic, political, and economic trends among state-online residents are all part of this. Maintaining political intrigues and politicisation is how the system deals with the issue of elite involvement's value. Reducing the degree of power and encouraging political compromise are two technical goals that are combined in this. "The mechanics are to hasten the unity of

citizens of a state living at the culminations of its members divided in the state. Among divided ethnic groups, unification is recognized within the institution's infrastructure. In other words, federalism is the political association of opposing forces under one central government". (Ali.1996). From this point of view, the central government's and the federal units' shared authority is the main focus here. To rephrase, federalism is a political system that allows for the integration of diverse identities within a single political framework. "We can say that federalism is a political method to create equal relations between the Center and regional governments on the principle of institutional mechanics to combine the never-ending conflicting objectives in one step and between the federal units [oceanic to ocean] in the other stage under a written decree in a decentralized base. It highlights the procedural political action of multi-ethnic groups under the patronages of democratic institutions by suggesting great powers to the component units" (Faisal, 2010). By analyzing the history of federalism, it is planned that from the late 18th century to the present day. "Federalism has made growth in the democracy agenda, and for this reason we are keen that federalism is more devoted to democracies with a decentralized political system rather than to aristocratic regimes" (Faisal, 2010).

History of Federalism in Pakistan

The principle of federalism is that of distinct but interdependent powers between the federal government and the individual provinces or states. As if two nations were cooperating to accomplish a common objective. Due to its greater adaptability, federalism is the superior system of government for a country like Pakistan. It guarantees the federating units for their sovereignty and rights. The ethnic and cultural values with their identities safeguarded under the norms of federalism. The federalism in Pakistan have been controversial since the country's birth. After Independence centralist forces made centralized federal system through the Indian Act 1935 adopted as Interim Constitution. The constitution of 1956 and 1962 also established the sense of strong centre in the country. Jinnah the founder of Pakistan declared Pakistan as federal state and said that "The theory of Pakistan safeguards that the federal units of the national government will have all the freedom they will find in the Constitution of the United States of America, Canada and Australia. But some vibrant forces will remain in the central government such as the financial system, national defense and federal responsibilities" (Quid-e Azzam), November 1945.

After the independence of country the federal system has been adopted to run the government under interim constitution. Due to insurmountable crises Pakistan faced the critical conditions in running of the federal structure. The east Pakistan with maximum population of 55% criticized and deprived from their rights and declared the constitutional report of basic principles committee of 1952 that the composition of senate should be on equal basis but the committee left the house of representatives vague. Bengalis claimed this tragic report and demand that they are in majority in both houses of the parliament they rejected this constitutional report. "Thus, a bipolar union is unbalanced, and it has been witnessed that its progenitors are more likely to fail" (Adeny, 2007). "Contrasting the rule in multi-ethnic unions, the boundaries of federal units have not been reviewed to accommodate regionally focused language communities. In addition, there was a denial to recognize "regional languages", which stopped provinces from adopting languages of their choice" (Adeney, 2007)

Distancing themselves from the federal era, Pakistan's initial constitutional practices failed to foster unity. The centre has the most of the power, if not all of it. Distrust and animosity have intensified due to the provinces' lack of influence in the functioning of the government. Even while it defined states, the second constitution—also draughted by a military elite with an eye towards bureaucracy—did not address the federal structure.

To simplify matters, the Constitution consolidated 49 items (including the list of provinces) into a single, unified list. This means that the President and the unicameral Legislative Council now have more authority than before. The province administrations will be headed by presidents appointed by the president. They will hold significant sway and authority. The most crucial aspect was the fact that the Constitution mandated centralisation. The two constitutions establish a system of checks and balances that safeguards the Center's most vital concerns. Even for matters transferred to the provinces, the policymaking process was primarily centred in the central area. Federalism also made the states reliant on the federal government by centralising too much power.

“The central organization of the state of the 1956 and 1962 constitution, which controlled the Punjabi hegemony, the backward and powerful bureaucratic bureaucracy, and the inattentiveness to ethnic differences, led to the calamitous disintegration of the country in 1971”. (Nasir 2007).

Federalism: Constitution of 1956

The 1956 constitution, which was a federal treaty, was founded on the principle of "unity of unity," which meant uniting different racial groups into one entity termed "West Pakistan" in order to eliminate distinctions. One of the primary goals of Article 106 (1) was to mitigate the impact of the Government of India Act of 1935. This was accomplished by deleting 61 items from the list of regions and 31 items from the Federal List.

“While the simultaneous list was also condensed to 19 items, there were views that centralization of the administrative and economic development system by the Central Center Government. The central government was powerful in economic problems, development, national security and inter-provincial coordination”. (kundi and Jhangir, 2002).

The National Assembly needed to fill 310 seats, 150 of which needed to be selected directly from each side. However, the 150 seats in the western wing were divided according to the population of Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab, and NWFP (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The Legislative Assembly was disbanded prior to the 1958 national elections, despite the fact that ten seats were reserved for women. After that, Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan assumed control and ruled the nation under martial law from 1958 to 1962 without any constitutional safeguards.

“The dissolution of the Assembly has shaped serious difficulties in the country & has had a long-term effect on the functioning of its federal system. In 1962, however, a new constitution was established based on "basic democracies" while upholding the unity”. (kundi&Jhangir, 2002).

Federalism under 1962 Constitution

“Ayub Khan was able to gain maintenance for his continued rule from the army and civilian bureaucracy. Ayub Khan overlooked the recommendations of the Constitution Committee established in 1960”. (Syed, 1980).

Khalid Ayub Having a powerful federal government that could inspire Pakistani patriotism was crucial. It was in 1962 when Ayub Khan draughted a new constitution.

“The Constitution adopted the one-unit system, in which one council, the National Assembly, was supposed to serve for five years and was engaged by an equal number of members from east & west wings of Pakistan. In support of the military and civilian bureaucracy, the Constitution tends to balance the power towards the central government and the federal legislature, with provincial legislation virtually lacking legislation”. (Kundi&Jhangir, 2002).

Another round of martial law invalidated the 1962 constitution for a period of seven years. Yahya Khan, who succeeded Ayub Khan and proclaimed martial law in 1969, disbanded one regiment while considering how to suspend parliament to allow the military junta to play a pivotal role. He demanded that elections be held. The results of the free and fair elections stunned everyone. The Awami League captured four seats in eastern Pakistan. But in western Pakistan, the federal government did not convene the National Assembly. The federal government has decided to start in the east in order to bring order back to the country. An incident that halted the establishment of the Awami League's national government and began mostly in Islamabad. Battles broke out as a result, killing hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and displacing ten million. Bangladesh was formed from East Pakistan in the end. The idea of a federal system leaning towards one type of single arrangement failed to unite federal units, while the majority rule was explicitly suspicious (Kundi and Jahangir, 2002).

The 1973 constitution & Federalism in Pakistan

Following the events in East Pakistan, people's views on federalism shifted. The province of Punjab, home to 58% of the population, rose to prominence. The smaller provinces indicated their intention to exert pressure on the province holding the majority of house seats. Some sort of majority rule was broken by the powerful in Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan, which dragged down the union. Sindhi Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto insisted on a legislative branch and an executive branch to accommodate her policies.

“The constitution accepted Provincial languages. However, only Sindhi was agreed on provincial language in 1972 when Sindhi was given the position of official language. Urdu was, by default recognized as a language of Sindh. Its negative outcome on mohajirs gave birth to language riots, followed by decades of ethnic conflict between the two communities”. (Adeney 2007).

Similar to how the Murree Accord between Bengali and Punjabi organizations led to the 1956 Constitution, the 1972 deal between the PPP and ANP-JUI resulted in the 1973 Constitution. The 1973 Constitution stipulated that Punjab would hold a majority in the National Assembly and that all four provinces would have an equal number of senators (nineteen apiece), with an additional eight seats set aside for FATA and Islamabad. However, due to the fact that the two houses have separate policy areas, the advantage of having more senators from smaller provinces has been nullified. Decisions on budget measures are not within the purview of the Senate. Once the national budget has been approved by the National Assembly and any other relevant chamber, it can be sent to the President for final approval. The unfettered concentration of power in the hands of a select few was, however, put an end to by the constitution of 1973. It decentralized power and established a representative parliamentary system, both of which benefited the provinces greatly in terms of language and culture. Despite this, due to variables such as federal and parallel lists and Punjab's disproportionate representation in the Lower House, the province maintained its numerical advantage. Additionally, the 1973 constitution did not alter the regional list. A total of 47 subjects are currently on the current list, while the federal list presently includes 59 subjects. However, the provisions that encouraged participation were not well implemented. For instance, the National Finance Commission and the Council of Common Interests, which were established to mediate disputes between the provinces and foster democratic discourse, were ineffective and finally disbanded. Executive authority sustained to retain primacy in most matters (Naseer 2007).

“However, the 1973 Constitution predominantly monitored the previous Constitutions 1956 and 1962 to the extent that in many instances the language used in many Articles was also retained”. (Khan 2010).

It differed from previous Constitutions in creating a two-house legislature, but it preserved the federal system. The Senate was one chamber with 60 seats. The other chamber, with 200 seats, was known as the National Assembly. Each of the four federal entities had an equal voice in the Senate. Conversely, representation in the National Assembly was distributed according to population.

The 1973 Constitution, yet, is distinguishable from the then ones because it made the Senate having equal representation of all federating units so that smaller provinces like Balochistan are represented and the Senate had a good role in the system of focus and had a balance (Khan, 2010).

Both the federal and concurrent lists were established by the 1973 constitution, which established the federal organization of the state, as we have previously discussed. The upper chamber, or Senate, consisted of fourteen members representing each federating unit. All members were required to serve for four years, with half departing after only two. For federal purposes, there was the Federal List, which included 67 items. Conversely, the Concurrent List grants authority to the provincial assembly to design laws pertaining to such matters.

However, in case of a conflict, according to Article 143, the rights of the central government ought to be Supreme and prevail (Kundi and Jahangir, 2002). We established the Council of Common Interest (CCI) to fortify the federation concept. Members from the federal government and state chief ministers were required to be in equal numbers. The President was to make the selection. There was a specific mechanism in place for the Council to deal with complaints regarding water that originated from natural sources, such as rivers. Additionally, the Council was made to formulate policies concerning railways, electricity, oil and gas, and industrial development (Khan, 2010). While the Constitution entered into force on 14 August 1973, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto delivered a significant speech in which he said that the days of coups had come to an end and that violence in politics must stop (Khan, 2010). During Bhutto's presidency, the central government played a significant role in accordance with the constitution. This caused discontent among the Iron Forest Party and the Balochistan provinces. Before the 1973 Constitution had a chance to take effect, Bhutto removed the Baluchistan Atallah Mangal coalition government on February 15, 1973, while serving as president under the 1972 provisional constitution. Both the deputy and the province's National Action Party governor have spoken out against the measure. Although Mr. Bugti was required to remain on the job until January 3, 1974, he formally submitted his retirement notice on November 11, 1973. Mufti Mahmud of the northwest region and Joey of the National Coalition both resigned in protest against the fall of the government in Balochistan. Following the arrest of provincial minister Hayat Khan Sherpao's associates on charges of subversive plotting following her death in February 1975, the celebrations were subsequently halted. They were released from prison following the July 1977 military takeover. Due to the anarchy in both states, federalism suffered. The National Assembly took on more of a Bonaparte State structure, with less representation for anti-government groups. The situation was a setback to federalism, and what was left was a huddle of the rule of martial law of the Zayat al-Haq, which recognized the constitution for eight years (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002). 1.7 Amendment No. 8 to the United States Constitution, 1973. The administration, which is largely dominated by the military, was brutally established between 1977 and 1985 by a military coup. The executive branch was able to keep the government running smoothly thanks to a cascade of executive directives. The Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified in 1973, dealt with these directives afterwards. The Eighth Amendment, proposed by General Zia al-Haq, was the primary change necessary to reinstate the Constitution of 1973. From 1977 until 1985, it safeguarded numerous executive orders and laws. The reality that the United States Constitution is federal remains largely

unchanged by the Eighth Amendment. However, the Senate's ability to vote has been beneficial: the Senate. The amendment increased the number of senators from 14 to 19, and the senators' sentences were lengthened from four to six years. There is now greater leeway for the Senate to amend laws. The National Assembly was the sole venue for the creation and revision of the reform bill draft under Article 239 of the Constitution of 1973. "Once granted by a 2/3 majority, the bill will be forwarded to the Senate for passing by a simple majority. After the amendment, a two-thirds majority is needed not only in the Senate but also in either chamber. The requirement of a 2/3 majority in the Senate has made the legislative role of small provinces to stop any legislation that runs counter to the interests of the province" (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002).^{1.8} The 1973 Constitutional Amendment No. 17 On October 12, 1999, it reverted to a military rule. Some provisions of the constitution were postponed by General Pervez Musharraf. The State Administration pledged to rule in accordance with the spirit of the 1973 Constitution when it released its legal framework. Titled "Strengthening the Union by Removing Dissonance between Governorates and Restoring National Cohesion," General Musharraf delivered his address on October 13, 1999. The list contained seven items. The Supreme Court reports that General Pervez Musharraf decided to extend his term in office beyond three years by calling a ballot on April 30, 2002. He ended up with the victory in the end. Following the conclusion of the voting, the National Reconstruction Office (NRP), headed by an ex-lieutenant, assembled "large secret" bundles of constitutional amendments (Khan, 2010). In an effort to narrow the regime's scope, the second legal framework statute was enacted on August 21, 2002. There was mention that elections had previously taken place in the provinces and that municipal governments had started to expand into provincial territory prior to the establishment of the federal government. In February 2002, political groups, primarily an alliance of religious parties, and the military administration discussed politics. December 2003 saw the final passage of the 17th Amendment. Thanks to this amendment, the President now has the authority to dissolve the Legislative Assembly, a hitherto unimaginable power. The Pakistan People's Party emerged victorious in the 2009 parliamentary elections in Pakistan. This remained the case despite the implementation of a novel system of municipal governance in that year. In order to reinstate the Constitution of 1973, the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified. ^{1.9} Subject: Federalism and the 18th Amendment. On April 8, 2010, the National Assembly of Pakistan and the Senate of Pakistan both gave their stamp of approval to a constitutional amendment. On April 19, 2010, the President officially made the change official. The Eighth Amendment fundamentally altered the framework of the federal government. A new system of institutions replaced the previous federal government framework, which was dismantled (Faisal, 2010). New avenues for citizen participation in Pakistani politics have emerged as a result of this shift, in contrast to the country's previous political structures. It was inevitable that political leaders would work closely together through political discussion to construct the state's institutions. We have modernized the voting method. The structure of political institutions, such as the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, has also been the subject of much research. The constitutional role of many governmental institutions such as the legislature and the judiciary has arisen and the provincial executive managers have been able to take their political and administrative decisions (Waseem, 2010). Resolutions, Abilities, and Practices ^{1.10} As stated in the 18th Amendment With the goal of addressing the challenges associated with federalism and democracy, the President of Pakistan signed the 18th Amendment to the 1973 Constitution on April 19, 2010. Democracies are powerful because they allowed for numerous rounds of negotiations and political reconciliation over the same issue before finally reaching an accord. Two orders are the primary targets of the modification. The first is to strengthen the role of Parliament and the Office of the Prime Minister. The second is to increase funding from the states by a factor of two. Our visibility and our sense of self Article 1 discusses the topic of Pashtun identity in several locations. The NWFP was requested to be renamed by someone. A name that captures the diversity of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's population was chosen. However, the Hazara

region—home to over 20% of the population and 25% of the land—saw some bloodshed. In order to address the ethnic problem in the province, the provincial government should allocate more funds for development and establish many platforms where various community groups can have their voices heard.

Promoting Democracy

A revision was made to Article 6 in order to promote democracy and put an end to armed action. So that individuals could "cooperate" in disobeying the Constitution, this law was added. No court could ever uphold the offense of "treason" in this instance. In order to prevent the coup from undermining the law, these measures were implemented. The relative efficacy of Pakistan's elected and non-elected institutions is murky at best due to the wide power gap between the two. To further solidify the Prime Minister's position as head of government, the provisions selected for Part III of the Constitution, which addresses the Federation, were also amended. The President's discretionary powers were removed in Article 58.2 (b), making the Prime Minister's suggestion the exclusive means of dissolving the National Assembly. By amending Article 112., the same privileges were likewise bestowed upon the Prime Ministers. The addition of two more articles would likewise have far-reaching consequences for the impartial administration of government. "Right to information" is established as a fundamental right and notion of public policy in Article 19A, which follows "freedom of speech" in Article 19. Article 25A, which states that all citizens should have the same rights, has now been expanded to include youngsters from five to sixteen years old. They are guaranteed the right to an education. The importance of education was emphasized, with the slogan "free and mandatory."

"It was felt that the state was at least committed to having the condition of promoting democracy, which provides information and education as the most empowering factors" (Adeney, 2012).

Strengthen the Federation and the provinces

It was canceled after the provinces requested that the coordinated list be removed. The provinces will have new authority by June 2011's conclusion. Some changes that diminish the authority of the headquarters have legitimate legal justifications. For instance, the current Governor-in-charge is the President of the Provincial Council, as stated in Article 104. Similarly, the section of the tale that states the President can also instruct a reserved governor to function in the absence of a speaker is also relevant. Government agencies work together under the auspices of the Joint Interest Council. The articles discussing this body have undergone some revisions. The central government will henceforth select no more than three or four members for the Council of Common Interests, matching the number of prime ministers, as stated in Article 153. The Council is requested to maintain a permanent secretariat in Article 154. At the at least once every ninety days, this crucial group must convene. However, further meetings to discuss crucial matters can be requested by the provinces. There has been a revision to Article 157, which deals with power. A hydroelectric project cannot move forward without the provincial government's green light. The matter will be forwarded to the joint decision board in the event of a dispute. Institutions of higher learning and research are discussed in Part II along with numerous other issues, such as large ports, the census, national planning, and economic cooperation. Concerning this provision, the Joint Interest Council will undoubtedly express its opinion. The planning group appears to be undergoing a transformation into the Joint Services Council secretariat, coinciding with the shift in federal government planning. The federal and central governments are now better able to collaborate thanks to certain amendments to the constitution. Additional details regarding the National Finance Committee are now included in Article 160. It was also unanimously decided

that the proportion of funds allocated to the provinces by the National Finance Committee should not go below the proportion allocated to the regions in the prior award. It was also mandated that the federal minister and the province finance ministers report to the national and provincial councils twice yearly on the status of execution. Regional governments now have the authority to seek loans from domestic and international sources, according to the addition of section (4) to Article 167. However, the National Economic Council's regulations have stifled the progress. The language regarding the proclamation of a state of emergency in Article 232, section X, has undergone significant revisions. An additional stipulation has been inserted to limit the president's authority to interference and hold them accountable to Parliament. In the event that a state of emergency is deemed necessary due to issues within a province, the Provincial Assembly of that province will be required to make a decision. "If the President acts alone, the Declaration of Emergency must be brought to the attention of both houses of the Consultative Council (Parliament) within ten days so that each Council can support it" (Adeny, last year).

Some argue that Pakistan's federalist past is defined by a refusal of provincial autonomy, therefore evading federalist principles. It is difficult to divide up power when the formulas are different, even if the struggle for provincial autonomy led to the 1973 Constitution. The State is perpetually caught in a catch-22 when it comes to economic growth and the distribution of wealth. This is impacted by an uneven distribution of population, land, and natural resources; yet, the provinces' interests and identities are preserved (Khan, 2010). In order for a federation to function well, three conditions must be met. Three things stand out: the Constitution, a divided government, and a distinct court system. "These three important conditions have been permanently messed up in Pakistan." A significant amount of state resources have been squandered due to issues with the Constitution and military coups. Which have undermined the basis of the state by halting the democratic procedures that formed the federal government and the constitution (Noman, 1988). Keep in mind that under the unofficial rule of the army in Pakistan, many lives were lost, the country was divided, and a lot of money was wasted trying to resolve political conflicts. But Amendment 18 sought to address the abuses of power by reorganising the federal government and the Constitution.

"The Eighteenth Amendment stands well on the basis of democratic consolidation but cannot be considered a panacea for governance constraints in Pakistan because at best it is an incomplete process - its completion is a more fundamental reform guaranteeing a broader public response and a stable political and economic union due to increased efficiency and accountability mechanisms" (Waseem, 2010)

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