



**Strengthening Federalism in Pakistan:
18th Constitutional Amendment and the Case of Baluchistan**

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Abstract:

After independence in 1947, the newly born state of Pakistan faced challenges of national integration. The political philosophy of federalism paved the way for a solution to this test but has failed to manifest itself ultimately. After the promulgation of 1973 constitution, the demand for the provincial autonomy and abolishment of concurrent list by the smaller provinces remained a bone of contention between the center and provinces. Subsequent military operations and insurgencies in Baluchistan further aggravated the already tense situation. The 18th Constitutional Amendment with its aims and objectives, strived to strengthen this political philosophy by undoing some effects of the central rule over provinces. This paper tries to examine the functioning of federalism and constitutional history of Pakistan focusing on Baluchistan as an example for the federal-province relationship. This research is qualitative in nature. The 18th Amendment is discussed thoroughly hence analyzing the extent of the Amendment in strengthening Federalism.

Key Words: Pakistan, Baluchistan, federalism, 18th amendment, provincial autonomy, autonomy

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary world, the political systems differ from state to state with the primary goal of exercising jurisdiction and governance within their territory. To exert this control, states opt for a political philosophy that suits their needs and national interest. One of such political philosophy is based on devolution or decentralization of power.

The world before this modern age widely consisted of kingdoms spread across different geographical areas that exerted their control in their sphere of influence through a centralized political system. The king held all the decision-making power and in turn, the fate of his kingdom. The largest of its time, the British Empire exerted such control through the crown, which held sway over 23 percent of the world population by 1913. However, managing such a vast and diverse population proved impossible for the crown, which soon became apparent at the onset of the American Revolutionary War in 1776. The 13 American colonies that severed their political connection to Great Britain realized the cracks in the existing governance system. Thus, a political

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ideology emerged based on the decentralization of power that differed from their colonial masters hence federalism was born with the United Colonies changing into the United States of America (USA) (Karmis & Norman, 2005).

The political philosophy of federalism suited many nations that did not have a homogeneous population within their territory. This was also the case for Pakistan that gained vast territory with a population that differed in language, culture, dressing, traditions, and history with the only uniting factor of religion (Islam). Muhammad Ali Jinnah always favored a weak federal structure with more governing power vested in provinces. This was made apparent in his fourteen points in response to Nehru Report in 1928. The 1935 Government of India Act cemented the idea of federalism within the minds of Muslim leaders. Federalism and provincial autonomy had been political catchwords from the very beginning; however, it has also remained a serious issue in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan.

In this paper, federalism, its features and characteristics with the analysis of evolutionary process of Pakistan's governance system is examined. Further, this study focuses the efforts to strengthen federalism such as the 18th Amendment in the 1973 Constitution, and the democratic process examining the case of Baluchistan which has been the focal point of problems related to national integration and federalism in Pakistan. The paper aimed to address the following questions: How has the 18th constitutional amendment contributed towards the strengthening of Federalism in Pakistan? What are the impacts of the 18th Amendment on Baluchistan and Bloch unrest?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study utilizes qualitative method of analysis to address the question. It deals with historical and document analyses. The research questions have been investigated under the primary sources related to constitutional documents, institutional reports and statements of politicians of Pakistan. Secondary sources, for instance, books, articles and reports, have also been conferred with to respond to the question.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As per the need and significance of the topic, an extensive literature review about federalism, Baluchistan, and center-province relationship has been done. A biography of Pakistani federalism by Rabbani (2011) provides the historical background of federalism in Pakistan. Federalism, according to him, is the only viable solution for the survival of multi-ethnic states like Pakistan, especially after East Pakistan debacle. Adeney (2012), explains how the 18th Amendment in the aftermath of military rule in Pakistan has strengthened the federation. She describes the 18th Amendment as a milestone in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan as it has abolished the concurrent list and has empowered the provinces in their provincial matters. Harrison (1981), has extensively addressed the issue of Bloch unrest. After explaining the historical context of Bloch insurgencies, he has provided some suggestions by keeping in view the theories of federalism which would be appropriate to address the issue of Bloch unrest. Moreover, the review of the Constitution of Pakistan, reports of National Finance Commission (NFC), the proceedings of Council of Common Interest (CCI), and the assembly proceedings relevant to the topic has also been done. Many journal articles, newspapers, and web sources have also been consulted for the better understanding of the topic.

Federalism

The Britannica Encyclopedia describes Federalism as a mode of political organization that unites separate states or other polities within an overreaching political system in a way that allows each to maintain its integrity (Britannica, 2020). Federalism is based on the philosophy of power devolution so all members can share power and can negotiate in making and executing of decisions. These arrangements are assured through a constitution that details and lays down the responsibilities and duties of both the centre and the federating units (Anderson, 2008; Ahmad 2013; Naazer, Kundi, & Farooq, 2018). National affairs are usually dealt with by the center, while local matters are handled by the provinces.

Features of Federalism

Federalism's goal is to reduce the power of the centre ensuring provincial autonomy while maintaining a strong common identity in the grand affairs of state. Furthermore, it ensures that the power lies with people in the democratic system where they can make decisions for their fate. Although many nations who call themselves federal differ in multiple ways yet the underlining characteristics and principles are pro federal system. This includes a written constitution, decentralization, checks and balances, bicameralism, elements of union, and a democratic process. All federal political systems have a written constitution that serves as a legal binding document between the center and the provinces to establish an identity. The Constitution lays down the national and provincial government's roles and responsibilities hence cementing decentralization as a binding agreement (Nasim, & Mahmood, 2019).

Furthermore, every federal system enforces checks and balances between the centre and the provinces to ensure no abuse of power (Ogunnoiki, 2017). One such method includes the bicameralism of the legislative process which makes sure that the centre must not overlap its legislative and administrative jurisdiction over the provinces. Moreover, every federal polity includes elements of unification consisting of centre's attempt for increasing the spirit of nationalism with the aim of maintaining the nation's sovereignty over its homeland. Though the centre's role is devolved, still it is crucial in maintaining the unity between the provinces. If the population in question is widely heterogeneous, the role of the centre becomes even more critical. These elements of unification usually include symbols, common language, traditions, ideology or a common enemy. Federalism is synonymous with democracy as only a democratic process can ensure a federal system to prevail. The democratic process in its true spirits always ensures center-province harmony with maximum provincial autonomy.

FEDERALISM IN PAKISTAN

The first part of the Constitution of Pakistan defines Pakistan as a federal republic with an official name as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It lays down the political philosophy of governance further in articles 41-100, where the Constitution outlines the role and duty of the federal government, composition of the centre, and its law-making body. The provincial governments are discussed from Article 101-140A in the Constitution of Pakistan. However, the most important part of the 1973 Constitution that is in the focus of this chapter is Article 141-159 that lays down the spirit of Federalism and the relationship between the centre and province. These articles discuss

the distribution of legislative powers, administrative relationship between the centre and provinces, and special provisions articulated by the Constitution.

The Constitution divides the legislative powers by assigning the centre to exercise its power on matters related to the federal legislative list (FLL), limiting the federal government to national matters. At the same time, the provinces have the exclusive power to legislate for their areas. However, if any friction arises between the federal and the provincial law, the federal law shall prevail over the inconsistency. Furthermore, the articles lay down the framework of the Council of Common Interest (CCI), which includes the Prime Minister, three members from the federal government, and the chief ministers of all the Provinces. CCI is entrusted with formulating and regulating policies concerning the matters in Part II of the FLL. FLL is the list that consists of issues related to the federal and provinces. It allows provinces to have a greater role in the decision-making process. As the decision of the CCI is made by the opinion of the majority, this framework allows the provinces to have full control over their fate.

The guidelines provided in the Constitution for its federal characteristic are fair enough. It was officially drafted and enacted in 1973 during the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. But since its inception, Pakistan has faced many hiccups in its goal to become a federal republic. To understand the issues better, it is important to have an overview of the Pakistan's constitutional history.

Evolution of Federalism in Pakistan

After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the new state was in dire need of a written constitution. The leaders of that time opted to adopt the Government of India Act 1935 with some amendments as the interim constitution till they draft a constitution that was acceptable to all the federating units in the republic (Nazir, 2008). The territory Pakistan was vastly divided into East and West Pakistan. The population of Pakistan was diverse in language, culture, traditions, food, art, and ethics. The 1935 Act, which was adopted with some amendment as Pakistan's provisional constitution after independence, provided a framework to manage such a diverse nation through a federal government with separate legislative powers for the constituent units. Three different lists were established that included the Federal List, Concurrent List, and the Provincial list (Shah, S. M. 1994). The concurrent list included matters that fell under the joint legislative jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments. Tax revenues were shared between the federation and its units through 1935 Act and an interprovincial council was formulated under section 135 to resolve any disputes. The Act stayed in power for the first nine years of Pakistan's existence till the constituent assembly adopted a new constitution in 1956 (Kokab, 2017).

Although the 1956 Constitution had democratic and federal characteristics yet its spirit was central. The governance structure included a unicameral parliament with the concept of One Unit where seats for legislature were equally divided between eastern and western wings. The legislative jurisdiction was still divided into the three above-mentioned lists, but most items of greater significance were either in the Federal List or Concurrent List (Rabbani, 2011). A National Economic Council (NEC) was created to make recommendations regarding the distribution of resources between the centre and the provinces (Adeney, 2012). It comprised four federal ministers and three ministers from each province. However, the commission could only make recommendations that were not binding upon federal government (Rana, 2020).

Other important central features were specified in article 92 and 109 of the Constitution. The governor's approval was required for the introduction of a bill or amendment. The article 109 dealt with the legislative power of the federal government on matters not included in the three above-mentioned lists hence strengthening the centre at the cost of provinces.

The 1956 constitution had a short life when in 1958 martial law was imposed in the country. Ayub Khan introduced his Constitution of 1962, which was a mix of the Government of the India act 1935 and the 1956 Constitution. The word Islamic was removed from the country's official name, and similar central characteristics were introduced in the new Constitution of 1962. However, one major step towards the decentralization of authority and responsibility was observed with article 132 of the Constitution that vested the residual powers with the provinces. Article 131 allowed the central government to legislate on matters not included in the FLL due to its open-ended nature of provisions. Article 71 allowed the governor (a federal nominee) to dissolve the provincial government in case of a conflict. Furthermore, no specific provision for the provincial representation in the NEC was laid down, with the council being nominated by the President. The 1962 constitution also lived a short life and was immediately abrogated by the new military government in 1968 (Khan, 2001). The effects of these constitutional hiccups were felt all across Pakistan which also hindered the growth of Federalism.

Elections were held in 1970, and the new government drafted a new constitution of 1973. Over the years, the 1973 constitution has been amended several times by the democratically elected and military governments. Two most crucial amendments are the 8th and 17th amendments introduced by General Zia and General Musharraf, respectively which hindered and distorted the federal characteristics of the Constitution.

The bill for the 8th Amendment was passed in the absence of the elected parliament. It changed the governance structure from a parliamentary democracy to a semi-presidential system where the President possessed powers to dissolve the national assembly and the elected governments (Adeney, 2012). This Amendment was perceived a huge blow to the federal character of the state. Although this Amendment was used as a tool for authority by General Zia yet after his regime, this Amendment was used many times to dissolve the national assembly. This desolation fear caused many provincial governments to have prior endorsement from the center for the issuance of orders making the centre all-powerful at the cost of provincial governments. This Amendment was reversed in 1997 by introducing the thirteenth Amendment where the reserved powers of the President to dissolve the national assembly were stripped away.

After General Musharraf came into power, a new amendment was drafted that reversed the effects of the 13th Amendment and made the presidential office more significant to the federation again. However, the power to dissolve the national assembly or the provincial assembly was subject to Veto from the supreme court of Pakistan. The provincial authority was again undermined as decision-making power on matters of utmost importance went back to the centre. The effects of this Amendment went on till 2010 when the then democratically elected government drafted the 18th Amendment (Shah, 2012).

It was for the first time in Pakistan's constitutional history that President willingly signed the approval of an amendment to strip presidential powers along with empowerment of provincial

governments and bringing the true spirits of Federalism back to the political philosophy of Pakistan. Before diving into the discussion on the 18th Amendment and its impacts on Federalism, it is important to discuss the case of Baluchistan in detail and its relation with the federation. Baluchistan has always remained the focus of discussion related to Federalism in Pakistan.

The Case of Baluchistan

During the colonial period, Baluchistan included the princely states of Kalat, Kharan, Makran, Lasbella and the British administrated areas (Pashtun majority areas and the Bugti-Marri tribal areas). A day after Pakistan's independence in 1947, Ahmed Yar Khan, the ruler of the Kalat State, declared independence with overwhelming support from both houses of the Kalat assembly. However, Indian Independence Act 1947 did not provide any option for independence of the princely states, and thus, Khan ultimately signed the accession papers back in 1948. The Bloch nationalists resisted the decision, and Prince Abdul Karim started an armed movement in Jhalawan area of Baluchistan (Breseeg, 2004).

The second resistance came from Mir Noroz Khan Zehri, who opposed the One-Unit scheme under which Pakistan's government amalgamated Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan into one province. The resistance ended with the surrender of Zehri, who was later arrested with his colleagues (Harrison, 1981). On the other side, Baluchistan saw a ray of hope in 1970 when after the passage of Legal Framework Order (LFO) of Yahya Khan, Baluchistan was awarded a full-fledge provincial status land had long been waited for (Mujahid, 2012).

With the dissolution of One-Unit scheme, the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists participated in their first general elections under the banner of National Awami Party (NAP). NAP performed well and managed to form their government in the province, but that soon came crumbling down when in 1973, the government was dissolved by the centre. The reason given for the dismissal was lawlessness and failure to comply with the federal government's decisions. After this, the resentments of the Bloch nationalists grew, and this period is marked with vigorous confrontation and insurgencies from 1973 to 1977 in Baluchistan (Jetly, 2006). The centre made matters worse by deploying over 80,000 strong military forces called out to quell the resistance (Harrison, 1981). The public Bloch mindset was slowly drifting away from the political philosophy of federalism, and it was apparent from their resistance. The centre attempted to appease like general pardon to insurgents were granted but other demands such as the withdrawal of the military troops was never entertained

The era of General Musharraf marked another period of resistance in Baluchistan. The Bloch nationalist parties boycotted the 2008 election, which meant for absence of popular vote and genuine representation in the assembly (Wani, 2016). However, the restoration of a democratically elected government in the centre showed rays of hope for the Bloch population. The then President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, made a formal public apology to the Bloch people for the past injustices and neglect (Asghar, 2012). Furthermore, the President commissioned a Special Parliamentary Commission on Constitutional Reforms (SPCCR) to roll back all previous amendments that hindered the federal political philosophy among the masses. It resulted in the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award and the 18th Amendment. The Bloch nationalists welcomed these efforts.

While the political thinkers and philosophers considered this amendment as the best attempt by the central government to revive the spirit of federalism in Pakistan.

The share of Baluchistan in the divisible pool was increased from 5.13 to 9.09 percent under NFC (Waseem, 2011). Furthermore, an economic package was granted to the province namely *Aghaz-e-Huqooq Baluchistan*, to eliminate the economic and social grievances of the people of Baluchistan. Lastly, the 18th Amendment promised more autonomy and abolished the concurrent list increasing the legislative powers of provinces hence satisfying the primary demand of Bloch nationalist political parties. It had remained the bone of contention between the centre and Baluchistan since the first general election of Pakistan (Wani, 2016). The 18th Amendment is arguably the best step of Pakistan towards Federalism, and a closer look would help understand the current situation of the federal republic.

The Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment

The 18th Amendment is arguably the most important step towards the decentralization policy with far-reaching consequences. Of all the previous amendments, the 18th Amendment was hailed for federalism (Hussain, & Kokab, 2012). Although the then elected government presented many other decentralizing policies but this study focuses on the characteristics and the features of the 18th Amendment, the goals it achieved, and the problems it faced during its execution.

Features of 18th Constitutional Amendment

The 18th Amendment sought to comprehensively amend the Constitution by focusing on several emerging issues that hindered Federalism. These include restoration of the parliamentary form of government, strengthening the key institutions of the state, appointment of judges and federation-provinces relations (Rana, 2020).

Restoration of the Parliamentary form of Government

The 17th Amendment, as discussed above, vested significant powers to the President. This was repealed in its entirety through the 18th Amendment. Various orders passed under LFO of General Musharraf were declared illegal, and the President was made, once again, a ceremonial head as initially intended by the 1973 Constitution. Three Articles of the Constitution were amended i.e. Article 58, 90, and 232 (Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, 2010).

Previously, the President had the power to dissolve the national assembly. Article 58 2(b) was deleted in its entirety which allowed such provisions. Now, according to 58-1(a) the national assembly could only be dissolved on the advice of the prime minister being put forward to both the houses or when a vote of no confidence has been passed against a prime minister. This made sure that the president did not have the power to derail a democratically elected government.

Article 90 allowed the President to have the executive authority of the federation, which could be exercised by him either directly or through his subordinates. The amendment to this article now allowed the rule of business to be framed by the federal government. All executive authority is now vested with the federal government with Prime Minister being the chief executive of the federation. Similarly, the power to impose emergency in any province by the President was also stripped away through the amendment in article 232. Now, a resolution must be passed by the concerned

provincial assembly for a proclamation of emergency. Furthermore, the senate was given a key role in protecting the rights of provinces from undue interference from the federal government.

Strengthening Key Institutions

The Auditor General of Pakistan as an institution was strengthened greatly and granted a fixed term of 4 years with the terms and conditions to be determined by the parliament. It was mandatory for the President to appoint the senior-most official as the Auditor General of Pakistan. Another department that was strengthened is the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). The amendment provided provisions for the appointment and functioning of the election commissioner and granted the institution greater operational autonomy.

This office is considered one of the most essential institution in any democracy. For a federation like Pakistan with a diverse population, ECP provides a platform for the provinces to ensure that spirits of democracy stay intact. The term of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) was increased from 3 to 5 years, and the appointment of CEC was to be done through a parliamentary committee which includes the Speaker of the House and 12 members (50 percent from the treasury and 50 percent from the opposition relative to their strength in the house). This ensured that the centre did not have the ultimate control over one of the most important offices in the state. Lastly, the powers of decision making lay with the institution rather than the CEC, who is one of the five commissioners that make up the Commission.

Appointment of Judges

The 18th Amendment provided a transparent and objective framework for the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court of Pakistan (SCP), High Courts, and the Federal Shariat Court (FSC). This was accomplished through the introduction of a judicial commission. In any federal state, judiciary is considered as the most important institution for check and balances of power. After the amendment, the formulation of Judicial Commission having a broad representation from the government and judiciary and the legal fraternity with the Commission presenting their nomination after an eight members parliamentary committee which in turn must consist of 2 nominees of both the leader of the house and opposition from each House of Parliament separately (Constitution of Pakistan). Another essential amendment about the strengthening of Federalism was the protection of judges from involuntary transfers. After the amendment, transfers could only take place with the consent of the concerned judge and the Chief Justice of the respect court. The 18th Amendment ensured that the judiciary of Pakistan could not be hijacked by the centre and allowed more transparency to the provinces in matters related to justice and Law.

Center-Province Relations

Arguably the most important amendments regarding the strengthening of Federalism were related to the federal-province relationship. A large portion of the 18th Amendment strengthened federal-provincial relation by granting provinces greater function and say in running the country's affairs. For simplicity, these can be divided into three categories: (a) increase in legislative powers, (b) strengthening the Senate and (c) enhanced share in National Resource.

The legislative powers of the Provinces were increased by amending the Fourth Schedule and by abolishing the Sixth and Seventh Schedules of the Constitution. The Sixth Schedule contained a list

of laws that could not be amended without the approval of the President, mainly related to provincial subjects and the Seventh Schedule contained a list of laws that could only be amended through the process similar to amending the Constitution which indeed was a difficult process. After abolishing these two Schedules, these laws were treated like other laws in the statute book, providing provinces to legislate freely on local matters.

The Fourth Schedule provided two legislative lists, i.e., the FLL and Concurrent Legislative List (CLL). CLL was abolished, and matters contained on the list automatically came under provincial responsibility. On the other hand, the FLL that contained two parts, i.e., Part I contained matters exclusively the responsibility of the federal and Part II contained matters which were a shared responsibility of the federal and the provincial governments, were amended. Four items from part I were transferred to part II of the list, four new items were added to part II of the list, few items from CLL were shifted to part II of the list, and five items were deleted from part I of the list (these items also came under the provincial responsibility). This modification signifies an enhanced role for the provinces even in matters that continue to be legitimately federal (Rana, 2020).

Many nationalist political parties from smaller provinces always raised their voice against the CLL. After the 18th Amendment, the provinces have exclusive rights to legislate on matters that affect their fate. Furthermore, this amendment increased the sphere of responsibilities of the provinces, something that was demanded for so long. In matters of representation, the senate was also strengthened as it included equal representation in the federal parliament. The cabinet was made responsible to the national assembly and the senate under the amendment of article 91(4).

No ordinance could be presented if either of the House of Parliament is in session, which previously could be done, and as discussed above, a proclamation of emergency was to be placed before each House for approval. Since the Senate was an amalgam of representation of the Provinces, these added responsibilities meant that the provinces now have a greater authority in the running of public affairs.

Lastly, the 18th Amendment recognized that the rightful beneficiaries of natural resources were provinces and introduced key amendments that increased the provincial share over national resources. Federal ownership of lands, and minerals was made limited by amending article 172. The NFC award was strengthened by declaring in Article 160(3A) that the share of a province in NFC award cannot be less than its share in the previous award. Further, provinces were allowed to raise loans and provide guarantees under Article 167.

Analysis

Political scientists agree that heterogeneous federations tend to be unstable and may experience serious tensions (Hale, 2011). There remains a friction between the constituent units and the federation, usually due to the separate identities. If a constituent unit consists of a distinct ethnic identity from the rest of the unit's, there remains a tendency of separatism. Pluralistic-national federations, on the other hand, make it easy for the groups to secede if they want to do so. In short, the problem of dual loyalty always prevails in a federation.

For Pakistan, the case seems a bit different. Muhammad Ali Jinnah while addressing at Chittagong on March 23, 1948 said, "The story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement, is the very story of

great human ideals, struggling to survive in the face of great odds and difficulties.” This quote manifested itself throughout the Constitutional history of Pakistan. The only factor of national unity was religion while Pakistan itself was diverse in traditions, cultures, languages, and ethnicities. After years of struggle to get provincial autonomy, the 18th Amendment fulfilled those demands. The effect, however, of the 18th Amendment in strengthening Federalism, is debatable.

Firstly, there were implementation challenges where the federal ministers contested their case in the implementation committee to reincarnate the dissolved federal ministries and responsibilities. An effort that became largely successful in transferring many responsibilities and authorities back to the federal government. Many still believe that the provincial governments were well equipped and had the required capacity to perform these functions. Still, the federal bureaucratic structure was just not ready to give-up many of their roles and duties.

Secondly, the General Elections-2018 saw a great participation of the Bloch population. This was in part to the increased provincial autonomy – a demand which the Bloch nationalists sought from the federation. Moreover, since 2013, there has been a decline in insurgencies in the province, and many of the separatist movements have not picked up much heat like before. However, there is some resentment among the Bloch people and distrust with the federation due to such turbulent history. Many people hold a strong view that more work is needed in areas such as management of ethnic issues and national integration. Although there are still some shortcomings in 18th Amendment, yet one can unanimously agree that such an amendment was a dire need for Pakistan's federation. After years of central rule, the provinces did breathe a sigh of relief with the introduction of the 18th amendment.

CONCLUSION

In view of above discussion, it is clear that the 18th Amendment was a great achievement in the history of Pakistan. After years of political and social turmoil, the Parliamentary form of government was restored, and provincial autonomy was increased by strengthening CCI, abolishment of concurrent list, increase in the items present in part II of FLL, enhancement in the powers of Senate and diminishing the powers of provincial governors. This devolution of central control was welcomed by the majority of political parties. Baluchistan, which has been the centre of discussion, had also faced many problems due to the imbalance in federal-province relations. The 18th Amendment was also welcomed warmly by the political representation of Baluchistan. This was evident with a decline in the magnitude of insurgency after 2013 and an increased participation in the political arena during 2018 general elections by Bloch nationalist political parties. Meanwhile, more efforts are still required to strengthen the spirit of Federalism in Pakistan. The 18th Amendment can be considered a corrective step but still, it does not completely address the question of national integration and management of multiethnic nature of Pakistani federation.

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