

## **Pre-1973 Provincial Autonomy in Pakistan: An Evolutionary Study**

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### **Abstract**

*This paper explores the evolution of provincial autonomy and federalism in Pakistan using the descriptive method. This paper introduces the study in first section, followed by the definition of federalism and provincial autonomy in second and third section. Fourth section discusses the pre independence provincial autonomy in British India, fifth section discussing the post-independence federalism and provincial autonomy followed by sixth and seventh section exploring the provincial autonomy in 1956 constitution and 1962 constitution respectively.*

**Keywords:** *Provincial Autonomy, Federalism, Evolution, Constitution.*

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### **1. Introduction:**

Federalism is a form of government system that ensures the constitutional separation of powers between the central government and its branches, with these two sets of governments working to achieve common goals. Federalism is better for homogeneous societies and large territories because it provides more autonomy to the federal unit. Therefore, ethnic and cultural identity is protected and developed through the government itself. Pakistan's federal structure has been controversial since independence. After independence, Pakistan adopted a highly centralized federal system as amended in 1935 as an interim constitution. The various constitutions promulgated in the country, namely the 1956 and 1962 constitutions, created a centralized system of government with a strong emphasis on central leadership. The four military governments that occupied half of the country's life made the problem of centralized government more difficult. The result is bad governance and many tragedies and conflicts. The future central government tried to solve these problems and conflicts by unconstitutional means like using force. This effort complicates the situation and leads to a complex crisis. As a result, in 1971, this country was dissolved. To learn from history and avoid such tragedies, the 1973 constitution was drawn up with the approval of all political parties in parliament. The 1973 constitution promised a self-governing federal parliamentary system that guaranteed fundamental rights and judicial independence to the provinces. Unfortunately, the 1973 constitution was never properly implemented, and the military dictatorship became more centralized. The 18th constitutional amendment was introduced in 2010 to resolve this disparity in the federal structure and establish federalism in its true spirit.

This chapter provides the evolution of provincial autonomy in Pakistan by defining the concept of federalism and provincial autonomy with the help of the explanation of the core concept of the state, its pillars and authority of government. This chapter also attempts to explore the short evolution of provincial autonomy in Pakistan since its very dawn till 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment.

## **2. Federalism:**

Federalism is a system of government where political and economic power, functions and resources of state units are shared cooperatively. But representatives of ethnic diversity and pluralism try to isolate the people of the department from working together (Amuwao & Tamuno, 1998).

However, to transform diversity into growth; By providing an agreed formula for sharing political and economic power and resources, federalism offers appropriate institutional arrangements. These organizational measures not only strengthen the federation, but also support efforts for regional autonomy by enabling meaningful political action and increasing political and economic benefits. Thus, federalism preserves individuality for the federal unit (Naseer, 2007).

Various political scholars argue that federalism is an ideal system where individual political units can easily resolve differences and disputes, formulate solutions and create a platform for public policy action to solve common problems (Ariyo, 2003).

In federalism, participating units must demonstrate a willingness to cooperate for the common good, and a strong ability to maintain their socio-political, ethnic and regional identities. In addition, the federal unit should give the federal government some space to act in the political and economic fields. This is a complex proposition that can make federating units less united and less prone to divisive tendencies. In countries like Pakistan which actually experienced partition in 1971, federalism and provincial autonomy should be explored.

## **3. Provincial Autonomy:**

Provincial autonomy does not mean the separation of departments from the central government or the dissolution of federal-provincial relations. But the concept of provincial autonomy in the shadow of the clear solution mechanism gives several consistent tasks to the province to ensure sustainable political and economic development (Ashraf, 2016).

The politics of autonomy in Third World plural societies is always difficult. The issue of nation building and national integration is still an important issue in Pakistan, which has many ethnic groups in the form of provinces and has demanded provincial sovereignty in all matters. The government of Pakistan has long promoted national unity and integration through authoritarian and centralized means. Pakistan wants to transform its provincial identity into Pakistani identity. The authoritarian methods of the state have played a role in ethnic provincial politics. The end result was the partition of East Pakistan in 1971. The same policy was used after 1971. Consequently, ethnic consciousness developed as a result of the desire for provincial autonomy by the four federal units. The importance of ethnic politics is undoubtedly influenced by political, economic and social variables. Apart from identifying the elements responsible for the ethnic politics and conflict environment, the researcher identified four indicators to assess the threat to Pakistan's national integration. These factors include the leadership of a particular ethnic group, the mobilization of the middle class for a particular cause, state policies to eliminate or exacerbate conflict, and the role of external support for a particular ethnic cause. To build

national integration in the nation, certain structures and emotional perspectives must be developed. The role of the state is important to achieve this goal. In a pluralist society like Pakistan, political activism, political reform, and philanthropy can make a difference to past repressive policies (Akram & Alvi, 2022).

#### **4. Evaluation of Provincial Autonomy in Pakistan:**

The provincial autonomy in Pakistan has its roots in the system of British colonialism. It developed and evolved over the time. The short evolution of the provincial autonomy in Pakistan to its current state can be traced in the following;

##### **i. Provincial Autonomy in British India:**

Britain introduced important administrative reforms in 1857 after the War of Independence. The British Crown had direct control over India. Decentralization was important and the solution to the problem of governance and management, the British realized when they reformed the system. They estimate the decentralization of the subcontinent because of its long, wide borders and diverse scenarios (Ibid).

Provincial autonomy was often demanded as a result of the gradual decentralization of the British government, which gave more power to the provinces. The central government and the British had complete control over provincial affairs during colonial rule. However, the Center enjoys its position of supreme authority to such an extent that the British attitude towards true federalism sometimes seems unclear (Nazir, 2008).

When India became a politically conscious country and experienced widespread sectarian problems, Britain could not prevent the spread of democratic ideas and political consciousness in the 20th century. In this context, historians point to British tactics, especially the issue of 'divide and rule', which led to the conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India to a level that the ruling elite could not manage (Tharoor, 2021).

The British government realized that the only practical solution to India's sectarian problem was to divide the nation into larger working class or sections. After World War II, the British began to dismantle their colonies. The strategy of devolution to two separate states reached its final stage when the Indian Independence Act was passed by the British Parliament in July 1947. The newly formed states of India and Pakistan both adopted the Government of India Act 1935 as their interim constitutions. This shows that the British administration slowly and through various experiments and the introduction of new laws introduced the federal idea in India.

The British government established federal institutions in India, as in other colonies such as Canada, Australia and Malaysia. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 established these institutions in India and gave political representation to religious minorities in the central and provincial legislatures through a separate electorate or candidate system (Thorat, 2019). Given the complex multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of Indian society, no majority approach to this Act seems very appropriate and appropriate for the political accommodation of various sections of society. Finally, the Congress and the Union signed the Lucknow Pact in 1916, which proposed greater representation of Indian Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly (about a quarter of the population) and constitutional guarantees for an electoral system and separate laws related to religion. Culture (Owen, 1972).

These provisions recognize Muslims as a distinct group/nation and provide for non-territorial autonomy and power sharing. Later, the Government of India Act of 1919 went a step further. It not only accepted some of the proposals of the Lucknow Pact but also gave limited autonomy to the provinces. This law created a system of government of limited accountability, known as the "diarchical system". It is argued that this dyarchic system is used as the basis for the creation of federal institutions in India by giving a certain degree of autonomy to the provinces, devolving some subjects to Indian ministers responsible to the provincial legislatures, and leaving other subjects. governor's will (Rudolph & Hoeber Rudolph, 2010).

The British government sent a Legislative Commission led by Sir John Simon to India in 1927 to assess the political situation and propose constitutional reforms that would further transfer power to the people (Bowser, 2021).

When the Council arrived in India in early 1928, it was met with protests and boycotts by Indians and could not meet their demands. However, it created a debate about the future constitution of British India. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, British India witnessed a constitutional war between the Congress and the League. In 1928, an All-Party Conference in Calcutta involving 29 political parties failed to reach an agreement. A committee set up by the Council and headed by Motilal Nehru submitted its report known as the Nehru Report. The report did not agree with the recommendations of the League and Jinnah. Jinnah rejected the report outright for undermining the need for separate electorates for any community and gave his fourteen points against it (Munawar & Mushtaq, 2022).

Katharine Adeney analyzes in detail the federal plans of Congress and the League. He stated that the concept of provincial autonomy was an integral part of constitutional proposals in British India between 1916 and 1946. A major point of contention was the limits of provincial autonomy. Although the Union wanted greater autonomy and greater representation in the central legislature, the Congress proposed a centralized federation with power at the center (Adeney, 2009).

In contrast, the Muslim League preferred a more consensual and non-majoritarian system. He argued for a separate electoral system to ensure Muslim representation in the legislature as well as representation in the cabinet. He worked to secure constitutional guarantees for the preservation of Muslim culture and identity. This effort was made to protect Muslims in minority provinces through non-territorial autonomy measures. The alliance sought maximum territorial autonomy for the Muslim majority province (Ibid). Indian leaders met at the Round Table Conference in London in 1930, 1931 and 1932 to discuss a future constitution for British India. Despite the disagreement about the constitutional design, the final result of this conference was the adoption of the Government of India by the British Parliament in 1935 (Legg, 2020).

## **ii. Provincial Autonomy and Government of India Act, 1935:**

The 1935 Act is very important in the history of India and Pakistan; It laid the foundation for future constitutions of India and Pakistan. It consists of several parts. The second part of this Act deals with the federal structure. It is considered when a particular princely country will choose this mechanism; the second part of the law will apply. This happened and for the first time in the history of India, power and influence were divided into three control lists: central, provincial and at the same time the Governor General had residual powers. 54 subjects in the provincial list and 59 in the central list. The federal government has the last word in the conflict. Center and provinces can make laws simultaneously.

There are a total of 36 subjects in this list. The Governor General must decide whether certain powers should be exercised by the provincial or federal government. Each province is given a council of ministers. Apart from the powers that the Governor General can exercise with his independent discretion, his advice is necessary for the governor. NWFP was given the status of a full province (Qureshi, 2008).

A hierarchical system was introduced at the federal level. Two categories were developed and implemented to classify federal topics. Defense, finance, foreign affairs and tribal administration fell under the reserve department, which was under the sole control of the governor general. The Governor General will carry out all other subjects (delegates) under the direction of the Council of Ministers holding the position.

The 1935 Act granted autonomy to several provinces; The Crown, not the federal government, gives authority to these provinces. The federal structure, which divides power between the center and the provinces, further decentralized power. These provinces are empowered to make and enforce laws. However, their reputation was severely limited. Administrators are given unique powers such as vetoing laws, acting in emergency situations, and requiring approval before doing certain actions. The Governor General also experienced. The administrative powers of the provincial governor will be responsible to the Governor General for duties such as protecting the rights of minorities and maintaining law and order in the province based on his discretion. Britain tried under the 1935 Act (Chandio, 2014).

Quaid-i-Azam openly criticized the aforementioned Act, stating that it was "deprived of all essential elements and basic requirements necessary for the establishment of a federation" (Akram & Alvi, 2022). The Act gives autonomy to the provinces on the one hand, and on the other hand the power of the Governor-General to do all things, and the Governor-General, who acts as the representative of the Governor-General and is personally responsible to him.

### **iii. Lahore Resolution: A base for Provencial Autonomy in Pakistan:**

The Lahore Resolution, 1940, is one of the founding documents and events in the history of Pakistan. The Lahore resolution of 1940 is itself an exponent of Provencial autonomy in Pakistan. It was urged by the declaration that there shall be autonomous states in British India, it was further declared in the resolution that there shall be autonomy of the provinces. The same can be testified by the text of the Lahore Resolution.

*"....no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."* (Shahzad, 2022)

The main reason for using the term "autonomy" is to demand proper representation of Muslims in elected government institutions. Initially, the founder believed that Muslims were being treated unfairly since the British had unfairly distributed Bangladesh and Punjab, two areas with significant Muslim

populations. Later, he found that the autonomy research could not solve this problem. In 1946, he demonstrated this further in his speech at a conference in Delhi (Ashraf, 2016).

### **5. Post Independence Provincial Autonomy and Federalism in Pakistan:**

Provincial autonomy has two meanings. First, the provincial governments were fully accountable to their respective legislative bodies, and second, the provinces enjoyed considerable independence from external control and interference.

The terminology used in many articles is generally kept in the 1956 and 1962 constitutions. Despite creating a bicameral legislature, it is still a federal system unlike the previous constitution (Khan, 2010).

It has a Senate, an upper house with 60 seats, and a National Assembly, a lower house with 200 seats. Although seats in the National Assembly are determined by population, the Senate has equal representation from all four states of the federation. However, the 1973 Constitution differs from other versions since it created a Senate with equal representation for all provinces, provided for the representation of small provinces such as Balochistan, and included a Senate system of checks and balances (Ibid). Although Urdu replaced Urdu with Sindhi, Urdu only became the official language of Pakistan and occupied the majority of seats in the Punjab National Assembly.

As mentioned earlier, the federal structure of the country was established by the 1973 constitution, which also has two lists: the federal list and the uniform list. Each federal unit provides an upper house, or Senate, with 14 senators for four-year terms, half of whom resign after two years. The federal government can include 67 subjects in the Federal List, but the provincial assembly can legislate on subjects in the joint list. However, the right of the central government should be supreme and should apply in disputes under Article 143 (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002).

The Council of Common Interests (CCI) was formed to strengthen the spirit of the Federation. There is an equal number of federal and provincial prime ministers, appointed members of the president. The Board shall have full authority to hear matters relating to natural water resources. like taking water from the river. The council is also tasked with developing plans for railways, electricity, oil and gas and industrial development. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave a historic speech on August 14, 1973, the day the constitution came into force, declaring that the days of coups were over and political violence must end (Khan, 2010). However, the Bhutto government, which drafted the constitution, played a more important role than the Central government, which created resentment between the Baloch and Pashtun parts of the federated unit. Members of the National Assembly (MNA) and former Governor and Chief Minister of Balochistan have been arrested on suspicion of corruption and sedition. In the NWFP, the Nationalist Congress Party government was also considered incapable of running the country, and the NAP was called illegal and "undermining the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan" (Ibid).

The federal administration also made efforts to reduce the opposition parties in the National Assembly and acted otherwise. The current situation dealt a major blow to federalism and was not reversed by Zia ul Haq's eight-year martial law rule (Kundi & Jahangir, 2002).

### **6. Federalism and Provincial Autonomy in Constitution of 1956:**

Like the Government of India Act 1935, this constitution created a federation. Federalism in this country should give the provinces a voice and a means of self-accountability. The Government of India Act of 1935 further supports the decision-making process. The unicameral or unicameral legislature was established by the 1956 constitution, which required a centralized and unitary body, as opposed to federalism.

The Second Constituent Assembly supported a bicameral system with an upper and lower house and rejected this framework. With the merger of the West Pakistan provinces, representation was made on an equitable basis, which fixed the problem in some respects. In a federal democracy, seats are reserved on the basis of equal and balanced representation in all houses of the lower house of population and division. However, the situation in Pakistan was completely different. The nation voted for a unicameral legislature and a federal form of representation based on equality.

In the 1956 constitution, which divides power between the federal government and its divisions, there are three categories of subjects: federal, provincial and concurrent: Federal (30), provincial (94) and serial (19) list. The most complete list for the province. Although the federal government and the provincial government can enact laws simultaneously on the same list, in the event of a conflict, the federal law will have primary jurisdiction to resolve the issue. A conflict arises between those in power who prefer a centralized government and those who enjoy provincial autonomy.

It is argued that authority and power should be given to the side supported by two powers. Supporters of the center want more power for the center, while supporters of provincial autonomy argue that the provinces have this power. Provincial legislatures have been empowered since 1956 to make laws on matters not mentioned in the above three lists as provided in Article 109 of the constitution (Akram & Alvi, 2022).

The federal government receives most of the funding, while the provinces receive significantly less funding. With the emergency clause of the 1956 constitution, the relationship between the center and the federating units was in jeopardy. A strong central movement gave rise to the idea that a unified and unified force was needed in times of war or other emergencies. The center is responsible for the defense of the federation. Such clauses were felt necessary by the framers of the constitution. The federal government was granted emergency powers.

Forces opposed to provincial autonomy were able to legitimize the popular and politically fragile decision to maintain the illegal parity between East and West Pakistan by introducing the One Unit Constitution of 1956. Despite all the political tactics played on representation, language or ethnicity, the 1956 constitution failed to satisfy the political needs and provincial economy due to the creation of a province 'West Pakistan' in a one-unit formula (Choudhury, 2005). Similarly, the linguistic diversity and the way to meet the fair demands of the provinces have not been resolved despite the implementation of the 1956 Constitution. This constitution does not solve the problem of provincial autonomy, because it continues with a formula that unites by creating two provinces based on language; 98% of people in East Pakistan speak Bengali and the rest of the province is linguistically homogeneous because 63% of the West Wing speaks Punjabi, but there are many other language groups speaking Pashtun, Sindhi, Urdu and Baluchi. The decision to adopt Urdu as the national language created a political conflict between the center and the province without accepting all stakeholders, because Urdu is the mother tongue of only 3.24% of the total population, while Bengali is the mother tongue of 54% of the population (Adeney, 2009).

## **7. Provincial Autonomy and Federalism in Constitution of 1962:**

The constitution of 1956 was repealed by Ayub Khan in 1958 with the overthrow of the political government and replaced by a new constitution of 1962 that sought to maintain the One Unit and the model of equality with East Pakistan, a model of equality that effectively removed the rights of the former people. East Pakistan will rule the whole of Pakistan. In the One Unit formula, a legislative house called the National Assembly was created at the federal level, with equal representation from the eastern and western wings of Pakistan. Ayub Khan easily got the support of the military, civil bureaucracy and some politicians to pursue his chosen policy. However, the military and bureaucracy gave Ayub Khan considerable power to exercise power (Alavi, 1972).

Ayub Khan ignored the recommendations of the Fundamental Principles Committee and the 1960 constitutional commission for provincial autonomy. Although both of these treaties recognize the federal form of government, at the same time they encourage federation in the spirit of federalism to give full political and economic autonomy to the federated units (Khan, 2010). General Ayub Khan was more concerned with establishing an irreversible central government by appealing to Pakistani nationalism (Choudhury, 2007).

Therefore, the 1962 Constitution retains 82 lists of the 1956 Constitution with three lists; federal, provincial and simultaneously. According to the dominant will of the powerful center, 49 items were included in the federal list, but none for the provinces, and it was decided that the rest of the power would be vested in the provinces. It is very important to understand that this is a political tactic played by the federal and provincial governments, because the provinces can legislate without any indication of a problem. The provincial assembly has practically nothing to legislate or manage. With the effect of the 1962 constitution, the balance of political and economic power shifted to the federal government instead of the provinces (Khan, 2010).

The scope of the federal units is substantially united by the constitution of 1962. The lower and upper houses of the bicameral system, as we mentioned earlier, give power to the federation. However, the 1962 constitution called for a unicameral legislature, just like the 1956 constitution. In the 1962 constitution, there was a direct separation between federal agencies and the central government. The remaining subjects are left to the provinces and there is only one federal list. When it comes to matters related to the third order of the constitution, the center of Pakistan has the final say on how the law is passed. Compared with the central list of thirty topics of the 1956 Constitution, there are 49 lists.

The federal legislature can pass any law based on national interest. In addition, the provincial governments can make laws on matters related to the provinces if they are not included in the third schedule when they give this jurisdiction to the federal government. The 1962 Constitution is often referred to as a one-man show. It resulted in substantial autonomy for provinces in East and West Pakistan. Taking only a progressive stance, he rejected calls for the autonomy of Punjab province from West Pakistan. The 1962 constitution prohibited Bengalis from participating in political, social, fiscal, and decision-making, led to a massive movement for independence in East Pakistan, and called for the devolution of all powers except currency, defense, and foreign policy to the provinces. The use of military force against the East Pakistanis, preventing them from pushing for maximum independence, led to the expansion of the liberation movement that led to the creation of Bangladesh (Akram & Alvi, 2022).



## 8. Conclusion:

The State is a body of individuals who are governed by an authoritative independent government with sovereignty over a definite territory. Pakistan is federal sovereign state being a federation of four federating units.

Provincial autonomy doesn't imply separation from the central government but rather involves empowering provinces for sustainable political and economic development within a clear solution mechanism. The complexities of implementing autonomy in Third World plural societies, like Pakistan, are highlighted, especially considering the diverse ethnic groups seeking provincial sovereignty. The historical use of authoritarian and centralized methods to foster national unity is acknowledged, with a recognition of the challenges and conflicts that have arisen, as seen in the partition of East Pakistan in 1971. The passage also identifies key factors influencing ethnic politics and potential threats to national integration, including ethnic leadership, middle-class mobilization, state policies, and external support. It underscores the need for state-driven efforts, political activism, reform, and philanthropy to build national integration and address the repercussions of past repressive policies in a pluralist society like Pakistan. The provincial autonomy has evolved over a period of time in Pakistan.

The provincial autonomy has its roots in pre partitioned British India, the act of 1935 put special emphasis on provincial autonomy and separate electorate. Pakistan adopted the act of 1935 as interim constitution and then the objective resolution, both proposed bicameral legislatures to strengthen the provinces.

In contrast to the originally proposed bicameral system, the 1956 constitution opted for a unicameral legislature with an emphasis on federal representation based on equality. The division of powers between the federal and provincial governments, outlined in three subject categories, created a tension between centralization and provincial autonomy. Despite provisions empowering provincial legislatures, problems persist due to unequal distribution of funds, emergency clauses favoring the central government, and the controversial One Unit Constitution of 1956, which maintained parity between East and West Pakistan. The failure to address linguistic diversity and fair provincial demands, along with the promotion of Urdu as the national language, further fueled political conflicts between the center and the provinces and hindered the resolution of issues related to provincial autonomy.

The 1956 constitution was abrogated by Ayub Khan in 1958 overthrowing the political government and replaced by a new constitution in 1962 which sought to preserve the Unitary Unit and the model of equality with East Pakistan, a model of equality which effectively removed the rights of the former people. East Pakistan will control all of Pakistan. Under the One Unit formula, a legislative house called the National Assembly was created at the federal level with equal representation from the East and West wings of Pakistan. Ayub Khan easily got the support of the army, the civil bureaucracy and some politicians to carry out his chosen policies. However, the military and bureaucracy gave Ayub Khan considerable power to wield power.

Ayub Khan ignored the recommendations of the Committee on Fundamental Principles and the Constitutional Commission on Provincial Autonomy of 1960. Although both of these treaties recognize the federal form of government, they also call for a federation in the spirit of federalism to give full political and economic autonomy to the federated units. General Ayub Khan was more concerned with

establishing an irreversible central government by appealing to Pakistani nationalism.

Therefore, the 1962 Constitution retains the 82 Schedules of the 1956 Constitution with three Schedules; federal, provincial and simultaneously. According to the dominant will of the powerful centre, 49 items were included in the federal list but none for the provinces and it was decided that the rest of the power would be vested in the provinces. It is very important to understand that this is a political tactic by the federal and provincial governments because the provinces can legislate without any hint of a problem. The Regional Assembly has practically nothing to enact or manage. With the effect of the 1962 constitution, the balance of political and economic power shifted to the federal government instead of the provinces.

The powers of the federal units are substantially unified by the constitution of 1962. The lower and upper chambers of the bicameral system, as we have already mentioned, transfer power to the federation. However, the 1962 Constitution called for a unicameral legislature, as did the 1956 Constitution. The 1962 Constitution saw a direct separation of federal agencies and the central government. The remaining subjects are left to the provinces and there is only one federal list. When it comes to matters related to the third order of the constitution, the center of Pakistan has the final say on how the law will be passed. Compared to the central list of thirty subjects of the 1956 constitution, there are 49 lists.

The federal legislature can pass any law based on national interest. In addition, provincial governments can legislate on matters relating to the provinces, if not included in the Third Schedule, when they give this power to the federal government. The 1962 Constitution is often referred to as a one-man show. The result was considerable autonomy for the provinces in East and West Pakistan. He only took a progressive stance and rejected calls for autonomy for Punjab province from West Pakistan. The 1962 constitution barred Bengalis from political, social, fiscal and decision-making, led to a massive independence movement in East Pakistan, and called for devolution of all powers except currency, defense and foreign policy to the provinces. The use of military force against the East Pakistanis, preventing them from pursuing maximum independence, led to the expansion of the liberation movement that led to the creation of Bangladesh.

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