

## Balochistan's Constitutional Aspect of Provincialism:

By

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### Abstract:

*The distribution of power and resources produces a sense of provincialism and discrimination among the federating units in Pakistan. This resulted sour relationships between federal government and the province of Balochistan. These conditions led to arose the issue of identity in Balochistan. The issue can be resolved by providing appropriate shares in power and sources distribution through constitution.*

*Power sharing remains a source of tension among federal government and province of Balochistan, since 1948. Whenever the provincial political power is ousted from power, the tension arose with the province. After the disturbance of 1970s and end of Zia's regime in 1988; a hope was perceived for having proper share in the affairs of the state by provincial political authorities. But after the end of democratic era of 1988-1999; the province saw a much stronger disturbance. It was the result of the era as; the democratic governments did not address the grievances of power sharing of the provincial political leaders. This study is designed to analyse the relations between federal government and the provincial; with special reference to the constitution. As the study highlights the constitutional framework in which the problem and solution lies.*

**Keywords:** Balochistan, Provincialism and Constitution

### Introduction:

Resolution of conflict in any society of the World involves “enchaining into justification the sources of conflict to address the roots causes, which may clue to prevention of violence in the society. “Human Needs Theory” offers a mechanism for understanding the derivation causes for any conflict in any society and region in the world nevertheless of its political cultures. It infers that, “aggressions and conflicts are the direct result of some institutions and social norms being incompatible with inherent human needs. The needs that are frustrated by institutions and norms require satisfaction. (Kok, 2007)

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Compelling into interpretation “the current circumstances of Balochistan where tribal chiefs had been unreasonably blaming the institutions of government for being source of unrest in the province. The human needs approach can afford a better understanding to apprehend the engagement and may bid for a possible apparatus towards resolution of the issue. (Bukhari et al. 2015)

However, Frederic Grare whereas quoting Balochistan problems said that, “It holds large quantities of coal, gold, copper, silver, platinum, aluminium, and, above all, uranium, and is a potential transit zone for a pipeline transporting natural gas from Iran and Turkmenistan to India.

(Grare, 2006)

In spite of having rich assets, Balochistan has “the poverty stricken population with lowest per capita income and literacy rate as compared to other provinces in the country. (Bukhari)

The sagacity of having a main part of natural assets while breathing an economically immature life, people of Balochistan have continuously been doubtful about the protagonist of other provinces in Balochistan, whom they cogitate as the “...exploiter of their economic activities. Although, Baluchistan has been an underdeveloped part of Pakistan but the people of Baluchistan never compromise on their prestige and dignity. They do not believe in to be patronized by the others while seeking self-respect and equal rights in all affairs of the state. The lack of control over the huge economic resources, weak political order, and sense of deprivation have caused disquiet and constant state of flux in the province over the past decades; the province has faced various military operations from 1948 to 2005 that exacerbated the anti-state sentiments in Baloch people. A report as a result of Senator Sanaullah Baloch over Balochistan engagement portrays that,

“Islamabad’s offensives to suppress the Baloch struggle for greater autonomy and control on natural resources resulted in killings, displacements, disappearances and unprecedented intimidation. (Baloch, 2007)

An additional bone of controversy is associated to the portion of people of Balochistan in mega projects corresponding to Gwadar Sea-Port. The establishment of these mega projects have not merely strategic encouragements but also supplemented with a lot of profit-making interests. The local populous get fearful regarding the exploitation of their resources in these projects by the already superior provinces of the federation of Pakistan.

The commencement of engagement between “the federation of Pakistan and Balochistan can be map out in the early era after the objectivity of Pakistan while Khan of Kalat was detained on distrust of

upheaval in 1958. The crisis gained momentum when a heavy military operation was carried out from 1973 to 1977 by the Bhutto government. It was further intensified during military operation by Musharaf regime when a prominent Baloch leader, Nawab Akbar Bugti was killed. As discussed earlier, the Baloch leadership has reservations regarding control and distribution of resources extracted from Baluchistan. (Bukhari)

The Baloch leadership believes that the direct control of federal government on the probable possessions, sited in Baluchistan as unlawful. They entitlement “to be the sole owners of the natural resources of Baluchistan. The precursor to this claim is based on monetary benefits which they want to extract through larger share in the generated revenues. Whether their claim is legitimate or not, it poses great challenge to the national security of Pakistan. Apart from this elite perspective, the local masses who are poverty stricken as well as illiterate due to the unjust distribution of resources for their constituencies, have grievances from both the tribal leadership as well as from the state. They have been exploited by both the parties; they fear to be kept rotting in the inhuman conditions unless they are retrieved from the brutal control of Sardars over them and provided with the opportunities to get proper education that may enable them to acquire skills that would contribute to earn their living as well as better life standards.

### **Problems of Balochistan and Response of Federation:**

The democratic History of Pakistan; which has prejudiced the identity construction and interest pronouncement the most. It is maintained that “the structure of federal in Pakistan had/has not been fruitful enough to encompass severe ethno-linguistic clashes. The Pakistani state system experienced miscellaneous kind of variations ranging from centralization, populism and determinations for Islamisation. These did not produce much desirable space for Provincial Autonomy and significant contribution of ethnic minorities. Much of modification with the constitutional contraption has had repetitive chapters of Martial Laws which adjourned the democratic growth.

Much of modification with the constitutional contraption has essentially been done on bidding of the military and civil bureaucracy quite than manifestation of a democratic institution. Such interpositions could not comprehend ethno-religious engagements to manageable heights. Indeed, the sagacity “.... of “Punjabisation” of the state along with rapid urbanization specially in Karachi has created situations of ethnic disharmony and violence. (Abbasi, 2010)

Mushtaq presented the central government’s interposition in Balochistan as follows, (Mushtaq, 2009)

- 1948 Annexation of Kalat States into the federation of Pakistan.
- 1955 One-Unit scheme (Amalgamation of Provinces and States of Kalat into the single province of West-Pakistan).
- 1962-69 Ayub’s Presidential period (Federal system operated like British Vice regal system of 1930s).

- 1972-73 Termination of three-party harmony and termination of Balochistan government.
- 1977-88 Constitutional modifications by Military Administration destabilized the legislative and Federal environment of constitution.
- 1988-93 Suspension of Provincial Assemblies (1988, 1990, 1993).

It is contended that in Balochistan there is a resilient case to familiarize convocational mechanisms which guarantee consensus based on sincere counselling procedures and extensive representation of different social clusters so that clashes and segregations are condensed and determined at the indigenous levels. There is a necessity to create more “.... space for the people of Balochistan to become part of mainstream political, social and economic development processes. A sense is growing that the stronger institutions of the state which do not have adequate representation from Balochistan can violate laws with impunity. (Abbasi)

The Pakistan Navy had been supposed to have engaged land in District Turbat and Dasht in the Makran division even though violating the land acquisition Act. (The Dawn, 2015)

Democracy alone seems to be inadequate to discourse the power inequities which arise out of illustrative atmosphere of systems of ascendancy. (Adeney, 2009)

However, the issues “of identity and conflict in a federal system, which is either run in a majoritarian or unitary fashion, can have many influencing factors embedded in economic and ethnic-linguistic dimensions. (Abbasi)

### **Federalism:**

Federalism is deliberated as a procedure of government of the components with a centre. In federalism powers and the established order are disseminated among the center and its respective units. Central government is empowered to exercise its supremacy over the all associating units. Federal form of government “... exists in all the societies and is the most common form of government in multi-cultural societies. For heterogeneous societies it is more suitable form of government. Majority of the world societies comprises of different cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups. The federal government is for the unification and harmony of the federating units. If the federal form of government failed to unite the diversify society under the viable political mechanism, the survival of that federation and particular society may be at stick. (Scruton, 1982)

A federal procedure of political organization has to deliver two distinguishable sets of articles for the preparation of federal government and state or provincial government. There “... third set of laws has a

parallel, upon which both federal government and unit of governments may have implementation of power. However, in the case of variances over the rights to exercise of power, over a specific issue of the national interests, the federal government will prevail the right. The rights to exercise power for both federal and provincial government have been justified by a signal constitution (federal constitution).

Roger Scruton, in this regard stated that,

“The strength of federalism, which has emerged as a philosophy of politics and a successful mechanism of government to attain political unity between various social entities in a society in large number of nation-states, springs from constitutional foundations. (Shah, 1994)

Pakistani culture is a heterogeneous civilization, which encompassed of into a sum of etymological and ethnic groups. Federalism is the principal imperative clang for the protection of political synchronization in the federation of Pakistan. Since the partition, “... of the Indo-Pak into two domains, in Pakistan the question of federalism in all constitutional considerations had occupied the most important position. The emergence of federalism on the political scene was a leading plea of the all federating units. It was the only device which can safeguard the interests of the all units in contrast to the central government. The federating units of Pakistan found an adequate constitutional weight for running provincial administration and economic concerns.

The pre-partition period evident the anxieties for establishments of the federalism; were thru by All India Muslim league (AIML), Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (KKM), Indian National Congress (INC) and other party-political celebrations through entirely legitimate considerations under British Raj. The All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress worked cooperatively as will autonomously for the foundation of Indian federation. For example, “...the joint mobilization of the All India Muslim League and Congress, for more share in the Central Legislature and separate electorates, resulted in the famous Lucknow Pact of 1916. The Montgagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 were the result of the collective demand by both the political groups for a federal system of government.

Craig Baxter, while explaining the demands for the establishment of federalism in India wrote that,

“In Pakistan Federalism was provided as one of the promises for the establishment of Pakistan. Federalism and Provincial autonomy have been political catchwords from the beginning of Pakistan. No constitutional matter has bred such a controversy as did the central units’ relationship. (Baxter, 1974)

### **Federalism in Pakistan:**

Although All India Muslim League was demanding the creation of Pakistan, which was grounded on the political judgements of federalism assumed by Alama Muhammad Iqbal but the philosophies of federalism were demoralized since the conception of Pakistan in 1947. The removal of Dr Khan's Office in North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and upsurge of Jagto front from Bengal shaped disagreement among central and its unitary government of Bengal upon the subject of autonomy.

The demographic discrimination, the structure of unbalanced federal originated into effect. Gulshan Majeed and Syed Muhammad Ammar Hamdani in their work, *Issues and Adjustment in Pakistan's Federation* stated that,

“..... The elites belonging to the western wing took advantage of the state affairs and enjoyed the political, administrative and economic power after the independence. In this folder, representation became major concern and Khawaja Nazimmudin presented bicameral legislation with 60 members in upper house and 200 members in lower house. afterward, from East Pakistan M. Ali Bogra presented 10 seats in upper house and 165 seats in lower house; 40 seats in upper house and 135 seats in lower house for West Pakistan. In parliament this pressed for opting Parity formula for representation. In this whole circumstance, the scheme of one unit was introduced to balance the issue of representation. The benefit was taken broadly by Punjab to side-line the opposition from Sindh, NWFP, and Baluchistan. (Majeed, 1968)

The provincial political leaders of Balochistan hoped that “from the new nation that engrained role of the federal government would shrink after independence from British Raj. Conversely, to their disappointment, it went on the reverse side and the federal government hold was further strengthened. (Keith, 1968)

The First Constituent Assembly (FCA), was established for resolution of the constitutional issues for the lately recognized federation of Pakistan. The constitutional crisis and scientifically forward-looking, soon after the operative of First Constituent Assembly, the issues aroused. It again pronounced political differences over the questions of federalism. The balance of “... power and authorities of the newly federal structure was in favour of central government as it barrowed it in the form of Government Act of India 1935. 1935, Act was made as a fundamental part of the constitution of Pakistan's political system. The constituent assembly had the power to allow the provinces with autonomy for the participation of the progress of Pakistan, from 1947 to 1956, before a new constitution was framed.

### **The 1956, Constitution:**

The constitution of 1956, carried in line the federal form government beside two units was familiarized with the assigning dominating role to Central Government. National Assembly “was encompassed of 310 seats, of which 150 seats to be nominated from East-Pakistan and 150 seats were to be elected from West-Pakistan, while remaining 10 seats were held in reserve for women. This controlled 3 list: ... federalist with 30 items; provincial list with 94 items; and concurrent list with 19 items. Yet it could not prove well to maintain healthy relationship between centre and provinces because of its unstructured framework. Punjabization was so dominant that it captured the interest of other entities. Even the capital of Pakistan was shifted from Karachi to Islamabad which is situated in Punjab. (Abbasi, 2010)

The Basic Principles Committee (BPC) strappingly endorsed principles of federalism, but these commendations were disregarded in hefty. The constitution of 1956 delivered a federal scheme of government, but a sturdy hold was assumed for the central government.

The One-Unit formulation allocated Pakistan into two regions i.e. East-Pakistan and West-Pakistan. This detachment was grounded on the Parity Formulation. Conferring to this character National Assembly encompassed up of 310 members. From these 310 members, 150 members were to be elected by common vote from East Pakistan and 150 elected members from West Pakistan. 10 seats were reserved for women, whom were to be elected ultimately. (Adeney, 2009)

Linguistic multiplicity in Pakistan and in what way to accommodate linger a question. In this regard Adeney analyzed that,

“This created two provinces, one linguistically homogeneous (98% of the population of East Pakistan spoke Bengali) and the other linguistically heterogeneous (63% of the western wing spoke “Punjabi”, but there were other significant linguistic groups who spoke Pashtu, Sindhi, Urdu or Balochi). In another example of undermining the importance of ethno-linguistic groups, Urdu was earlier adopted as the national language although it was spoken as a mother tongue by only 3.24% of the total population (Bengali was spoken by 54%). (Muhammad, 2010)

The parity method was implemented for the dissemination of power amongst the regions but it was discounted for the dispersal of power between the Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi and Balochs, in West-Pakistan. The seats were distributed with accordance to population bases in West Pakistan among these communities, although it was to be done according to Parity Formula. Legislative hegemonies were allocated into three leans i.e. Federal Government with 30 items, provincial government with 94 items and Concurrent with 19 items. This was measured as unjust

policy of delivery of power by East-Pakistan as will by the ethnicities of West-Pakistan. These contemplations led to political unpredictability and caused in collapsible of democracy within two years.

The constitution of the 1956, was revoked by a Presidential Coup with the provision of army in 1958, which was a real hesitant chunk to the federalism in Pakistan. This results largely at the sufficient price of bitter associations between; East and West-Pakistan. From 1958, the country was run through the military laws in the absenteeism of constitution till 1962. The political philosophy of the country was subjugated by the Ayub Khan and his military friends.

### **The 1962 Constitution:**

The 1962 constitution designed at the legality for martial rule. It also had three slants with very robust role “of President. President was crown of state and skull of the government. It contained of unicameral parliament. For elected “representative duration was five years. According to Parity formula’s half of the representatives from East Pakistan and half from the West Pakistan. The jurisdiction of federal government was dominating provincial government. In 1966, six points of Awami league redefined federalism and demanded for adult franchise in a parliamentary framework; two subjects for the center i.e. defense and foreign policy, along with communications; two convertible separate currencies or one currency to be handled by two separate reserve banks for the two wings; power of taxation for the provinces; right of provinces to handle foreign exchange and foreign trade; and paramilitary forces for east Pakistan. (Adeney, 2009)

The constitution of 1962, also “margins three lines of governmental powers. The first one was Central government, second one was Provincial setup and the third one was the Concurrent which was to be applied by both federal government and provincial government. The constitution distributed a vigorous role for the president. The 1962 constitution declared the president as the head of the federation and also of the government.

The One-Unit scheme “visualization of 1955 was continued also in the 1962, constitution. The legislative setup was limited to one house system I.e. National Assembly (NA). The term of National Assembly was declared valid for five years, for which the members of NA was to be elected for the tenure of five years. The article 20 of 1962, constitution, declared that members of the NA to be elected on the basis of parity formula. According to which half members be elected from the East Pakistan and the other half from the West. (Ahmed, 1974)

The 1962 constitution delineated a list “... with 49 items for the central government; from which the central legislature had to legislate. The items for the provincial list and concurrent were not identified. The lasting powers left for the provinces were an aggregate deviancy from the doctrines of federalism. (Adeney, 2009)



According to the constitution of 1962, the equilibrium of power was heavily sloping in support of the federal government. The "... jurisdiction of central legislature was absolutely dominant upon the provincial legislature. The provincial Assemblies were given the right for legislation of the items with little importance. The political events after the announcement of martial law in 1969, by Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan and the declaration of the first common elections in Pakistan foremost to the appearance of Bangladesh as a separate country on the world map, necessitated the question of structure of federalism in Pakistan. (Kundi and Jahangir, 1995)

In the election stunning victory of Awami League, which "... acquiring 160 seats in East Pakistan, was completely sustained by Mujeeb-ur-Rahman's Six Points Formula. The Mujeeb's Six Points Formula was in fact formulated in 1966 for the Awami League trick for uniformity in economic, administrative and development process. According to Six Points Formula; the significant residuary supremacies were to be given only for the provinces, by providing with the central government defense and foreign affairs only. (Muhammad, 2010)

The germs of dissatisfaction and displeasure actually dispersed throughout the constitutional discussions and disaster from 1947 till 1954. These sown germs doled into the custom of a civil war when General Yahya Khan on 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1971 suspended the session of the National Assembly to employ pressure on Shaikh Mujeeb-Ur-Rahman for a reduction on his Six Points. The die had twisted in the favour of Mujeeb when herds rotated into the streets of East-Pakistan. The pressurizing of Mujeeb caused into rebellion in East-Pakistan against Islamabad. The appearance of the united Pakistan washed-out into disintegration over the centre-provinces relationship. The Centre-Province kith and kin were deteriorated by the nous of discrimination as the result of majority East-Pakistani people was not fortunate.

### **The Constitution of 1973:**

The political atmosphere of the federation of Pakistan, required the fresh system to run the businesses of the country. The nation had departed through a very poorest situation of confederation and the federation was more vigilant to overpower the nationalist foundations. The 1973 Constitution designed at on condition that maximum provincial autonomy was to be delivered. The One-Unit system was eliminated and Balochistan was engraved out as a new province. First time, two-house legislature was designated. The Senate was voted for four years. Sindh, Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan were to elect 14 members for the term of four years.

The 1973 constitution confined two lists, federal and concurrent list. Federal List had 67 subjects. Provincial languages were recognized, mainly in Sindh, but their negative "... outcome on Mohajirs led to language riots and, later on, transformed into ethnic resistance between the two communities. The ethnic rising also took place in Balochistan where the government was suspended. In the retribution, the government in

NWFP resigned from the assembly. Military operation was carried out in both the mentioned provinces to counter the factor of nationalism. In the history of Pakistan, another military coup took place in 1977 and suspended the constitution for 8 years. During the time period of these 8 years, all the political structures were controlled in unitary manner. During the strengthening period of federalism, the avoided communities were becoming ethnic identity. Ethnic group representing majority communities in provinces, such as Sindhi in Sindh, disenfranchised minority groups. The federal project consolidated the Sindhi identity and within a decade and a half created a Mohajir ethnic identity.

The constitution of 1973 classified a new power “technique to redefine the values of federalism of Pakistan; under the words “Maximum Provincial Autonomy”. The residuary authorities were delegated for the Provincial Assemblies. The One-Unit arrangement was abolished by Military Chief General Muhammad Yahya Khan which was tailed by ordinance. The ordinance in 1970, elevated the position of the Balochistan to provincial flat. Kalat states with the merger of Pashtun zones were professed as the fourth province of Pakistan.

A bicameral legislature was familiarized for the earliest time, which was grounded on the number of elected members. The nominated members of Senate were elected for the era of four years on foundation of parity. Each province was mandatory to elect 14 members for the term of four years. It was specified that “half of the elected members would have retired after two years and the rest after four years. The 1973 constitution decreased the list of concerns to two lines i.e. Federal concerns and Concurrent line. The Federal list was divided into two parts. First list was the list of items, which could only be legislated by Parliament. The right of legislation over the Concurrent list was given to both Federal and Provincial assemblies. Nevertheless, in case of encounter over the implementation, the federal government’s rights carry the day.

The genuine era of the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto rule was demonstrated with a resilient excelling character of the federal government, which caused in displeasure in North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the lately recognized province of Balochistan. Even before the constitution of 1973 might function; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto animation as the interim President, disbanded the “... provincial elected government of Balochistan. Balochistan’s provincial government was majority coalition lead by Attaullah Mengal was dismissed on 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1973. In protest the National Awami Part collisional government with Jamiyat-e-Ulama Islam in NWFP, under the chief minister Mufti Mahmood resigned. (Shafqat, 1997)

However, from the fright the constitution of Pakistan maintained a resilient federation but maximum of the power was restored with the federal government. The native or regional political management was continuously harassed for the autonomy of the units. The local leaderships of Balochistan also resisted the policies of the federation. They resisted the devising of constitution in the errand of federation which verges the

autonomy of the units. These leaders believe that it will widen the gaps between the centre and province.

In Pakistan, Political “parties have worked under structural restrictions. Saeed pointed that, the association of political parties was prohibited through supervisory verdicts and martial law principles. Military takeovers had commonly caused in bans on these political groups, or disqualification of political leaders. In October 7, 1958 the martial law declaration banned all political gatherings. (Abbasi, 2010)

Zubair Faisal Abbasi in his work “*Federalism, Provincial Autonomy, and Conflicts*”, stated that, “The 1973 Constitution, nevertheless, is distinguishable from the previous ones because it created the Senate having equal representation of all federating units so that smaller provinces like Balochistan<sup>6</sup> are represented and the Senate plays a role in the system of checks and balances. However, it has been argued that the question of ethnicity and language were addressed without explicit consociationalism. Therefore, the Punjab, possessed absolute majority of the seats in the National Assembly while Urdu became the sole national language though Sindh replaced Urdu with Sindhi.

The constitutional setup of Pakistan always favoured the federal government, which produced a sense of discrimination in the federating units. Balochistan was a special case of the constitutional ignorance. The issue arises due to unjust distribution of resources for the development were not addressed in the democratic era from 1988 till 1999. This further worsened the situation of Balochistan. The grievances of the people of Balochistan materialised in the form of insurgency after 2004.

## **Conclusion:**

The vision of the founding fathers of the Quaid-i-Azam about the area of Balochistan; which is of national importance, was that despite the inadequate resources in the early years of independence two examination bodies were commissioned for the purpose of development as early as 1948. Although Muslim League was demanding the establishment of federation of India with autonomous units, but after the creation of Pakistan it seems to be a dream for Balochistan. The constitutional goodwill was always diverted for the supremacy of the federal government of Pakistan. The Government Act of India 1935 was adopted as a constitution for newly established country of Pakistan, but on the other hand the demands of the provincial autonomy were always subjugated by the federation of Pakistan.

The constitution of 1956 as well of 1962 supported the authority of the federal government over the rights of provinces. This produced the sense of discrimination among the two wings of Pakistan, and the result was the dismemberment of East-Pakistan in 1971.

The constitution of 1973 provided a hope for provincial autonomy within the federation of Pakistan. The people and the leadership of Balochistan saw the hope of fluffiness of their demand for provincial autonomy. However, the dismissal of the elected government and launching of military operation in Balochistan strengthen the sense of discrimination. The interference if the central government in the provincial affairs produced trust deficit among the central government and Balochistan.

The grievances of the people of Balochistan in based on the issue of representation, and their shares in the federation of Pakistan. The federal government always undermined the concern of the people of Balochistan. Balochistan being a backward region of Pakistan needs more shares for its development as compare to other parts of Pakistan. The federal government provided funds for the development but were less effective to contribute in the development of Balochistan.

However, the initiative of the federal government development schemes did not benefit the local people of Balochistan, as the people from other provinces are also allow to get their shares in the federal projects in Balochistan. Being least educated area, the inhabitants of Balochistan could not compete their competitors from other parts of the country.

The governmental set-up in Pakistan is not enough stronger and the bodies grounded on this set-up are also weak. In point of fact Pakistan innate this scheme from British, when British were ruling India before independence of Pakistan. Owing to that there is no harmony amongst the centre and provinces in different administrative fields. This resulted in power politics in the country. This further signifies power politics when it comes to the ruling factor of military and centre based civilian governments. These circumstances further widened the gap between the federal government and provincial units. This is because there exists lack of power sharing among the centre and provincial units. This issue led for the dismemberment of East Pakistan; which was a federal unit at the time of dismemberment.

The dismemberment of East Pakistan was followed by the strong rule of Zulfikar Ali Bohtto; whom at once rose to power and provided a hope for the remaining federating units. Z. A. Bohtto remain successful by providing a constitution to country. Initially the constitution of 1973 was regarded as a blessing by the provincial units, but when Z. A. Bohtto accumulated all powers in his single hand, the provinces again started struggle to increase its power shares. The accumulation of powers through 1973 constitution made Z. A. Bohtto an authoritative leader. He dealt the opposition with iron hand; especially in the province of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), where Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was in opposition.

Z. A. Bohtto rule marked again the issue of provincialism in Pakistan. during his rule the so called freedom movement was started in

Balochistan and Pakhtunistan Movement was started in Northern Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This marked the constitution of 1973 sympathetic for the federation which further curb the power shares of the provinces.

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The six Points defined in 1966 were(i) a federal form of government on the basis of Lahore Resolution, (ii) federal powers over defence and foreign affairs only and residuary powers to be vested in the provinces: (iii) two separate freely convertible currencies or one currency with guarantees against the flight of capital from one province to another and separate banking reserve; (iv) unite to have power of taxation and revenue collection; (v) two separate accounts for the foreign exchange earnings of two wings; (v) a separate militia or para-military force for east Pakistan. Seen in, Mansoor Akber Kundi Arbab Mohammad Jahangir. "Federalism in Pakistan: Issues and Adjustment", *Asian Affair*. p. 34.

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