Center-Provinces Relations In Pakistan (1947-1971)
A Perception of British Federal System In India

Somia Tasneem
Lecturer, Dept. of History & Pakistan Studies
GC University, Faisalabad, Pakistan

Abstract

This paper focuses on the factors which have been responsible for weakening the center-provinces relations between East and West Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. This issue could be traced back to the Colonial rule in India. The Muslims of undivided India made great efforts for the attainment of a separate Muslim state under the dynamic leadership of M.A. Jinnah. During this political struggle, the Muslims of India worked united but after the establishment of Pakistan, the feelings of regionalism started prevailing. They were divided into groups and held different views on the distribution and division of power. The paper explores the origins of center-provinces relationship in the pre-partition era and also discusses the use of power by the center against the provinces thus causing center-provinces tussle since the very inception of Pakistan.

Key words

Introduction

Federalism is a political system that binds a group of states into a larger, uncentralized, superior state while allowing its members to maintain their own political identities.¹ In a federation powers are divided between the central government and provincial governments. Division of powers between center and provinces had been a serious issue in the political system of Pakistan and can be traced back to the British rule in India.

With the rise of twentieth century, there was widespread political awakening among the Indians. Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League were two major political parties of India. The British government could not ignore the rapidly changing political environment in India as the Indians demanded more and more representation in the political system of their country. The demand of All India Muslim League was to grant provincial autonomy to the provinces so that the Muslims would be able to form their own government in those provinces where they were in majority.

The Nehru Report (1928) was the first attempt by the Indians to frame a constitution for their country. It proposed a fully responsible government both at the center and in the provinces. It proposed that the provinces be assigned specified functions, whereas residuary powers were to be assigned to the central government. So this report was rejected by the Muslim League because it had completely ignored the Muslim demands and further widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. It was at the forum of Muslim League that M. A. Jinnah presented his famous Fourteen Points in 1929 as the basis for any future constitution for India. He proposed that the form of the future constitution should be federal in structure and maximum provincial autonomy should be granted to the provinces. He also proposed the transfer of residuary powers to the provinces.²

Growing Hindu-Muslim differences and general political unrest in India compelled the British Government to adopt federal form of government as the only feasible solution of the political problems.
The Government of India Act, 1935 adopted the principle of federalism. And it was for the first time in the history of British India that some kind of provincial autonomy was granted to the provinces.

Thus Government of India Act, 1935 carrying the recommendations of the Simon Commission (1928) and the Round Table Conferences held in 1930, 1931 and 1932 adopted the principles of federalism. According to this Act Indian federation consisted of the three political entities namely:

a) The Governor’s Provinces
b) The Indian States which had acceded or might accede to the Federation.
c) The Chief Commissioner’s Provinces.

The 1935 Act provided for three lists: a federal list containing fifty-nine subjects, a provincial list of fifty-four subjects, and a concurrent list of thirty-six subjects common to both levels of government. Under concurrent list, both the center and the provinces could exercise powers but the priority was given to the federal legislature in case of any conflict between center and the provinces. A large number of residuary powers were vested with the Governor General. He could authorize at his discretion, either the Federal Legislative Council or a Provincial Assembly to enact on a subject not enumerated in the three lists.

In the political system of the British Empire in India, the central executive was the Governor General of India who was to be assisted by a Council of no more than 10 Ministers and Advisors to aid and advise the Governor General except in matters in his discretion. The ministers were to be chosen and summoned by the Governor General to hold office until his pleasure and were liable to be dismissed by him in exercise of his discretionary powers. Such important functions like Defense, Ecclesiastical Affairs and External Affairs were exercisable by him at his will. In addition to these powers, the Governor General had many special responsibilities like prevention of great menace to peace and tranquility of India, safeguarding of financial stability, safeguarding of legitimate interests of minorities, protection of the rights of the Indian States and Rulers etc.

The federal legislature, under the Act, was consisted of two chambers known as the Council of States (Upper House) and the House of Assembly (Lower House) commonly known as the Federal Assembly.

For the first time, the Act of 1935 introduced and conferred regional autonomy to the provinces under its part III which came into force on 1st April 1937. Accordingly, twelve Governor’s Provinces were created as autonomous units and the Governor became the executive head of a province. The United Provinces, Bihar and Assam had two chambers of parliament in all; the remaining of the provinces had only one chamber of parliament. The Governor had the same authority, as the Governor-General had at the center to choose, summon and dismiss ministers.

Like the Governor General, the Governors in the provinces had discretionary powers of individual judgment and certain special responsibilities. The Governor also had legislative powers of promulgating ordinances as provided by sections 88, 89 and 90 subject to provisions thereof. Section 93 of the Act empowered the Governor to issue proclamations and assume to himself all or any of the powers vested in and exercisable by the provincial authority and body in case of failure of constitutional machinery.

In the sphere of judiciary, the scheme of the Act provided a judicature consisting of Federal Court at the Center and High Courts in the Provinces. The Federal court was the apex court. The provision of appeal to His Majesty’s Court (Privy Council) continued.

The executive power and authority of the federation was vested in the Governor General. He was not answerable to the Central Indian Legislature and was subject to the general control and directions of the Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet. Therefore, the ultimate sovereignty rested with the Crown through the British Parliament.

**Emergence of Pakistan**

However, after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the powers of the central government in the adopted Government of India Act, 1935 had actually expanded instead of decreasing. Under the
provisions of the Indian Independence Act 1947, the Government of India Act, 1935 after modifications became the working constitution of Pakistan called The Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947. The territories of East Bengal (now Bangladesh), the West Punjab, Sindh, the Chief Commissioner’s province of British Balochistan along with the Khayber Pakhtunkhwa formerly known as North West Frontier Province and the District of Sylhet in West Bengal constituted the state of Pakistan.

Muslim League under the leadership of M. A. Jinnah had succeeded in getting an independent state for the Muslims. M. A. Jinnah became the first Governor General of the country. In addition to being Governor General, he was the President of the Constituent Assembly, Federal Legislature and the Muslim League also.

After 1947, the responsibilities of the Muslim League increased manifold as it had turned from a mass movement to a political party. It formed the governments at the center as well as in the provinces.

The executive authority in the provinces was vested in the governors who chose a Council of Ministers to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions. For each province there was a provincial legislature consisting of the Governor and one chamber of Legislative Assembly. The Governor of the province was under direct control of the Governor General and could choose, summon and dismiss the provincial ministers.

There were three lists for the distribution of legislative power between the center and the provinces namely central, provincial and concurrent list. The center and provinces could legislate on federal and provincial lists respectively, whereas both were competent to legislate on current list. However, in case of a difference between the center and the province on subject mentioned in the concurrent list, the central law was to prevail over the provincial law.

Under the Act of 1935, powers were heavily weighted in favor of the central government. The Act also armed the Governor General with special powers to proclaim an emergency. The Governor General in that event could make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the provincial list. The scope of these powers was extended so as to cover circumstances arising out of any mass movement from or into Pakistan. The Governor General also exercised control over the selection and dismissal of ministries in the provinces. In 1948, under the newly inserted section 92-A (introduced by the then Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in the Constituent Assembly), the Governor General could place the administration of a province under the rule of the Governor who was directly under him.

The Governor-General was granted discretionary powers under the Government of India Act 1935. But under the Government of India Act 1935, as adapted in Pakistan, the Governor General continued to enjoy vast powers. Section 9 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, dealt with the powers of the Governor-General.

M. A. Jinnah's position as the Governor General of Pakistan was unique. He was the father of the nation, enjoying the respect shown to him by the people. The powers which by a convention were supposed to be exercised by a cabinet answerable to the legislature as envisaged in the Act of 1935 came, almost in a natural way to be exercised by the Governor General.

The first step taken by M. A. Jinnah as Governor General was to appoint senior British officers of the I.C.S as Governors in three (Punjab, Sindh and N.W.F.P) of the four provinces. He also used to receive reports from the Governors about the affairs of the provinces, although the provincial ministries had been set up.

The influx of the refugees from India resulted in political instability in the new state. Their rehabilitation in the provinces was the foremost priority of the government. Khaild Bin Sayeed had rightly observed that as M. A. Jinnah was the Governor General so it was not easy for the provinces to disobey either the central government or the Quaid, the Governor General.

The emergency powers of the Governor General were enhanced by an amendment to section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935. This section had provided for a declaration of emergency by Governor General, in case of any threat to the security of the country or if the economic life of Pakistan was to be in danger.

In August 1948, M. A. Jinnah declared a state of emergency under section 102 to meet the situation created by the heavy influx of refugees from India. The proclamation stated that “Whereas the
economic life of Pakistan is threatened by circumstances arising out of the mass movement of population from and into Pakistan, a State of Emergency is hereby declared."20 The main reason behind this step was the unwillingness of Sindh and Khayber Pakhtunkhwa to provide shelter to the refugees in order to relieve West Punjab of its burden. So Jinnah used his emergency powers. Under the proclamation, the center directed the provinces and states to take up some specified number of the refugees.21 It was the starting point of center-provinces relations and first use of the power of center against the provinces.

Khayber Pakhtunkhwa was the first province where the center resorted to action. On August 22, 1947, the Congress Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib22 was dismissed by the Governor Birdwood under instructions from the Governor General M. A. Jinnah.23 Abdul Qayyum Khan was asked to form Muslim League Ministry.

Another case of dismissal was that of Muhammad AyubKhuro (M. A. Khuro) hereinafter on 26 April 1948 who was the Chief Minister of Sindh. He was dismissed by the Governor Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah under directions from the Governor-General M. A. Jinnah. So Khuro was dismissed on charges of maladministration and gross misconduct. The new Provincial Ministry headed by Pir Elahi Bakhsh was formed on May 3, 1948.24

M. A. Khuro alleged that the new Provincial Ministry was going to betray the interests of Sindh Province by handing over Karachi to the Federal Government. New Chief Minister Pir Elahi Bakhsh denied the allegations. But the controversy persisted and an Action Committee was formed at the behest of M. A. Khuro, to protest against the decision to turn Karachi into a Federal Area. This situation created tension between the center and the Sindh Province. The matter was brought in the notice of M. A. Jinnah. So a five-member delegation of the Action Committee called on him. Governor General M. A. Jinnah removed their fears and apprehensions and advised the people of Sindh to accept the Federal Government’s decision gracefully. M. A. Jinnah’s word was accepted. M. A. Khuro endorsed the decision about the transfer of Karachi to federal government on July 5, 1948. The dispute between the Sindh province and the Central Government was resolved.

The political situation in Punjab by no means presented a better picture because the issue of resettlement of refugees has assumed a critical situation. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Minister for the Rehabilitation of Refugees in West Punjab had proposed for large scale land reforms and the distribution of released lands among the refugees. When his Ministry opposed the proposal he resigned in protest. His exit led to the fragmentation of politics in West Punjab. The Muslim League party split into two fractions led by Chief Minister Mamdot Khan and Finance Minister Mian Mumtaz Daultana.25 Internal dissension eventually resulted in the Governor’s rule in Punjab on January 24, 1949.

In the field of administration, the center enjoyed dominant position over the provinces under Constitutional (Provisional) Order of Pakistan. Through many ways, the center could influence the provincial administration as the Federal Government had to function directly through its officers posted in the provinces. The provinces were made obliged to give effect to federal law. Finally the most comprehensive instrument of central control was section 92-A under which central rule could be imposed in the provinces. It empowered the center to take over the functions of a province. The section provided for that

If, at any time, the Governor-General is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the peace or security of Pakistan or any part thereof is threatened or that a situation has arisen in which the government of a province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Act, he may, by proclamation, direct the governor of a province to assume on behalf of the Governor-General, all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by any provincial body or authority. Any such proclamation may contain such identical and consequential provisions as may appear to the Governor-General to be necessary or desirable to giving effect to the objects of the proclamation including provisions for suspending, in whole or any part, the operation of any provision of this Act relating to any provincial body or authority.26

The center resorted to Section 92-A in 1949, dismissing the Mamdot Ministry of Punjab and assuming control of that province. Thereafter, the power granted to the Governor-General was exercised on many occasions and central authority was imposed in Sindh (1951), Punjab (1953) and East Bengal.
The center had justified its position to impose central control in Punjab and East Bengal by pointing out the Anti-Ahmadia Movement in the former and absence of law and order in later province.27 Besides, the dominant position of the center could also be seen in financial sphere. The heavy influx of refugees and the increased defense expenditures made it necessary to review the pre-independence fiscal arrangements. In November 1947, in a meeting of the representatives of the central and provincial governments, the provinces were asked to waive their right to their respective income tax allocations. The provinces agreed on this due to the special appeal made by M. A. Jinnah. As a result, the provinces remained dependent on grants-in-aid and loans from the central government to carry out their constitutional responsibilities. The security imperative was thus given a priority over the fiscal needs of the provinces, resulting in the federal dominance over the provinces.28

In East Bengal, there were different opinions over the matter of distribution of powers between the federal and the provincial governments. The regionalists were of the view that maximum autonomy should be given to the provinces. While the federalists favored strong center with provinces enjoying limited autonomy. The makers of the constitution in Pakistan were put in a difficult situation as they found it difficult to make a midway between these two conflicting aims. The problem was further complicated by the lack of trust between the Central Government and the people of East Bengal.

The attitude of the Central Government towards East Pakistan was apathetic which increased the mistrust in the people of Bengal. No serious effort was made to solve the problems. The policies were generally framed by the civil servants having colonial outlook.29

Politicians in both wings wanted not only provincial autonomy but also a weak center. The regionalists demanding greater authority for the provinces claimed that in view of the geographical facts prevailing in Pakistan, the powers of the center should be strictly enumerated and residuary powers should be vested in the provinces. The political leaders of East Bengal felt that they did not have a due share in the central government and administration. Therefore, they were insisting on provincial autonomy. The convention which was held in Dhaka on 4 and 5 November 1950 by the political workers of East Pakistan, demanded that only three subjects namely, defense, foreign affairs and currency should be given to the center and the rest should be vested in the provinces.30

There were many factors i.e. political, social and economic which led East Bengal to such a demand. The language issue, which was socio-economic and cultural in nature, became a political one when the central government attempted to introduce Arabic script for Bengali language.31 The supporters of Bengali language were of the view that Bengali was the language of the majority so it should be implemented as an official language. The political factor was that the federal capital was Karachi and the people of East Pakistan felt that they were alienated and neglected by the government.

The federalists advocating greater authority for the center used similar arguments in support of a strong central government. They held the view that if there had been geographical contiguity between East and West Pakistan, then the principles of decentralization of power might have been the basis of the Pakistan Constitution, but in order to overcome this mutual difficulty of the distance that separates the two wings, there was no alternative but to provide for a strong central government. The same reason was given by the regionalists that in view of distance between the two wings of Pakistan, East Pakistan should have more autonomy.

One of the most important issues which sowed seeds of mistrust and bitterness between the province of East Bengal and the center was the language problem. The controversy started in February 1948, when a Hindu member from East Bengal, Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutt, moved an amendment to the Constituent Assembly rules pleading that Bengali should also be made an official language. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan opposed it by saying that the amendment was designed to create a rift among the Pakistanis and that Urdu alone would be the national language of Pakistan.32 This announcement created resentment among the East Bengalis which took the shape of a political movement. An impression grew among the East Bengalis that the Punjabi-dominated Central Government was conspiring to deprive the majority of its mother tongue.

Khawaja Nazimuddin, then Chief Minister of the province, could not control the situation. In March 1948, M. A. Jinnah reached Dhaka. In his address to the students of Dhaka University he said that:
There can, however, be only one *lingua franca*, that is, the language between intercommunication between the various provinces of the State, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other. The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent.\(^{33}\)

As he was the father of the nation, so his advice proved effective. But the issue was not settled completely. In the following years, the language movement entered a stage where confrontation between the Bengalis and the center could not be avoided.

During his lifetime, M. A. Jinnah could not get time to formulate a constitution for the country which would have defined the functions and powers between the center and the provinces. So many problems, including language issue, occurred in the way of constitution-making. The major problem was the distribution of powers between the center and the provinces.

After M. A. Jinnah’s death in 1948, Khawaja Nazimuddin became the Governor General. But his successors, except Liaqat Ali Khan, did not possess leadership qualities of his predecessor. It created an atmosphere of disappointment in the population including East Bengal. Nazimuddin who was a Bengali could not control the appalling political situation.\(^{34}\)

The language issue again exploded in 1952, when the Central Government attempted to introduce Arabic script for the Bengali language. In February 1952, Khawaja Nazimuddin, the then Prime Minister, addressed a public gathering in Dhaka in which he declared that Urdu would be the only State language. This unwise declaration led to renewed agitations between the Bengalis and the center. The provincial assembly unanimously passed a resolution urging recognition of Bengali as one of the national languages of Pakistan. But the controversy was dragged on unnecessarily due to the unwise policy of the Center. Once it had become clear that the demand was supported not only by the opposition but also by the party in power, the Central Government should have recognized the reality.\(^{35}\)

The central dominance in administrative field was also ensured by a number of provisions enumerated in the adapted Act (Government of India Act 1935). For example, the maintenance of law and order was a provincial subject but the central government through civil servants in the provinces could control the situation. The Report of the Court of Inquiry on the Punjab Disturbances of 1953 was illustrative of the fact that the Chief Secretary of the West Punjab was sending reports to the central government. Similarly, PRODA (Public Representative Disqualification Act) served as a political weapon in the hands of the center to exert pressure on the provincial politicians.\(^{36}\) Another instrument of federal control was the provincial governor who was appointed by the Governor-General and held office during his pleasure.\(^{37}\)

The third report on constitution making was introduced by Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953. This report evolved a compromise on the question of parity between the Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan. This report came to be known as Bogra Formula. The Constituent Assembly adopted it in October 1954. Before the constitution could be drafted, a confrontation between the Constituent Assembly and the Governor-General took place. The assembly was dissolved by the Governor-General Malik Ghulam Muhammad in 1954.

Before the adoption of the draft Constitution based on the report of the Basic Principles Committee, provincial elections were held in East Pakistan in March 1954, resulting in an overwhelming victory for the United Front (Jugto Front), an alliance of parties opposed to the ruling Muslim League. In these elections the Muslim League was repudiated. Pir Sahib of Maanki Sharif formed the Awami Muslim League in Khayber Pakhtunkhwah and Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani (hereinafter M. A. Bhashani) founded an Awami League in East Bengal.\(^{38}\)

The demand for maximum autonomy in East Pakistan gained further momentum after the success of the United Front in the provincial elections in 1954 as it had been felt over years that the province could be best administered by the legislature in Dacca rather than by the central legislature in Karachi. So, Muslim League had lost its credibility in East Pakistan. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (Hereinafter H. S. Suhrawardy), Bhashani and Fazal-ul-Haq put up a joint front against Nur-ul-Amin and his Provincial Muslim League. The position of the Muslim League was very weak as it failed to form its ministry in the province. But the United Front Ministry was not allowed to function for long. Using A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq’s speech in Calcutta and the industrial riots in Naryanganj and Khunla as
pretexts, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the non-Muslim League government. Governor’s rule was imposed in East Bengal from May 1954 to Jun 1955. Thus the United Front ministry was allowed to function less than two months.

Although the Governor’s rule was imposed due to the uncertain political situation, the Bengali regionalists used it to spread hatred against the Center and West Pakistan. They propagated that they had been deprived of their due share in the government because of the conspiracy of the Center, dominated by the West Pakistani bureaucrats and politicians.

The second Constituent Assembly was set up in 1955. It passed the Establishment of West Pakistan Bill, 1955. According to the Act, four provinces of West Pakistan (Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, Punjab and Balochistan) were merged into one unit. Before this act, West Pakistan was composed of three Governor’s provinces (namely Punjab, Sindh and Khayber Pakhtunkhawah), one Chief Commissioner’s province Balochistan and four states which had acceded to Pakistan and the tribal areas. These units though had linguistic and ethnic variations but were geographically close to each other.

Many regional leaders were against the One Unit Scheme. From Khayber Pakhtunkhwah, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan did not agree to the formation of One Unit of West Pakistan and thus waged a relentless struggle to revive the old Khayber Pakhtunkhwah province, suffering long spell of imprisonment in the process. Similarly, the One Unit scheme was resisted by politicians of Balochistan and Sindh. They argued that not only they would lose their resources; their ethnic identities would also be submerged in the new set-up, which would be dominated by the Punjab.

In 1956, the Second Constituent Assembly passed the Constitution of Pakistan. The basic feature of this constitution was its federal character. In response to the regional pressure for autonomy, its framers granted many powers to the provinces. The residuary powers were vested with the provinces, the extension of the provincial list and parity clause were such developments which were made in order to satisfy the demand of provincial autonomy.

The executive authority of the federation was vested in the president. All the executive actions of the Federal Government were to be taken and expressed in the name of the President. The President in his discretion was to appoint Prime Minister and the Governors of the provinces. There was a Cabinet of Ministers with Prime Minister as its head to aid and advise the President. The President in his discretion was to appoint from amongst the members of the National Assembly a Prime Minister who, in his opinion commanded the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly at the center.

The Parliament of Pakistan consisted of one House known as the National Assembly. The provincial assemblies, like the National Assembly, were unicameral. The relationship between the Provincial Governor, Provincial Chief Minister and the Provincial Assembly closely resembled that between the President, the Prime Minister and the National Assembly at the center.

Under the 1956 Constitution, there were two provinces viz. East Pakistan and West Pakistan and each province was to be governed by a Governor. The Governor was to be appointed and dismissed by the President. Keith Callard comments:

“Immediately after the adoption of the constitution it was clear that governor was a figure of great political importance and that he was used as an instrument of central or provincial affairs. The constitution appears to weaken both aspects of this portion.”

The 1956 Constitution remained in force for two years. During this period, the political crisis and instability dimmed the credibility of a healthy center-provinces relationship. The imposition of One Unit Act, 1955 and later abrogation of the 1956 Constitution was a severe setback to federalism in Pakistan and particularly to the relations of East and West Pakistan.

From 1958 to 1962, there was no constitution and the country was run by a military dictator. The Constitution of 1962, a brain-child of President Ayub Khan, had a strong tendency towards centralization as it provided a presidential form of government. Thus by abolition of parliamentary type and the introduction of presidential form of government, the centralist trend were further strengthened.

The President was the head of the executive as well as of the state. He was to be indirectly elected by an
electoral college consisting of the 80,000 members of the Basic Democracies. The central legislature of Pakistan was unicameral. It was consisted of one house known as the National Assembly. The Provincial Assembly was also unicameral.

Unlike the 1956 Constitution, there was only one list of subjects that was federal\textsuperscript{42}. All residuary powers were given to the provinces. But the federal list was so comprehensive that hardly any notable power was left to the provinces. All the important financial matters were taken over by the central government. So the center repeatedly made inroad into provincial and residuary fields.

The 1962 Constitution could not last long as centralization had reached its peak during Ayub period. He believed that a strong center and rapid economic development could hold together the two geographically distant and culturally diverse provinces. Moreover, armed forces and bureaucracy dominated the Center which increased Bengali resentment. The disparity in the Central Secretariat during 1964-65 was so great that out of seventeen central secretaries, only two East Pakistani officers had attained the rank of Acting Secretary.\textsuperscript{43} Similarly, in 1965, of the seventeen highest officers in the Pakistan army only one East Pakistani held the rank of major-general.\textsuperscript{44}

During the parliamentary period (1947-1958) general elections were frequently promised but not held. During the rule of President Field Marshall Ayub Khan (1958-1969) elections to the legislature and the office of the President were held under the 1962 Constitution. But the Electoral College comprised of only 80,000 Basic Democrats equally divided between the two wings and the people of Pakistan were deprived of adult franchise. People turned against Field Marshal Ayub Khan due to his autocratic rule. The mass agitation against him culminated in the resignation of General Ayub Khan. He handed over power to the then Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Yahya Khan who promulgated martial law on March 25, 1969. Thus the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise which were held in 1970 had great significance. In East Pakistan, the political scene was dominated by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman (Hereinafter Sheikh Mujib), the leader of the Awami League. He contested elections on the basis of Six-Points which was the formula of autonomy of East Bengal.

Conclusion

The problems of representation and division of powers between the center and the provinces have reflected feeling of mutual distrust, fear and suspicion between the federation and provinces, particularly in Eastern wing. Many factors like political, economic, cultural, linguistic and psychological were responsible for these feelings. The Muslims of undivided India were united under the leadership of M. A. Jinnah. They fought for the cause of Pakistan without any feeling of segregation as Bengalis, Punjabis and so on. But after the creation of Pakistan, the feelings of regionalism began to manifest themselves. The Bengalis felt that they did not have a due share in the central government and administration. They felt they had been neglected by the central government which was dominated by the people of West Pakistan. This gave rise to the feelings of regionalism in East Pakistan culminating in the separation of the province from Pakistan. The separation of East Pakistan in 1971 did not put an end to center-provinces tussle, on the contrary differences over the power of central authorities and the rights of the provinces continued to complicate political situation of the country in the coming years to come.

The analysis of the inherited relationship between the central and provincial governments under the Government of India Act 1935, as adapted by Pakistan, proved that although the act vested the provinces with separate identity but the center retained the ultimate means of controlling and guiding the provinces. These dominant powers of the center, especially that of the Governor General disturbed the relations between center and provinces.

The framers of the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 also either failed to realize the gravity of differences between the center and the provinces or took inadequate measure to resolve this challenging issue. In 1973, the prevailing tense center-provinces relations particularly between East Pakistan and center into a grave political crisis leading to the disintegration of Pakistan.
National Economic Coordination, Currency, Foreign Exchange, central banking, insurance.

East Pakistan (1967), fully used his powers of political deceit in

see Mehrunnisa. enquiry went against the ministers. Choudhry, G. W. (2007),

maladministration committed by them. This act was applied several times against several ministers including provin

Shaukat Hayat khan; the Revenue Minister, to Karachi to resolve the ministerial problem, but even he withdrew from this matte


the new oath of loyalty to Pakistan. Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad (1967),

the structure of the British rule had rested on the Governors in the provinces assisted by the civil servants, serving in the Secretariat as well as in the field job of administration. See Yusuf, Search of Democracy, p.29.

I.C.S. stands for Indian Civil Service. The political system of Pakistan


Ibid., Section 9.

Ibid., Section 10.

Ibid., Section 12.

Although both the Congress and the Muslim League were critical of the Government of India Act, 1935, they decided to participate in the 1937 Elections. Hamid, Political History of Pakistan, p.30.


Ibid., Section 60, p.2381.

Ibid., Section 100, p.2406.

Ibid., Section 314, p.2544.


Yusuf, Search of Democracy, p.29.

15. I.C.S. stands for Indian Civil Service. The political system of Pakistan

See Yusuf, Search of Democracy, p.28.


22. In NWFP, the Congress had formed ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib in the general elections of 1945-46. At the time of partition of Indian sub-continent, he was the Chief Minister in that province. It has been reported that the ministry was dismissed because the Chief Minister Khan Sahib had refused to take the new oath of loyalty to Pakistan. Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad (1967), The emergence of Pakistan (New York & London: Columbia University Press) Reprint. University of the Punjab (2001), Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, p. 48. Sayeed, The Formative Phase, p.246.

23. Ibid.


25. In April 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam summoned Mandot, Daultana, and Shaukat Hayat khan; the Revenue Minister, to Karachi to resolve the ministerial problem, but even he withdrew from this matter in disappointment. Soon afterword Daultana and Shaukat Hayat khan resigned and Mandot formed his second ministry. Ali, The emergence of Pakistan, p.367.

26. Mehrunnisa, Federalism in Pakistan, p.44.

27. Ibid., p.45.

28. Ibid., pp.46-53.


30. Pakistan Observer, Dhaka, 6 November 1950 as quoted in Khan, Political Hisotry of Pakistan, p.78.


32. Ibid., p.9.


34. Nazimuddin was an early member of All-India Muslim League. He became Chief Minister of Bengal following the 1937 Elections. But he was a failure in that office. Ziring, Lawrence(2003), Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History, Karachi: Oxford University Press, pp.100-101.

35. Ibid., pp.10-11.

36. PRODA was passed by Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1949. Its purpose was to deal with persons holding public office in res

37. Ziring, A Political History, pp.54-55.

38. Salik, State and Politics, p.39.

39. Ibid., p.48

40. The One Unit documents were drafted by the Former Chief Minister of Punjab Muntaz Daultana who was expert in political maneuverings. Daultan fully used his powers of political deceit in preparing the One Unit which was primarily a brain child of Muhammad Ayub Khan. Sayeed, Khalid Bin (1967), The Political System of Pakistan, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, pp.76-77.Matinuddin, L. G. (Red) Kamal (1994) Tragedy of Errors (East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971), Lahore: Wajidalis, pp.62-63. Hamid, Political History of Pakistan, pp. 96-97.


42. Among the subjects given to the Center were Defense, external Affairs, Inter-provincial Trade and Commerce, National Economic Planning and National Economic Coordination, Currency, Foreign Exchange, central banking, insurance.
