

The Senate As Custodian of Provinces: Analyzing Its Influence And Effectiveness (1985-1999)

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Abstract:

This article examines the function of the Senate of Pakistan as the guardian of provincial interests from 1985 to 1999, evaluating its impact and efficacy within the framework of federal governance. The Senate's role as a representative institution for provinces, designed to guarantee equitable regional representation and protect provincial rights, is thoroughly examined by analyzing significant legislative events and political dynamics of the era. This study emphasizes the Senate's role in influencing national policies, specifically in regards to federal-provincial relations, fiscal federalism, and regional autonomy. The essay assesses the Senate's effectiveness in safeguarding province interests in the face of changing political dynamics and institutional obstacles by using analytical method of research and analyzes Senate debates, committee activities, and legislative outcomes. The findings suggest that although the Senate had a crucial role in representing the voices of the provinces, its ability to make an impact was frequently hindered by political disagreements, structural deficiencies, and the wider context of national governance problems. The essay offers an analysis of the Senate's capabilities and constraints as a guardian of provincial interests, and proposes suggestions for improving its position within Pakistan's federal structure.

Keywords: Senate of Pakistan, Regional Autonomy, Governance, Federal-Provincial Relations, Protection of Provincial Rights

Introduction:

The Senate was framed for the equality of federating units so its considerations about the provinces on parity basis, its importance for common interest and its influence to federating units is examined here. The focus is on the gradual change of precedents and framed rules that helped the House to grow its significance in the Parliament of Pakistan. The factor of institutionalization is that the institution proves itself more significant to other institutions as Polsby emphasized on transformation of institution to grow its significance over other intuitions by encroachment of the boundaries (Polsby, 1968).

This research investigates the role of the Senate within Pakistan's federal system and specifically explores how the Senate had acted as a protector of provincial interests during 1985-1999. The Senate's constitutionally function as a chamber that reviews and modifies legislation, with a specific responsibility to represent regional interests and resolve provincial issues. Examining the historical context, organizational structure, and perceived obligations of the Senate towards the provinces, the study emphasizes the importance of comprehending the Senate's impact and efficacy in legislative transformations.

There is a lack of thorough assessments of the Senate's function in safeguarding provincial interests, while a significant research is dedicated to studying the overall operations and political controversies of Pakistan. It is essential for comprehending the Senate's influence on federalism and regional representation, as well as for enlightening conversations on future reforms. The research deals with the question, to what extent had the Senate of Pakistan demonstrated efficacy in advocating for and safeguarding provincial interests during 1985-1999, and how it impacted its function as a guardian of provinces? This question aims to determine the degree of growth of significance of the institution as per the requirement of Polsby's study about Institutionalization. This study employs both analytical and descriptive approaches by review of legislative documents, such as bills and debates related to provincial matters.

Representation of Federating Units

A federation must protect smaller units' rights and accept legislative variability. The Upper House of the legislature of Pakistan known as the Senate provides a platform for equitable representation of units. The Pakistan's Senate was created to offer equal participation to all federating units. Every group or community, majority or minority, desires to be part of mainstream politics and well represented, especially in the central government. Equal provincial representation in the Senate offsets population-based province disparities in the National Assembly. The Senate promotes national cohesion and peace and calms smaller provinces' concerns of dominance by a National Assembly majority province.

Territorial representation at the national level gives minor territorial units a sense of belonging and respect. If regions preserve their distance from their state, secessionists, like Scottish nationalists, can argue that only their region matters. Excluding a territory from national politics can have the same impact, especially if the center discriminates (Sturm, 2015). Therefore, the rules, decisions and the actions of the Upper House play a significant role in the development of a country. The need for a system and a legislature with the appropriate representation of both the people and the constituting units is especially important for nations like Pakistan, which came into being and formed a federation in place of the political merger of its constituting divisions (Khan, 2017). Thus, the Senate of Pakistan entitled to safeguard the common interest of units and for consideration of provinces on parity basis.

2.1.1 Representative of Common Interest of Federating Units

As a guardian of federating units, the Senate of Pakistan is liable for settlement between the provinces during crucial time and provincial tussle. The clearance of issues is essential for the common interest of the nation, federal government and provincial governments as well. However, the agreement between the provinces must be based on equality and must be approved without harming provincial autonomy. The Senate of Pakistan faced several occasions when the provincial issues were raised in the House and it were settled down or clarified.

In May 1985, an issue was raised between the Punjab and Sindh on the shortage of irrigation water. On 11 July 1985, Mr. Ahmad Mian Somroo raised the adjournment motion for the urgent settlement of water dispute between the two provinces. He accused that the failure of Federal Government to take suitable and timely action for its fair and equitable distribution caused unrest and serious tussle between the provinces and the Federation of Pakistan. It seemed that four provinces were at war with each other. The Chief Ministers were issuing statements against each other and Provincial Assemblies were passing resolutions against each other.

The said matter was discussed in National Assembly and Minister of water and power, Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali clarified that the Government took up the issue. A meeting was held between the Chief Ministers of Provinces, Prime Minister, Minister of Water and Power and Minister of Finance to settle down the water disputes of provinces. It was a misunderstanding between the provinces and so far, the water position was concerned, it had been increased considerably. Different committees were formed to look into this matter so that an amicable solution was expected. He identified that several peoples went to the press and press exaggerated the matter to some extent. "The provinces as far as their duties were concerned, were at liberty (Pakistan, 1985)." The Federal Government settled the issue but raising the issue in Senate elucidated that the House was due concerned on the settlement of dispute as representative of federating units and their interests.

Under the Article 27(1) of Constitution of 1973, the Provinces had preserved the rights of employment under prescribed Provincial quota in Federal services. The period was set as 20 years under Civil Services Act 1973 (Pakistan G. o., 1973). In case of non-extension of duration, the civil servants were entitled to repatriate to their concerned Provinces. Senator Dr. Muhammad Rehan, Yousaf Shaheen, Syed Faseih Iqbal, Hafiz Hussain Ahmad, Mir Abdul Jabbar and Syed Abdullah Shah presented a joint motion in the Senate and raised voice to extend the duration of civil servants as it was ended on August 13, 1993. They emphasized that the Government should extend the duration for ten years through an ordinance. The ordinance should amend the Act, carrying the clause of mentioning mother tongue at the time of application for the job. This was due to fake domiciled person who applied for the job on Sindh and Baluchistan quota.

Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Justice (Retd) Abdul Shakurul Salam replied that the period prescribed for reserve quota for various provinces had been expired. The Government already given a notice to move a Constitutional Amendment Bill as the matter could not dealt with the ordinance. The Constitutional Bill was already moved in the Senate to amend the provision of 20 years with 40 years (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, August 26, 1993). The movers asked for assurance from Government benches and emphasized that they would maintain the appointments of servants, which were already in working position, and those who would selected through during the legislation period. In spite of presence of Amendment bill, the Senators moved the motion as representors of the Provinces.

2.1.2 Consideration of Provinces on Parity Basis

The 1973 Constitution accommodated provincial autonomy, uniformed the provinces and provided the equal representation in the Senate of Pakistan to provide for considerable and impartial power-sharing. However, the institution was not allowed to flourish as much as it needed. In spite of this, the Senate of Pakistan tried to treat equally to the all provinces.

On 7 July 1985, Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jogizai asked a question about the job quota of Baluchistan in Federal Services. According to the census of 1981, the population of Baluchistan was increased to 5.3%, as it was 3.5% of the country's population. The government of Pakistan increased the number of seats in National Assembly but did not the job quota. Mr. Salim Saifullah Khan answered that government did not revised its policy yet, however, this 3.5% quota was basically from 90% of the seats that was equal to 4.5% actually. The government would revise the quota in accordance with the percentage of change of population in other provinces too (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, July 7, 1985). This answer identified that government had treated the provinces at equality basis.

Federal Government declared NWFP and Baluchistan as duty free areas for plantation and machinery and negated the Punjab and Sindh provinces. Molana Kausar Niazi asked question whether Government declared NWFP and Baluchistan as duty free areas for industrial purposes and whether Punjab was also declared duty free area. On the behalf of Mian Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo, the Minister for Finance and Economic affairs, Mr. Iqbal Ahmad Khan answered that whole province of Baluchistan and Malakand and Dera Ismail Khan Division, District Mansehra, Kohistan and approved industrial estates of NWFP, Tribal Areas and Northern areas administered by Resident Commissioner were announced as duty free. While only Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur from Punjab were announced as duty free (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, February 19, 1986). The duty would not be imposed on imported machinery only. The reason behind asking the question was to stress that the other provinces should also be declared duty free as on parity basis.

On 29 June 1998, Senator Habib Jalib raised point of order on several disparities with Baluchistan. The disparity was in giving jobs to the people, allocation of funds of federating units and expulsion of 550 employees from the OGDC. He accused that the socioeconomic unevenness and disparity in federating units remained for the last 50 years. The division of resources under NFC Awards at the base of population, discussion about the National Interest in Council of Common Interest and quota in jobs poses that federating units were based on parity basis. However, Baluchistan did not get its proper share and recently the advertisement of Federal Public Service Commission unveiled that the seat allocation was not in accordance with quota of federating units. Similarly, the Government had overthrown 550 employees of Sui Southern Gas Company without the intimidation or notice. Though Supreme Court and High Court ordered to reallocate the 110 members of them who filed petition but Government did not implemented on orders.

Dr. Abdul Hai Baloch added that Sui Northern Gas Company did not terminate its employees while Sui Southern Gas Company did so. The company terminated some employees from Sindh as well, however, they had rejoined on the orders of Sindh High Court while employees from Baluchistan were not reallocated. This shown clear discrimination between the federating units as employees from Punjab and NWFP were working on their seats. From treasury benches, Raja Zafar-ul-Haq assured the House that the Government was trying to reconcile the matter of quota between federating units. He took the House in confidence and said the matter of restoration of those members would also be tackled soon (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, June 29, 1998). The point of order was stood admissible, as there was a clear disparity between the units. The House, especially opposition was on one page in this regard which clarified that the House treated federating units on parity basis.

2.1.3 Influence to Federating Units

The history of federalism in Pakistan has largely been one of avoided by rejecting regional autonomy. Although a momentum for regional autonomy led with the creation of the 1973 Constitution, distributing power among different provinces and Federal presents considerable difficulties. The state has constantly faced with the challenge of balancing the distributional aspect of economic development. It has been impacted by population, geography, and mineral resource imbalances while preserving the interests and identities of the provinces. Smaller provinces in Pakistan were shielded by the Upper House from the Lower House's brute majority rule by the larger provinces (Khan, H. 2010). However to gain the power over Provinces, Senate raised the points to influence the federating units by increasing its boundaries to them. The influence was posed sometimes directly to the provinces and sometime with the help of federal government. In this regard, Senator Abdul Rahim Mir Dad Khel presented a motion to influence the Provincial Government of Sindh on the matter of drinking water.

Daily '*Hurriyat*' Karachi reported that about 46% of population of Karachi was using the impure drinking water that contains 95% of tube wells water (Hurriyat, 1986). The mover of motion told that the representor of Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) Karachi claimed that 40% of deaths in Pakistan were caused due to impure water. The death ratio was higher in children and old age persons. Impure water also caused hepatitis in Karachi. The area of *Ljari* was suffering more in this regard while the leather industries in *Korangi* were affected due to its chemicals.

Begum Afsar Raza Qizilbash countered that the Federal Government already addressed the matter. Though, the matter was provincial but she explained that appropriate allocation of funds had been made in the sixth five year plan to ensure supply of clean water to the people and a lot of steps were being taken on all levels. On one hand, most of Parliamentarians demanded provincial autonomy while on the other hand they wanted to the Federal Government to deal with everything (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, February 26, 1986). After the assurance of Federal Government, Senator accentuated on water condition and he demanded further assurance about removal of waste of leather industries. The Federal Government as well as Senate influenced the Sindh Province to take remedial measures as soon as possible. Generally, the Senate neither admitted nor pressed these motions. In spite of Provincial Autonomy, fully check and balance by Senate identifies that the Senate tried to take credit on these kinds of matters.

2.1.4 Discussion on Provincial issues

The Constitution of Pakistan in its preamble envisaged the power of autonomy to all units that come under the Federation of Pakistan. At one side, it empowers the provinces and on other side, it poses obligations on the Federation. However, the territories have some limitations on their powers and authority is prescribed under the law. The Parliament of Pakistan and specially Senate safeguards the provinces so the House may discuss the provincial matters. This discussion may results beneficial for the provinces to administer them or to pave way for the better directives. Therefore, Senate discussed several provincial issues to draw an impact on provinces and to give a way to Provincial Assemblies by their valuable discussions.

On July 6, 1985, six persons were killed due to firing on procession in Quetta—the center of Baluchistan. Senator Abdul Raheem Mir Dad Khel, Molana Sami-ul-Haq, Mir Nabi Bakhsh Zahri, Javed Jabbar and Qazi Abdul Latif presented adjournment motions to address this issue. The presenters suspected that the Federal Government was directly involved in

this issue due imposition of curfew. The other reason was sectarianism, which was increased due to erroneous religious policies of Federal Government. There was an unfathomable conspiracy behind this issue and why the Police did not take action within time. The smuggling of weapons in Quetta and Karachi weaken the law and order situation in the cities. These effects of religious sentiments were initialized from Karachi then Islamabad faced outburst as secretariat was captured and Lahore also faced the procession against this issue. Quetta was under control of Army and Army as Federal Subject involved the Federal Government in this tragedy.

Mr. Hassan A. Sheikh from Government benches responded that the local authorities, local government and the provincial government were liable for law and order situation. There was no conflict between Shia and Sunni sects and when Provincial Government called the Army to the aid of Civil Power, it remained within the ambit of the provincial government. It also contained misreporting as well. Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jogezi told the House that the incident did not take place between the Shias and Sunnis but it was between the Police and procession. A Judge was appointed to inquire the matter and without his report, the discussion was meaningless (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, July 11, 1985).

Interior Minister, Mr. Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak unfolded the facts that the distressing event that occurred in Quetta misapprehended that there was trouble between some sects. It was purely between Shias and Government. About 6000 to 7000 persons tried to take out a procession after a *Majlis* in *Qandhari Imam Bara* headquarters. The Police advised them to not to take the procession but the crowd became unruly and some persons fired on Police which resulted casualties. The Police resorted to tear-gassing and returned the fires. Nine Policemen died and twenty were wounded while thirteen civilian died and thirty-nine were wounded. A group of persons attacked on Police Station, set on fire a jeep and two trucks of Police and damaged two vehicle of WAPDA. They burnt a private car and the branch of Muslim Commercial Bank was also scalded down. Three clinics and warehouse of a private firm were also damaged (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, July 11, 1985). He further presented the historical background of these clashes.

The matter was handed over to Judge of High Court so due to quasi-Judicial and Provincial matter, Chair found the motion inadmissible, however, allowed to present a new motion after submission of report of appointed Judge. In spite of clear position of Provincial matter, the August House discussed the matter comprehensively. Members expressed their views and Interior Minister unfolded the facts. It denoted that House was willing to counter the clashes between the parties whether the matter was provincial or central. The discussion was encroachment of Senate in Provincial matters that grown its significance in Provinces.

Muhammad Tariq Chaudhary presented a severe kind of adjournment motion about the disturbance in tribal areas. The reasons behind this disturbance were (i) the attempt to control the drugs by Government, (ii) mutual appearance of certain warring tribes, (iii) calling of *Jirga* (tribal council) by Russian backed Afghan Government and presentation of arms to them, (iv) operation of Government of Pakistan against Wali Khan Koki Khel and his companions, and (v) supply of food by Russian helicopters (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, December 10, 1985). The whole scenario caused unrest and chaos in the country. The attempts by Afghan and Russian governments were against the sovereignty of Pakistan.

Similarly, Qazi Hussain Ahmed introduced the motion about fight between a tribal group and Frontier Constabulary. It was published in newspaper that two constables accompanied with rebel tribes, fought against Police. The base of this fight was the demand of government about those weapons, which they got from Carmel Government of Russia. Minister for States, Frontiers and Kashmir, Syed Qasim Ali Shah elaborated the whole scenario and after taking note of his views, Engineer Syed Muhammad Fazal Agha did not pressed the motion on the behalf of other members too. One of them said that he did not press the motion because House discussed the matter (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, December 11, 1985). This stance spelt out that Senate intended to bring the matter on the record in the August House. This discussion unfolded that some Senators were familiar with the circumstances but they raised the point to draw impact on federating units.

A case of embezzlement in wheat and sugar worth four crore rupees in the godowns of government of NWFP was raised on February 3, 1986, in the Senate. Hundreds of tonnes of wheat and sugar had been found short as reported by the provincial government. However, the reports unfolded that the actual cause of harness was mismanagement of government departments and the carriage companies were involved in the embezzlement. During checking at district Mansehra and other godowns of the provinces, it was founded that the intake of delivery was less than the supply. Food Department of the Government of NWFP proposed action against the responsible officials.

During the reconciliation, short delivery of 2218.725 tonnes of PASSCO's wheat and 780.900 tonnes of wheat of Punjab Food Department detected short at Mansehra. National Research Center Azad Khel and P.R. Center Peshawar also transmitted 528.800 tonnes of sugar to Mansehra and Kohistan districts. The total loss in case of wheat was 524900/- rupees and 3833800/- rupees against sugar. The NWFP Government assured Federal Government that stern action would be taken against carriage contractors and Food officials (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, February 3, 1986). The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Co-operative, Qazi Abdul Majid Abid assured the Senate that they would have a complete check and balance over the matter. The matter was under the jurisdiction of Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Government was already taking measures against that but Senate discussed the matter and took assurance over the matter.

On the night between 11 and 12 of January, Larkana Railway Station faced a mishap of killing of student of Zhob College. The Daily Jung newspaper broke out the news that train *Bolan Mail* was moving from Karachi to Quetta attacked by a group of persons and they fired students of Zhob College. This caused four deaths including three students and one other passenger and nine were wounded (Jang, 1986). The assailants stopped train for nine hours and Police stood there like destitute spectator. District Magistrate released a press note about the matter which itself needed investigation.

Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak told the House that the matter was already under hearing of Court; however, he intended to present the report of Sindh Government. The train reached at 10:45pm and the party of Zhob Degree College who were on a study tour, purchased eatables and cigarettes but refused to pay the price. On this, scuffle between students and vendors started and Police detained one student for questioning. The students in retaliation took two persons and kept them

in their compartment as hostages for the release of their colleague. This infuriated other persons and their resentment ultimately resulted in opening of fire. As a result, Fatehullah, Jalal and one unidentified person died and nine were wounded. The District Magistrate ordered judicial inquiry, which was still in process. The matter was under investigation and there were no pre-meditative motives, no hatred against the provinces claimed by Interior Minister (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, February 6, 1986). The matter was under jurisdiction of judiciary and provincial government but rising of matter in Senate discloses that the House emphasized to counter the matter fairly and instantly.

The law and order situation was a provincial factor that remained fluctuated throughout the country during 1980's. Despite this, Senate discussed those subjects that caused unrest in provinces and affected the sentiments of whole country. February 1986 faced two bomb blasts in Peshawar city at *QissaKhawani* Bazar Peshawar and *Khyber Mail* train at Peshawar Nowshera section. In case of *QissaKhawani* Bazar, four persons were martyred, 130 were wounded and buildings were highly damaged. However, *Khyber Mail* was exploded by a wired bomb that caused the death of one passenger, 45 injuries and destruction of 6 bogies (Jasarat, 1986). Senator Abdul Rahim Mir Dad Khel presented motions in this regard on July 16, 1986.

Iqbal Ahmad Khan replied that the matter belongs to provincial government; however, NWFP Government reported the explosion held on 7th of June at 1520 hours in *QissaKhawani* Bazar. Presumably, the explosive was planted in Suzuki pickup that caused the damage of three other vehicles, five killings including a minor girl and 55 injuries. Government took measures and special team under leadership of AIG Police, Crime Branch Peshawar, investigated a large number of suspected anti-social elements. Provincial government appointed special squad teams and bulk of people were arrested in the province. Similarly, Peshawar railway prearranged the 5 to 6 members patrolling teams to check the track in day and night (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, July 16, 1986).

The presenter was concerned to the admissibility of motion as a series of this kind of motions was addressed to the House. He expressed that the matter was not only belong to province but it belonged to every citizen. Public of provinces elected them for remedies of their problems and they always out sighted behind the bar of provincial autonomy. The pressure from the presenter acknowledged that he was so concerned about the worst law and order situation. The motion stood inadmissible but was allowed with a new submission in refined form. This was provincial matter but House addressed it properly to demonstrate that the Senate was due concerned with solving the problems of the provinces. The House grew its significance to federating units by expressing its views in favor of provinces.

Similarly, Sindh Province also viewed critical situation when Sohrab Goth incident took place in December 1986. With emergence of MQM in August 1986, a political conflict started between MQM and the *Pathans* and, later, the Sindhis. The Mohajir-Pathan feud was one of the most heinous acts of violence observed in Karachi in 1980's. The ethnic clashes between Mohajirs and *Pathans* began in October 1986, when MQM supporters were on their way to Hyderabad for a public party conference. The confrontation occurred in Sohrab Goth, an area on the outskirts of Karachi where the drug market was located and dominated by *Pathans* (Hussain, 1990).

The outbreak of violence was caused due to two separate narratives that were published in the local newspaper at the time. According to the Daily Dawn, the disturbance began at 11 a.m. when some passengers refused to pay the fare. The MQM had declared that it would provide free transportation to anyone attending its public meeting in Hyderabad. An eyewitness stated that the buses stopped at *Sohrab Goth* and allowed passengers to drink water when they were fired from the highway's western side (Dawn, 1986). The MQM, for its part, refused to condemn the *Pathans* for any crime, accused the government of instilling "rife between sections of society (Dawn, 1986)."

However, the situation between the two communities worsened after the Pakistan Army decided to conduct Operation Clean Up at *Sohrab Goth* in December 1986, due to rising concern about the growth in power of local *Pathan* drug dealers. On December 12, 1986, security agents destroyed *Pathan's* residences in search of weapons and drugs. By the evening, authorities had collected 150 kg of heroin, five pistols, and two rifles as the drug dealers were apparently informed about the operation (Dawn, 1986). Any even-handedness that the state wanted to project did not last long, as the *Pathans* decided to vent their rage on the Mohajirs. They went on a rampage in Orangi Town and attacked the Biharis (Khan, A. 2005).

Handbills were published saying that the attack on the *Pathans'* residence was carried out on the request of the Mohajirs as part of a scheme to remove *Pathans* from Karachi. On 13th of December, hundreds of *Pathans* armed with Kalashnikovs raced down the hills overlooking the Mohajir residential neighborhoods of *Qasba*, Aligarh, and Sector I-D in response to a call from the *Pirabad Masjid*. Under the cover of a hail of machinegun fire, the attackers set fire to the houses. The Police and Army failed to intervene for five hours. Hundreds of homes were destroyed by 4.30 p.m. Official estimates put the death toll at forty; unofficial reports put it at hundreds (Hussain, 1990).

The massacre in Orangi Town inflamed the Mohajir youth's resentment of the Pakistani state. According to Mohajir viewpoint, the state was not a neutral arbiter in the *Pathan-Mohajir* war. The MQM chastised the government for its indifference to human life, claiming that as a follow-up to the Sohrab Goth Operation, preventive measures should have been implemented (Dawn, 1986). Karachi was engulfed in a frenzy of violence between *Pathans* and Mohajirs that lasted until December 17, 1986.

Mr. Javed Jabbar initiated the matter in Senate on January 6, 1987, asserting that the break-down of governmental authority and inexcusable incompetence both at Federal and Provincial levels resulted hundreds of killings of innocent human beings including men, women and children. Even after the imposition of curfew on the first tragic day, the second day resulted higher casualties that highlighted the incompetence and failure. The misunderstandings between two provinces weaken the very relation of two provinces (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, January 6, 1987). The Minister of Interior, Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak also moved the motion that the House may discuss the law and order situation arising out of the unfortunate happening in Karachi and its consequences.

Mr. Ahmad Mian Soomro opined that on one side as a nation we talked about unity of Muslim *Ummah*, on the other hand, country witnessed this shameless act. The entire nation had to hang their heads down in shame on witnessing one brother

massacring his other brothers. Two months earlier Chief Minister was enjoying himself in *Patia* while Karachi was burning. He further revealed the historical aspects of the said matter and snubbed the policies and actions of Government. Professor Khurshid Ahmad threw light upon the several matters of Karachi (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, January 6, 1987). The House further discussed the matter on 8, 11, 12 and 15 January 1987 and several Senators expressed their views.

On 15th January, Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak concluded the debate and assured that the Federal Government had taken commendable steps to help the Provincial Government. The Government called the meeting under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister and Chief Minister of Sindh and NWFP would join that for further peace and elimination of confrontation between the two parties. The comprehensive discussion over the riots in Senate spelled out that the House was willing to put stress over Government to take suitable and quick actions. The discussion also simplified that the House significate itself over Federal as well as Provincial Government.

The House discussed another matter of Sindh Province when *Thar* region of Sindh was deteriorated by drought and feminine condition. It was reported that half of million citizens of Pakistan were experiencing starvation and facing deaths (News, 1987). The report was headlined by Government controlled National Press Trust Newspaper, so there was no chance of discrimination in the presented data. Despite this factor of death, the people of *Thar* waited for rain until 15 September and then moved toward other regions where Sindh Government took no specific measures (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, September 27, 1987). The drought conditions were prevailing severely in *Thar* area and aggravated endangering the lives of half million people (Nation, 1987). This was the matter of extreme national importance so the newspapers were reporting that on daily basis. The gravity of the situation and inadequacy of response to this challenge was reported on the day of presentation of motion (Herald, 1987).

Prof. Khurshid Ahmad led same kind of motion and propounded that the condition was not so latest as the region was facing this issue for the four years. There were no rains since last September. The government could not take measures for rains but national mobilization could be done to help the people of *Thar* as the government did for the flooded areas (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, September 27, 1987). Defense Minister of State, Rana Naeem Mehmud Khan responded that Sindh Government assured that they were quite alive for this matter and taking remedial measures. They spent 12.62 million rupees to provide subsidized wheat bags in cheaper prices and reserved 35 million rupees for this purpose. Government ordered for remission of land revenue and Tacavi loans amounting 1.2 million rupees had been ordered. Sindh Zakat Council released 57.5 million rupees for affected people. Water tanks and wells were installed and with the help of UNICEF, the facility of drinking water was being assured. The Prime Minister also released funds of 15 million by which 10 million were used for subsidies and 5 million for destitute Hindu families (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, September 27, 1987).

The Minister of State assured that Government was due concerned over the drought and took suitable measures. The presenters emphasized that the Government machinery should be used more efficiently for assuring the maximum relief for this matter. The ministry repeatedly assured that they would assist the Sindh Government in every difficulty but Senators emphasized to admit the motion. Even though Qazi Hussain Ahmad stated that, the admissibility would put pressure on the Government. Molana Sami-ul-Haq propounded that we must negate the variance of Federal and Provincial Governments. By accepting this, public would praise the Senate and it would increase the significance of Senate (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, September 27, 1987). Such kind of narrative of Senators and the stress of Senators over the Provincial matter identified that Senate was quite willing to grow its significance to Provinces.

The year 1999 faced the shortage of *Atta* (Flour) in NWFP and Qazi Muhammad Anwar raised the issue about the non-availability of *Atta*. He accused that provinces were facing disparity on the rates of wheat and flour. The concerned Minister, Mian Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo addressed this matter and presented the report of NWFP Government (Pakistan S. o., Senate Debates, February 18, 1999). The data shared by Minister disposed-off the motion, however, it clarified that the Senators brought every kind of matters in the Senate to address the Provincial issues.

It was observed that the Provincial and Federal Government generally took off the issues raised in Senate. However, Senate as supreme custodian tried to tackle the provincial issue. The stress on such kind of matters was also for the growth of its significance in Parliament as well as in Provincial Assemblies. Senate also discussed those matters that were under consideration of Judiciary and Provincial Government. This identified that Senate grown its significance over that institutions as well.

Conclusion

The Senate of Pakistan, during 1985-1999, exhibited a multifaceted and dynamic function as the guardian of the provinces within the federal structure. The Senate's impact and efficacy during this period were influenced by political dynamics and broader socio-political scene. The purpose of the Senate is to serve as a forum for provincial representation and to maintain a balance of power between the central and provincial governments and the House did so.

Nevertheless, the Senate's efficacy was frequently undermined by political instability, and frequent shifts in leadership. These issues occasionally hindered its capacity to successfully fulfil its custodial mission but it tried to not to undermined by any other institution's supremacy. The Senate of Pakistan made a substantial contribution to the national conversation by serving as a platform for addressing provincial issues and promoting interaction in provinces.

The efficacy of Pakistan's federal system during this period was characterized by both achievements and drawbacks but Senate's role as a custodian of provinces and as a protector of provincial interests was not flawless. It played a vital role in maintaining the equilibrium of power within the federating units and grown its significance over provinces as an institutionalized institution.

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