

Economic Development in Pakistan: A Reflection of Social Division during 1947-1969

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Abstract

Pakistan has administrative, economic and political challenges at the time of its emergence. The government was determined for strengthening of military against India, expansion of infrastructure and a big thrust towards industrialization. Exigencies of international conditions and precarious domestic situations are considered as major factors that convinced the state to adopt capitalist mode of production to meet the economic challenges of partition and to assert economic sovereignty. The capitalist mode of production with the course of industrialization in a rural based society has not ensured either substantiality or reasonably equitable distribution of growth benefits. The capitalist growth strategy increased uneven economic development and political tension across different regions of Pakistan. In this context, government policies for elimination of economic disparity without alteration in the power structure were practically insignificant to alleviate the mass poverty. The ensuing economic growth in the context of capitalism further classified the social structures on the basis of share of economic means. These divisions were visible in the form of industrial elite, commercial elite and agrarian elite with fewer portions of middle class of the society.

Keywords: Economic Development, Growth Strategy, Functional Inequality, Social Division

I. Introduction

Areas that constitute Pakistan before 1947, now part of the country, produced food and raw materials to sustain the economic and social life of the people of this region as well as for the areas of the rest of subcontinent. Pakistan was indeed a predominantly agrarian, with little industry, few services and no infrastructure at the time of partition. The major shares of the two dominant factors of economy, Gross Domestic Production (GDP) and the labor force were being produced and employed in agriculture sector. Over 99% of exports were consisted of agricultural commodities and imports of manufactured products were dependant on agricultural goods against consumer goods. (Stephen, 1969, 68) The leadership of the new state proclaimed capitalist growth strategy and private enterprises as the economic philosophy of the Pakistan. Ghulam Muhammad the first finance minister and later to become the governor general of Pakistan had a strong believe in 'free enterprises'. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali one of the former prime minister was also supporter of 'private enterprises'. Ayub Khan openly adopted the slogan of 'incentive to private initiative'. (Malik, 1971, 64) The capitalist growth strategy was based on a particular trend of existing a conflict between equity and growth and that in the initial

stage of development equity must be sacrificed. Pakistani nationalism therefore, has been involved as an ideological preference on the name of Islam to adopt private enterprises for the economy of Pakistan. (Johnson, 1967) In this process the state acquired an increasing hold over the whole process of capital investment.

The development process which included formulation of plans, scheduling industrial investment and allocation of foreign exchange, through affecting size, location and ownership of industrial enterprises was dominated by the official class instead of representative institution. A Development Board was formed in 1948 to coordinate plans, recommend priorities and to make periodic reports to the government on the progress of development projects. Chairman of the Board was the minister of economic affairs Ch. Muhammad Ali and secretaries of the ministries concerned with development work were its members. At the earlier stage of the state's industrial development, private investors presented with a variety of promising opportunities, selected those which assured the highest profits with the least organizational efforts. Therefore maximum investment did not lead to the balance industrial development in the country since early years. Muslim trading communities migrated from India settled mainly in Karachi the capital of new state, enjoying energetic backing by the elite bureaucracy that placed the state sector in industry to avail the economic opportunities. (Hasan, 1998,95) Hamza Alvi convinced that military and bureaucracy through capitalist mode of production wanted to preserve its interests in social order. (Alvi, 1973) From 1947 to 1953 some attempts were made for the development of economic coordination and planning that could not discharge its functions properly as suitable machinery for project appraisal or operational techniques. Discrimination is applied particularly in favor of those migrated industrialists who were particularly part of government organization itself or who can be attached by it.

In this context, the economic decision making was by and large in the hands of bureaucracy which was much interested in the settlement of those people who were capitalists with interests all over the world but not had the priorities of public economy. In this set up, the Development Board approved its schemes of development which indicated a maximum share in terms of amount sanctioned and spent, yet it was prioritized as per policy having minimum concern with the rural and agricultural sector of Pakistan.

Table 1: Unit wise cost of development schemes approved by the Development Board by the end of 1950 in Rs. 000.

Name of unit	Total estimated cost	Estimated cost in the year 1947-1948	Estimated cost in the year 1947-1948
Centre	3,203,885.0	15194.0	31,705.5
Baluchistan	10450.0	4741.0	2512.5
East Bengal	248323.5	4390.0	59395.5
The Punjab	373407.0	52327.0	76105.0
Sind	42383.5	23009.0	19374.0
NWFP	130728.5	6807.0	14379.5
Total	1225681.0	106468.0	203472.0

II. Promotion of Consumer Industry and Neglect of Agriculture

Development of large scale, primarily light industry was promoted to a considerable extent at the expense of the countryside population of Punjab, East Bengal

and Sind. In this context, the evaluation of Pakistan's economy proceeded from the very onset along the tracks of Industrialist-capitalist orientations with subordination to imperialist centers and close interrelation with the system of the world capitalist economy. (Belokrenitsky, 1991, 295-96) Therefore, the central government laid emphasis on the promotion of consumer goods industries in its industrial policy of 1948 and took over twenty seven key industries in order to ensure ' a rapid and planned development'. For that the subject of industries was transferred from Provincial list to Concurrent list in 1949. Central government neglected the agricultural sector and did not introduce any concrete policy for the development of agriculture sector during the early period. (Ahmed & Amjad, 1996, 84)

Meanwhile pound sterling was devalued by 31% by the United Kingdom in 1949. Other members of Sterling area also followed the suit, but Pakistan refused to devalue Pakistani rupee. The non devaluation of Pakistani currency decision 1949 affected the economic interests of East Bengal and Punjab. Pakistan's major trade partners were India and United Kingdom at that time which together accounted for 67.5 % of Pakistan's trade. Consequently trade between India and Pakistan came to a standstill point that created negative impact on Pakistani economy. (Zaidi, 1999, 86) Major export crops were jute, cotton and wheat produced by the East Bengal and the Punjab and the decision hit the core of the economic stability of the two provinces.

To secure the economic position of East Pakistan, the central government established a Jute Board (Afzal, 1958, 184) to fix minimum price and storage facilities and impose certain checks on imports and exports to manage trade with countries that had devalued their currency. The Jute Board had monopoly of civil bureaucracy and migrated business elite and this composition reversed the effects on the economic prospects of East Bengal. Similarly, the position of wheat growers in the Punjab was not satisfactory and wheat prices were hitting a record low in the Punjab that had badly affected the wheat growers in the Punjab. (Nayak, 1988, 73) Resultantly, the economic conditions of the country were deteriorated during this period. Setting low prices for agricultural output and high prices for consumer goods produced by the industries, government transferred income from agricultural to industrial sector. Fortunately, the economy of Pakistan got stability by the outbreak of Korean War in 1950, which increased the demand of jute and cotton in the international market and provided surge in Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings. It also forced India to accept the new parity with Pakistani rupee. For that the trade was liberalized to the extent that by June 1951 as much as 85 % of the imports were virtually without government licenses.(Ahmed & Amjad, 243) The benefits of this liberal policy were enjoyed by the migrant industrialists. M.A. H. Isphani profit between September 1949 and June 1950 alone amounted to rupees twenty millions. (Jalal, 1991, 107) However, after the collapse of Korean boom, Pakistan's economy followed the same reverse as it did in 1949. Export prices fell low and government imposed control on the imports and exports to deal with the foreign exchange crisis on the one hand and changed the terms of trade in favor of industry at the cost of agriculture sector on the other. (Ahmed & Amjad, 66)

Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) was established in 1951 to encourage the private investors to collaborate with the government in setting up heavy and small industries in the country. Ghulam Faruque, a bureaucrat from NWFP was the first head of PIDC and had firm control over huge investment funds, contracts and jobs.

The Board of Directors was consisting of big industrialists such as Adamjee, M.A H. Isphani, Naseer A. Shaikh, and Syed Amjad Ali. High profit, high investment and high rate of growth were the objectives of PIDC that concentrated on investment in Paper and Paper Board, Cement, Fertilizers, Jute Mills, Shipyards and Karachi Gas Pipeline, accounted for 85 % of the total capital outlaid in the beginning of the planned period. It was a reflection of a policy of enriching emerging private capitalists through government investments. (Jalal, 107) There was a deep commitment to the role of the private sector in economic development and the control of public sector was limited that attracted the migration of private business bourgeoisie who favored laissez-fair economy in contrast to Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and Sind, tended to favor state managed economy and go slow towards agriculture sector and land reforms.

As per policy, investment was mainly undertaken by private sector and the public sector contributed only about 30% to the total fixed investment in 1954-5. Almost all of the investment was financed through domestic savings and in 1954-55 foreign resources inflows were still only one percent of the Gross National Product (GNP). (Third Five Years Plan, 1965, 9)

As a consequence of this policy of maximum freedom to the business, the migrated businessmen class captured the jute industry for earning high profits and brought transfer of capital from the East Pakistan to West Pakistan that enabled the industrial sector located primarily in Karachi to expand rapidly.(East Bengal Assembly Proceedings, 1948,123) These policies not merely widened the economic engulf on the basis of industrialization between East Bengal and West Pakistan but also strengthen the sense of deprivation in political and administrative decision making structure.

Import-export control became a very powerful lever in the hands of central government to influence and direct the resource allocation in the domestic economy. The government preferred to grant import licenses to migrated business bourgeoisie during 1950-1952 and bureaucracy controlled the investment and production for political purposes.(Haq,1963,49-55) These policies had a lasting impact on the socio-economic division in Pakistan to a level subordinate to Karachi.

III. Distribution of Resources

In this situation, the foremost important issue was the authority over the collection of sales tax. Sales tax was a provincial subject under the interim federal constitution 1947. To deal with the problems of new state it was taken over by the central government in 1948 on temporary basis for two years. The period was extended for other two years in 1950 and made permanently a federal domain in 1952. The provincial governments especially East Bengal was very strongly against the continued encroachment of centre over the provincial financial resources. Liaquat Ali Khan prime minister, on the demand of Nurul Amin, chief minister of Bengal, invited Sir Jeremy Raisman, a British fiscal expert, in 1951 to arbitrate on the allocation of financial resources between centre and the provinces.

Although the provinces accepted the Raisman formula, yet the provincial governments were not satisfied by the state of settlement. The Punjab and Sind claimed a share of the export duty on cotton as equal to the Jute. On the other hand East Pakistan considered Raisman Award in favor of the West Pakistan and defense and demanded

greater financial resources and independence in financial matters. Having an agrarian and rural base economy, provinces seem to be failed in influencing the centre to initiate agrarian base economic policy and rural base development schemes. Industrialization did not take place in accordance with the agrarian needs of the province and focus of activity remained on the centrally administered area of Karachi in favor of migrated trading and industrial communities. It was primarily because political institution has minimum influence on the process of bureaucratic decision making.

Table 2: Population and Resources

Unit	Population (000)	Percent of total Pop.	Ann.Rev. Rs. Mil.	Rev.Per Capita.Rs.
Punjab	18815	24.9	246.2	12.0
Sind	4606	6.1	97.0	21.1
NWFP	3223	4.3	65.0	20.1
Bahawalpur	1822	2.4	50.0	27.7
Khairpur	319	0.4	12.0	37.6
B.S.U	552	0.7	5.8	10.5
Baluchistan	602	0.8		
Karachi	1123	1.5		
NWF. Agencies.	2642	3.5		
Total West Pakistan	33704	44.6		
East Bengal	41932	55.4	234.5	
Total	75636	100		

Source: Census of Pakistan, 1951, table 6, and Explanatory memorandum on the Budget of the Central Government for 1955-6, p. 142, (Governor's provinces only).

IV. Development Policies under Ayub Khan

The aggressive capitalist development during Ayub period (1958-1969) caused serious economic, social and political tension within the state. There was increased disparity in income across different regions of Pakistan. Mahbub ul Haq chief economist defended a pure capitalist growth strategy in the words, "the underdeveloped countries must consciously accept a philosophy of growth and shelve for the distant future all ideas of equitable distribution and welfare state". (Haq, 30) In this section we will discuss the development policies formulated by decision makers and implemented by the planning machinery and how this mechanism increased the state's involvement in its structural relationship with the society.

V. Economic Decision Making

Economic decisions are influenced by individuals, vested interest group, various economic classes, labor force and bureaucracy. Pakistan is dependent on foreign loans to finance development plans that are why the foreign interests also dominate the economic decision making. Parliamentary period (1947-1958) was politically chaotic and economic decision making remained centralized. Military government tried to develop a new mechanism of decision making by constituting various bodies such as National Economic Council (NEC), The Executive Committee of National Economic Council (ECNEC) and Central Development Working Party (CDWP) (Chowdhury, 1988, 151).

In this mechanism, Harvard Advisory Group (HAG) attached with Planning Commission has had great influence over economic policies of the state. (Ahmed&Amjad,59) This composition was comprised of Mahbub-ul-Haq, the Chief

Economist of the Planning Commission, Muhammad Shoaib, the Finance Minister and Secretaries of Finance, Industry, Commerce and Economic Affairs, belonging to the senior group of Muhajir civil servants, along with HAG became the actual economic decision making body of the country. With this back up higher civil and military bureaucracy controlled and exercised the political authority in economic policy formation especially, in the formulation of development plans, allocation of foreign exchange, foreign loans, grants, investments and allocation of development projects to the provinces. No major financial legislation originated in the National Assembly during Ayub period (Chowdhry, 158-59).

Ayub Khan was chairman of NEC and Planning Commission. He integrated Pukhtun in the civil and military bureaucracy and decision making process. Therefore, Pukhtun group of civil servants perused the policies and plans which were implemented in a way well suited to the development of their region. (Sayeed, 1980, 50) In this highly bureaucratized economic decision making mechanism, the under representation of East Pakistan made it impossible to accommodate the interests of East Pakistan. Therefore, the problem of regional inequality was further accentuated by the commitment of policymakers to the doctrine of 'functional inequality.' The penal of Economists from East Pakistan had strongly recommended the maximum decentralization and actual dispersal of resources, in this highly bureaucratic structure, (Economic Report, 1970, 57) dominated by Urdu speaking and Pukhtun bureaucracy and Ayub's personal will.

VI. Promotion of Manufacturing Industry

There was a great deal of continuity in the policy of promotion of industry during 1950s and 1960s. However, there was a clear shift from consumer goods industry to the manufacturing industry. The doctrine of 'functional inequality' and the concept of the 'social utility of greed' were models of economic development during the Ayub era. The doctrine of functional inequality had the problem of inequality, but the advocates of this policy insisted that the inequalities in income contribute to the growth of economy, which makes possible a real improvement for the lower group. (Papanek, 1997, 967) The strategy therefore, gave low priority to the social sector, mainly, education, health and housing.

Under this doctrine Export Bonus Scheme or Bonus Voucher Scheme overwhelmingly favored the industrial class of 1950's against the interest of the agriculturalist of the Punjab and East Bengal. It made the exchange rate of foreign currency different for different categories of buyers. Originally cotton yarn export was given a bonus entitlement of 20%, but very soon, in 1960, it was reduced to 10% minimizing the margin of Punjab's basic crop. (Hasan, 1998, 162) Similarly, the export of raw jute fell from 60% of total exports in 1958 to 20% in 1968-9, while the export of cotton and jute textiles increased from 8.3% to 35 % during the period. Export of other manufactured increased by ten folds from 2% to 20%. (Zaidi, 1999, 93) It shows that the scheme did not extended advantages to agrarian industrial economy as high as to the manufacturing industrial sector, dominated by migrated industrialists. Almost same was the position of development budget, allocated for different sectors of West Pakistan. The sector wise allocation of funds in Annual Development Programme (ADP), for the different regions of West Pakistan, from 1962-3 to 1965-6, in lacs of rupees as under

Table 3

Year	Ex-Punjab			Ex-NWFP			Ex-Sind			Ex-Baluchistan		
	Agri	W.P	Ind	Agri	W.P	Ind	Agri	W.P	Ind	Agri	W.P	Ind
1962-3	200	1787	762	13	258	30	337	1812	27	61	321	113
1963-4	220	1918	442	18	532	29	430	2070	183	56	233	157
1964-5	438	1690	288	90	545	20	418	2013	218	101	276	63
1965-6	1149	2209	283	226	533	17	635	1957	382	178	131	117

Compiled from Government of West Pakistan, *White Paper (1965-66)*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Press, 1965), pp. 51-93.

Government allocated major funds for Water and Power Development Authority, the projects, which were primarily centered in NWFP. Most of the funds allocated for the region in the name of water and power, were to be spent on the power resources projects based in NWFP. These projects contributed in the development of NWFP very significantly. After the shifting of federal capital to Rawalpindi, manufacturing industry began to emerge in the military recruitment areas of Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Hazara. Whereas, agriculture base industry began to grow in Multan, Rahim Yar Khan and Seikhupura. In NWFP industrial development was encouraged through the public private partnership. The West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (WPIDC) established eleven industries, out of which six were established by the private and five by the public sector. (West Pakistan Assembly Debates, 1968, 10845-46)

Although the government sponsored Punjabi and Sindhi landlords to invest in the industrial sector through Bonus Voucher Scheme, yet, among the top twelve business houses, none was owned by a Sindhi; only five were located in the Punjab and remaining seven were owned by Karachi base Urdu speaking businessmen. (Papanek, 27) In the same way, amongst the seventeen industrialist families, there was only one representative of landlord class. State sponsored credit agencies, Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC) and Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) were biased towards financing and encouraged migrant industrialist through the promotion of private industrial sector. (Papanek, 89-90) For the greater advantages of the industrial sector, government adopted a strict policy for the fixation of the prices of wheat and rice, levying export duty on the cotton, along with restrictions on the inter-district and inter-provincial movement of food grains to provide cheap raw material for agro-base domestic industry against the agrarian interests of the Punjab and Sind. (Report of the commission on agriculture

As a result the concentration of industrial wealth remained in the hands of the urban bourgeoisie mainly Urdu speaking refugees and lower classes were denied the fruit of economic growth. About 77% of the gross fixed assets belonging to all manufacturing sector were controlled by 44 monopoly houses who had acquired the control of the banks and insurance companies of Pakistan. (Ahmed, Amjad). On the other hand, capitalist landlords of Punjab and Sind entered into light manufacturing, especially cotton industry. Their leaning towards industrialization led to a conflict with Karachi based industrialists. In this conflict of interest, agro-industrialists of Punjab and Sind met the challenge through political connections with bureaucracy. (Nayake, 1988, 91) This development was tilting in favor of that class which has already some bases of resource manipulation. This kind of development further aggravated the social division in the society.

VII. Green Revolution

The industrial development was based on the foreign aid which was squeezed considerably after the war of 1965. Therefore, the govt had to reconsider the economic policy towards agriculture. A large structure of agricultural inputs subsidies was evolved which included fertilizers, seeds, tube-wells and agricultural machinery.(Zaidi,58) At the same time, the agrarian interests were checked by the pro-industrialist policies of the government as well. Planning Commission recommended the devaluation of rupees in 1967 to restrict imports and encourage exports which was opposed by the Finance ministry under the pressure of industrialists. The decision affected the middle and small scale enterprises of Bengal and Punjab on the one hand and agricultural interests on the other. (Belokrenitsky, 177)

The benefits of Green Revolution were also minimal for the small farmers of Pakistan. The new technology primarily was limited to the irrigated areas of the Punjab and Sind, particularly to the landlords who continued to maintain their dominant position in the context of economic resources. Canal colonies districts of Punjab took great advantage of the mechanization of agriculture. More than 83% of tractors and 91.2% of total tube-wells in the West Pakistan were located in the Punjab. Similarly 68% of fertilizer used in the West Pakistan was consumed in the Punjab during 1969-70. (Zaidi, 25) In the same way credit agencies such as Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP) and Cooperative Societies gave priority to the big landlords for the distribution of loans as well as fertilizers. (Papanek, 172) The market mechanism of the utilization of new technology without social justice, profited most to the big landlords of irrigated areas of the Punjab and Sind. This relatively submerged the existence of peasants and tillers. Resultantly, agricultural capitalism increased landed class inequalities and unemployment in the Punjab and Sind. The panel of Economists wrote in the report of 4th five Year Plan: In West Pakistan the maintenance of the growth of momentum in the agriculture requires the extension of the new technology to the small farmers and the provinces which have not fully shared in the spread of the Green Revolution. (Government of Pakistan, 1970, 40)

In this context, the economic development seems to be directed towards manufacturing industrialization dominated by Urdu speaking elite and Pukhtuns. Agriculture sector, the basic concern of the Punjab and Sind, was given attention, not for the common farmers, but for the landed elite of Pakistan. The issue of economic disparities between the two wings of Pakistan was a much more sensitive and complex than originally conceived by the military government. The level of disparity between the two wings was 46% in 1964-5 and it was increased to 60 % in 1969-70. State policies related to planning and industrial development strategy, transfer of real economic resources from the East to West wing, lower development expenditures in the East Pakistan and lower share of foreign aid, expensive inter-wings trade were the main factors of widening the gap of disparity visible in the per capita income of two wings. (Economic Report on the Fourth Five Year Plan, 1970)

East Pakistan was instrumental in supporting the process of industrialization in the West Pakistan, but remained deprived to get its due share in the development of industrial sector. Ayub Khan could not fully understand the economic grievances of East Pakistan. He considered that 'East Pakistan suffers from a sense of frustration. The problem is more psychological than economic or material'. (The Pakistan Observer, 1966) In 1958,

there was a difference of 30% in the per capita income between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. By the end of the second five years plan (1965) the disparity of per capita income had risen to 45% and to 61% in 1969. Concentration of economic power in the hands of migrant groups inevitably led to the concentration of political power which was then used to resist financial autonomy of East Pakistan. The industrialist groups owned by the migrants settled in Karachi such as Adamjee, Dogwoods and Isphahanis were the owners of the jute mills of East Pakistan. (Jahan, 1972, 160)

VIII. National Finance Commission Award

National Finance Commission was established in 1961 to settle the fiscal issues between the centre and the provinces. National Finance Commission was sharply divided into Bengali and non-Bengali groups on the basis of revenue collection and distribution of resources between the centre and the provinces. Basis of population for the allocation of resources was a demand of Bengali group while West Pakistani group was not ready to accept this demand as it could lose their control on the provincial fiscal domain. Therefore, temporarily a formula was developed in 1962 through which 30 % of sales tax was allocated on the basis of collection from the region and 70% on the basis of population with a ratio of 54 % for the East Pakistan and 46% for the West Pakistan. The award transferred 100 % export duty on jute and cotton to East Pakistan and West Pakistan, respectively. However, in the second NFC award 1965, provincial share of Jute and Cotton export duty was reduced to 65%. In all other respects, the basis of distribution under the 1965 arrangements remained the same as in the earlier arrangements. The Third NFC Award 1970 perhaps increased the provincial share of resources to some extent, but could not meet the expectations of aggrieved East Pakistan. The percentage formula for the division of other resources between centre and the provinces was as follow: (Federal Government in Pakistan, 1992, 67)

Table 4

Tax Category	NFC 1962	NFC 1965	NFC 1970
Income Tax	50	65	80
Sales Tax	60	65	80
Central Excise duty	60	65	80
Export Duty	100	65	80

IX. Conclusion

The economic policies, the government of Pakistan pursued during 1950s were focused on the development of industrialization at the cost of agriculture sector. Adoption of capitalist modes of production for economic growth shifted the concentration of fiscal and monetary resources from agriculture sector to industrial sector, without a concern with how to alleviate mass scale problem of worst type of poverty and how to transfer the benefits of economic growth to the middle class of Pakistan. Focused areas of industrial development were cosmopolitan cities especially the port city and capital Karachi. The major beneficiaries of this policy were the communities associated with trade, commerce and industry who had migrated from British India, to Pakistan. To avail the economic opportunities, these communities also enjoyed the whole hearted support of migrant civil bureaucracy. The ethnic composition of the emerging industrialist elite augmented the political tension and aggravated the social differences and divisions among the contesting sections and classes of society as economic decision making was very much restricted to these industrial communities.

Economic policies during Ayub era were based on the doctrine of functional inequality and social utility of greed. As a result, twenty two families had captured the whole economy and resources of the state. This policy did not address the level of regional sensitivities in economic affairs and classes and communities concerns with economic inequalities. The policy aggravated the level of consciousness of deprivation among the common masses especially belonging to under developed areas of the country and hampered the process of national integration. Even Ayub Khan's land reforms in 1959 to empower the peasants in agrarian economy, could not achieve its ends due to its failure of implementation procedures and processes, although such reforms had been successfully implemented in East Pakistan in 1950s.

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