

Development Chronicle of Pakistan: A Case of Colonial Legacy

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Pakistan got independence from British Empire in 1947. The idea of liberating from both Hindu-English usurpation was to see the dream of self-governance and self-reliance getting fulfilled. The Muslims after the downfall of Mughal-India were disbanded on behalf of British and Hindus. Muslims of United India were also in a state of entire shock to believe that they are no more the owners of their own fate and destiny. The failure in joint political moves of Hindu-Muslim unity resulted in a separate independence movement for winning liberation. The state of affairs led to struggle for a piece of land to practice the principles of Islam to realize the self-governed development for the citizens of separate state for Muslims of India. Development Vision of Pakistan as perceived by Mr. Jinnah was to bring Pakistan among the global brethren of world to stand firm and to shun the western vision of development. The idea of development of Pakistan was through the Islamic principles based in Islamic notion of 'welfare'. The colonial heritage after independence was carried by the bureaucratic and military set up that held the nation to see the actualization of true participatory development in Pakistan. The paper is intended to highlight the initial failures of Development planning and implementation due to over reliance over non-local and alienated development models and policies. The Authors of the paper are striving to advocate the necessity of revitalizing once traditionally practiced, indigenously conceived, self planned and administered development model for Pakistan.

Key Words: Development, Colonialism, Economic Planning, Development Strategies, Neo-colonialism, Local Administration, Bureaucracy

The word 'development'¹ was first time used in English language in 1750 to denote patterns of change and progress in every human activity (Hulse, 2007). Routledge Encyclopedia refers to Nisbet (1969) and Williams (1985) to claim that 'development is a key concept in Western Culture and Philosophy in two main senses. Firstly social evolutionism but picture changed from mid twentieth century in which the term 'development' is seen in economic perspective including production, consumption and living standards while focusing Third World countries. Secondly, 'Development' is "the term is especially associated with the international projects of planned social change set in motion in the years surrounding World War II, which gave birth to 'development agencies', 'development projects', and, ultimately, to 'development studies' and 'development anthropology'." The encyclopedia suggests that both senses treat development separately but in Development Anthropology, to understand the term comprehensively, the two of them need to be dealt in total.

The literature presents that World War II casted unforgettable memories and left its deep engraving upon diverse geographical regions and nations of the world. It was time when colonization stopped and transformed itself into

new dimensions of global markets and financial aid assistance programs to newly liberated nations in name of development assistance, sharing of knowledge, etc. Escobar (1985) referred by Barnard and Spencer (2005: 191) commented on this new phenomenon in words "a host of 'development agencies', programs of 'development aid', and so forth, were conceived and put into place in the years following World War II." The main emphasis of the anthropological work done on development aimed "studying the development of 'traditional' peoples in modernizing societies was thought to be of mostly 'practical' or 'policy' significance, and the theoretical core of the discipline remained the description and comparison of societies and cultures as little contaminated by 'development' as possible." (Barnard & Spencer, 2005: 192)

"In fact, the origin of developmental anthropology can be traced after World War II. After World War II, developed nations began to think that the problems of development of developing nations are quite different." (Pandey, 2008: 3)

The Oxford and Webster dictionaries define 'development' as "a gradual unfolding" suggesting that the word is derived from the Latin "de" and "volutus" meaning "to unveil" (Hulse, 2007). The term 'development' as conceptualized by Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005) edited by Sally Wehmeier, Colin McIntosh and Joanna Turnbull "the gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced,

¹ The Oxford and Webster dictionaries define 'development' as "a gradual unfolding", suggesting that the word is derived from the Latin "de" and "volutus" meaning "to unveil". (Hulse, 2007)

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stronger, etc” or “the process of producing or creating something new or more advanced.” The Development Dictionary edited by Sachs (1992a) stigmatizes the term to serve the aim of Westernization of the rest of the World. Similarly, Sachs (1992b) describes that “development’s hidden agenda was nothing less than the Westernization of the World”. In a strict economic sense, it has been visualized as “the capacity of a national economy, whose initial condition has been more or less static for a long time” (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 49). The definition of development in economic sense was highly problematic as it denoted “planned alteration of the structure of production and employment so that agriculture’s share of both declines and that of the manufacturing and service industries increases” (ibid: 49). Development strategies have therefore usually focused on rapid industrialization, often at the expense of agriculture and rural development (ibid: 49). The definition of development based on economic orientation devises the path for it to be passing through industrial installations and expansion. It clearly ignores the society related non-economic factors and issues. For long time, United Nations (UN) used the term ‘development’ and its related concepts. This term development was assessed through GNP per capita as single measure rather it was also used in defining development. From 1990, the work of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had reviewed its orientation and new term of Human Development was coined (Gaspar, 2004: 37). World Commission on Culture and Development thus states “development embraces not only access to goods and services but also the opportunity to choose a fully satisfying, valuable and valued way of living together, the flourishing of human existence in all its forms and as a whole (WCCD, 1995: 15). UNDP also corresponded to this definition by referring to “human development can be expressed as a process of enlarging people’s choices” (UNDP, 1996: 49).

A brief survey of classical development theory reveals that Adam Smith’s treatise published in 1776 was considered to be a “theory of economic growth” as he was clearly concerned with economic development (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 12). David Ricardo later on modified the model of Smith by innovating ‘diminishing returns to land cultivation’ (ibid: 13-14). He claimed that land is a variable therefore as economy grows, population also grows relative to land. Ricardo believed “industrialists to be at the dynamic center of the workings of the capitalist economy” and he thought “what landowners gained in income with population growth, industrialists lost” (Cypher & Dietz, 2004: 111). John Stuart Mill differed a bit in comparison with Ricardo. He was in favor of sacrificing economic development to some extent for the sake of environment and limiting the population size to avoid starvation. Thomas Malthus’ paradigm provides a theory of the relationship between population growth and economic development (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 311). Marx and Engels discussed the market based capitalism was most dynamics force in the world (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 15). What appalled Marx was the ‘human cost’ that involved in producing such wealth and the extremely one-sided distribution that resulted from its production (Cypher & Dietz, 2004: 119). In

Capitalism, exploitation of human labor is at the heart which results in ‘profit-making’. Similarly, the ‘mechanization process’ also serves the aims and objectives of the rich industrialist who thus “creates an army of unemployed to negotiate the wages and pushing it downward” (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 16).

The classic theories assumed that there was a certain homogeneous character to societies. That is, society, in rich or poor countries, was not fundamentally dissimilar. However, a number of theorists have argued that traditions-the practices of the past that are handed down from generation to generation or are taught by society’s dominant institutions – may pose particular problems for economic growth and development” (ibid: 17).

The early literature on economic growth and development portrays that factors other than economic were ignored rather population growth was seen to be implemental in growing the profit margins for the industrialists. Early classical works ‘ferocity was on economic development with no mention of giving a feeble heed to social factors. The conscientious duty of the privileged and powerful to be compassionate towards the poor and disadvantaged is a doctrinal edict of most major religions. Individual and institutional acts of benevolence have a long and heart-warming history. Following World War I, the League of Nations was created with noble intentions. But it is only since World War II that development, specifically intended to relieve poverty, chronic disease, economic and social inequities, has become truly international (Hulse, 2007).

“During the quarter-century following World War II some 60 new sovereign and independent nations, formerly ruled as colonies by Europeans, came into existence. The economic, material, skilled and educated human resources varied considerably among the newly emerging nations. All, in varying degrees, had – and many still have – need of economic and technical assistance, at first provided by the UN agencies, subsequently by governments of the more affluent North American, European and Oceanic nations. The needs, capabilities and resources among the new sovereign nations differed enormously, in part attributable to how their boundaries were defined, how they were colonized, and the sensitivity of their former colonial masters, some of whom bequeathed institutional facilities for education, agricultural and economic development, others left a legacy of massive illiteracy” (ibid).

Post-World War II literature on economic development brings forth its dimensions for economic growth including: first, linear-stages-of-growth model; second, theories and patterns of structural change; third, the international-dependence revolution; and fourth, the neo-classical, free market counter-revolution (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 145). After World War II, the idea of development, as it evolved focused almost exclusively on economic growth” (Lefebver cited by North & Cameron, 2003: 25).

"It was implicitly assumed that growth would bring about a gradual increase in the prosperity of the low-income communities at large. The unemployed would get jobs, and the workers in low-productivity occupations would be absorbed in higher paying advanced agricultural, industrial, and commercial service activities. Various paradigms of development – ranging from centrally controlled socialism to decentralised planning – were put forward as policy guides. Fifty years later it has become evident that whatever positive results have been attained – in some instances significant improvements in popular welfare – resulted from pragmated approaches to policy making rather than strict adherence to any particular ideology" (ibid: 25)

From the late 1940s 'international development' gained currency with the creation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), the United Nations Development Program, and, among the industrial nations, establishment of government-financed 'development agencies' devoted to offering technical, social and economic assistance to poorer nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Hulse, 2007). International development agencies came into being soon after 1945 to assist poor nations, many transformed from colonies into independent sovereign states. Declared development objectives were for the newly independent states to be governed efficiently and economically, for their inhabitants to enjoy freedom from poverty, hunger and insecurity (ibid).

Theorists of the 1950s and 1960s viewed the process of development as a "series of successive stages of economic growth through which all countries must pass" replaced by emphasis on theories and patterns of structural change and International-dependence in 1970s and later on in 1980s and 1990s with neo-classical or neo-liberal emphasizing the beneficial role of free markets, open economies and the privatization of inefficient public enterprises (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 145). This paradigm given by Todaro and Smith (2003) is also supported by Cypher & Dietz (2004: 128-29) in their work. After the limitations observed in the linear stages and structural change models, the False-Paradigm model revolves around the "international-dependence approach to development that attributes to faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed, biased, and ethnocentric international 'expert' advisers from developed-country assistance agencies and multinational donor organizations."²

² "These experts offer sophisticated models of development that often lead to inappropriate or incorrect policies. Because of institutional factors such as central and remarkably resilient role of traditional social structures (tribe, caste, class, etc.), the highly unequal ownership of land and other property rights, the disproportionate control by local elites over domestic and international financial assets, and the very unequal access to credit, these policies, based as they often are on mainstream, Lewis-type surplus labor or Chenery-type structural-change models, in many cases merely serve the vested interests of existing power groups, both domestic and international" (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 159, See for more details: Chapter Four).

(Todaro & Smith, 2003: 159). Lefebvre argues that "ideologically rigid reliance in the past on state controls and recently uncontrolled free markets has led to stagnation and immiseration of working populations" (Lefebvre, 2000). Ecologists contended that failure to control human, industrial and other development activities would result in ecological disaster. One publication, based on proceedings of a Conservation Foundation Conference, stated: "... international development to date has been destructive" (Farrar & Milton, 1972). There was change in the debate on development with a different perspective as "in 1987 the World Bank compiled a set of social indicators related to human development". The relevant publication opens with the following statement: "The ultimate goal of development is to improve the human condition, especially for the least privileged members of society" (World Bank, 1987). All this calls attention to the limited relevance of the currently dominant economic theories to the development process. Neoclassical economics is based on assumptions that are not rooted in the prevailing social and economic realities (Lefebvre cited in North & Cameron, 2003: 31-33). With regards to the results of ideologically driven neoliberal policies, carefully designed studies have found that not only did social progress in the third world slow down in the 1980s and 1990s (Weisbrot et al., 2001) but that liberalization failed even its primary objective of generating growth (Weisbrot et al., 2000).

"In 1990 Dr Mahbub ul Haq, former Minister of Economic Development in the government of Pakistan, became the principal author of the first in a series of Human Development Reports published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Comparative national ratings were based on a novel indicator: the Human Development Index (HDI). 'Development' was earlier conceived in terms of national GDP growth, it being assumed that the benefits of increasing economic growth would trickle down to poorer members of society. Mahbub ul Haq insisted that, while economic growth is essential, high growth rates do not automatically translate into higher levels of human development. Alleviation of poverty, caused by too little access to income, assets, credit, social services and employment opportunities, is important but not the sole factor in human development. HDI takes account of life expectancy, adult literacy and standard of living, and is calculated from several sub-indices: a. Human Poverty Index (HPI), b. Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and c. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)" (Hulse, 2007).

Rural Development in Pakistan: Nation's Case Study

All successive governments in Pakistan since independence claimed to put the nation on way to self reliance, making people the ultimate beneficiaries of development agenda, recognizing and respecting the local norms and culture of the land yet the picture is other way around. The devastating shock to the indigenous culture was casted in the reign of British colonizers. The Culture Policy of Pakistan notes with concern that "the colonial encounter resulted in disconnect with our

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cultural heritage” (Government of Pakistan, 2011c). It further discloses that “impact of some myopic post-independence policies on our cultural heritage was almost suicidal” (ibid). To articulate the shortsighted vision on development without prioritizing the masses’ felt needs was later on transcended in social chaos. The following sections illuminate awful backwash of single-factor development vision promoted in the name of prosperity in country. The rural development in Pakistan is a complex case as the establishment and stakeholders in power manipulation game merely served their personal stakes instead of watching over the national interests.

The following debate contains, main features of Pakistan’s development experience including its pre-partition colonial legacy i.e. bureaucracy, military’s indulgence in politics and thus destroying the development fabric, shortsightedness in development planning, major rural development interventions and cause of their failures, and failure of agriculture domain in gaining sustainability. This is done in order to build the arguments stronger to suggest that Pakistan now needs reconsideration of development postulates, shifting development strategy to favor indigenous knowledge as well as resources and redefining its development model that is basically root in the indigenous knowledge of the land.

Retroversion from Jinnah’s Vision

Jinnah’s stance on development process of newly born Pakistan was crystal clear. He stated “if Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture”³ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 71). He was well aware of fact that agriculture being the main feature of economy of Pakistan could act as a step to further expanding development agenda for the prosperity of country.

*Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the continent of Asia..... I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which her people are so well known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field*⁴ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 249).

It is important to note that Pakistan’s performance in agriculture sector in 1947 and 1948 was satisfactory which in stead of getting more developed and responsive to national requirement, went down and became totally dependent on fulfilling the food requirement of the country while purchasing wheat from abroad. Jinnah’s statement in the situation of agriculture presents a different scene:

*For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 percent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33 percent of the total tonnage of rice and about 40 percent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco. The greater part of the world’s jute is grown in East Bengal and it gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries*⁵ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 149).

Connecting the education sector to provide the required human resource to promote the agriculture domain, Jinnah commented that “it should be the aim of our colleges to produce first class experts in agriculture....”⁶ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 241).

An Elite State: Domestic ‘Colonization’

The case of Pakistan clearly uncovers the story of an elite state that is clutched into the hands of Military establishment, colonial legacy in shape of bureaucracy, politicians motivated by self interests, capitalistic minded industrialist, middlemen or the power brokers and rural feudal. This class is also appended by the foreign trained policy makers, development experts, knowledge elites and sect oriented religious authorities. So what overwhelms the development practices with reference to rural Pakistan is deliberate ignorance of ideology of independence, shunning the vision of father of nation, manipulation of religious preaching, top-down tunnel vision on development interventions, highly politicization of development initiatives, vested interest groups, local power holders and brokers, etc. All of these phenomena have led to a low performance not only internationally but also within the South Asia regarding basic bio-statistics like annual growth rate of population, number of patients per doctor and dentist, number of patients per bed available in hospitals, infant mortality, maternal mortality, vaccinations, to socio-statistics like low literacy rate, dropouts from schools, left outs from the education process, student-teacher ratio, gender disparities, etc. The eco-statistics like poverty rate, unemployment rate, inflation, GNP per Capita, low performance on Gender Disparity Index and Human Development Index, etc. The geo-statistics including rural urban migrations, cities becoming bottled up and overpopulated, land degradation, land erosions, soil erosions, agricultural lands becoming barren and infertile, etc. It is certain that without reorienting priorities, “Pakistan will far further and further behind as a modern state when compared with most of its peers” (Cohen, 2005: 271). The culture of authoritarianism, cultivated in the first decade of Pakistan’s life, is likely to continue shadowing the democratic struggle unless the army fully divorces itself from politics (ibid: 271) and allows the political system to work. In this regard the work of Martinussen also depicts that “the Pakistani bourgeoisie

³ Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the building of the Valika Textile Mills Ltd: September 26th 1974.

⁴ Speech in reply to the address presented by the Karachi chamber of commerce: April 27th 1948.

⁵ Broadcast talk to the people of Australia: February 19th, 1948.

⁶ Speech in reply to the address of welcome presented by the Principal, Staff and Students of the Edwards College, Peshawar: April 18th 1948.

avored a regime form that concentrated as much power and decision making as possible in the executive branches of the state, the main reason being that this class was weak in political terms for at least three decades after independence” (Martinussen, 1999: 205). There is no doubt that the social forces favoring an autocratic form of regime in Pakistan were more powerful for a longer period than those favoring some form of democracy (ibid: 206). The decisive power was presumably the national bourgeoisie, but it should be noted also that the working class in Pakistan was in an unusually weak position to promote democracy (ibid: 206). The same applied to the landowners and to an even higher degree to the peasants, who totally lacked national political organizations (ibid: 206). When further to Islam’s importance as a legitimizing ideology and the *ulama’s*⁷ general opposition to democracy is added, it becomes understandable why the form of regime in Pakistan became so distinctly autocratic during the 1950s and remained so until the end of 1980s, even though formal parliamentary democracy was introduced for brief periods (ibid: 206-7).

Problematic Economic Planning: Five Years’ Plans

Frailness and feebleness of Pakistan’s economic independence as well as destroying of ‘the traditional and indigenous institutions and left behind a legacy of colonial capitalism’ (Saif, 2010: 206). A student of Pakistan’s development planning receive no inkling of any preference given to the people who were supposed to be the ultimate recipients of development initiatives. The economic planning of country was initiated under the ‘Harvard Advisory Group (HAG)’ (ibid: 200) that promoted the ‘notion of economic growth’ while discrediting the social and cultural needs of Pakistanis. This ‘economic growth model’ was much serving the geopolitical needs of US by becoming the ‘client-state’ of America, raised its dependency on foreign aid and the promise of economic prosperity and self-reliance got never fulfilled. This economic dependency on western economic doctrines and philosophies totally ignored the unique cultural history and heritage of country and was accompanied by “authoritarian elite of the bureaucracy, army, and the feudal class, that was bolstered by the custodian of the free world, the United States, to ensure Pakistan’s association with Defense Pacts against communism.” (ibid: 212). This fatal step put Pakistan on road to complete dependence upon its ‘client-state’ of US and totally dependent upon western economic model and philosophies due to which the dream of founder of Pakistan and the developmental aspirations of majority of the masses were thrown to the walls.

“Once..... rules accepted dependence on the world capitalistic market economy and its prime movers, especially the transnational corporations and aid agencies either based in or sponsored by the United States of America, the impact of

Western Economic doctrines and development models proved to be decisive in shaping ensuing of both national and geopolitical significance” (Gardezi & Rashid, 1983).

Economic planning, broadly speaking, is an activity aimed at utilizing the human and material resources available with a nation in a way as to bring maximum economic prosperity and happiness to the people.

The government of Pakistan soon after independence set up the institution of planning in the country. ‘Development board’ was established in 1948 with a view to carrying out economic planning in the newly born nation in order to promote economic growth. A planning advisory board was also set up which was to extend assistance to the development board in its work of planning for economic development. The development board began its work to prepare its first six year development plan. This plan could not succeed due to the internal political unrest. In 1953, development board was dissolved and a planning board was assigned the job of preparing the First Five Year Plan. The organizational apparatus of planning board was reorganized in 1958 and raised to the level of ‘planning commission’. First Five Year Plan (1955-60) was prepared in 1955 that was later on released in 1956 but got its final approval in 1957. The plan could not achieve its targets for many reasons like instable economy due to which the balance between imports and exports could not be maintained. The delay in obtaining approval of plan from ‘National Economic Council’ (NEC) greatly damaged the spirit of the plan. The non-developmental expenditures rose to unexpected and unseen limits which adversely affected the implementation of plan. First plan allocated a sum of Rs. 461 million for agriculture domain (Bhatti, 2007: 838). Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) was prepared in 1959 and approved in 1960 by NEC. Compared to first five year plan, second plan was somehow termed as a success due to achieving few of its targets. The monetary allocations made for agriculture were Rs. 902 million (ibid: 838).

The second five year plan (1960-65) has been widely accepted as the most successful period of economic progress in Pakistan. From virtual stagnation in the 1950s the rate of economic growth had jumped, from 3.5 to 6.7 percent per annum (in West Pakistan), industrial production had increased by 12 percent per annum and investment rate by 14 percent a year. The rate of inflation was only 2 percent (Aziz, 2009: 36).

The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) was designed in 1964 and approved in 1965 by NEC as a part of 20 years Long Term Perspective Plan to be completed in 1985. This plan contained ambitious objectives but its implementation fell in jeopardy at the very outset because of the Indian aggression in 1965. Aziz recalls the issues in implementation of third five year plan and holds responsible the stoppage of American aid which was conditional and Pakistan-India war in 1965 due to internal expenditure rose and the due-share of East Pakistan was severely compromised.

⁷ Religious scholars

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The overall flow of foreign aid declined from 6 to 3 percent of GDP. At the same time in wake of the war, defense expenditure went up from 2.2 percent of GDP in 1964-65 to 4.2 percent in 1969-70. As a result, the overall share of East Pakistan in the pool of resources, promised under the Third Five Year Plan, could not be protected (Aziz, 2009: 40).

The argument is also supported by Bhatti as he states that “government had to divert its energies to defend the borders. Among other reasons were stoppage of American Aid, natural calamities like floods and cyclones in East Pakistan, the political turmoil dangerously affected the implementation. The budgetary allocations were Rs. 1377 million (Bhatti, 2007: 838).

Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75) was enacted on same foundations of third plan but this plan met a different fate. Its implementation was not smooth due to 1971 war with India and later on disintegration of East Pakistan. Tensions were escalated with neighboring India and the internally weakened political situation set up the path for division of the nation just a year after launching of this plan. Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) was launched in 1978 that met serious jolt when the allocated funds that were 210.22 billion out of which 128.22 billion were given to the public sector due to which many of the target could not reach its desired and expected aftermath. A sum total of Rs. 16112 million was specified for agriculture development (ibid: 838). Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) was launched in 1983. This plan initiated a debate among the national experts of economic development about the nature of policy to develop the public sector. Though there was an agreement upon eradicating poverty so that benefits could reach out to the poor and needy in the country. The serious political situation due to clashes between the military establishment and democratic forces, Afghan war along western borders, influx of millions of migrants, ethnic killings in Karachi (that was the hub of industrial activity in Pakistan) and elections in 1985 again on non-party basis to stop Zia’s opponent Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP) were the major hurdles in way of its effective implementation. The allocation made for expansion of agriculture and development was Rs. 14200 million (ibid: 838). Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93) was launched in 1988 just before the establishment of PPP’s government under the premiership of Benazir Bhutto. This plan was also a picture of trembling economy due to the affects of Afghan war in its final destination, refugees, terrorism in country due to Pakistan’s involvement in Afghan war, the military controlled political alliance named Islami Jamhori Itehad (IJI) that collided with Federal Government and put the political process and writ of government in question through agitation and strikes all over the country. The stoppage of American Aid, political unrest, ethnic challenges and killings in interior Sindh especially Karachi resulting in a military controlled operation, sectarian violence and killings in central Punjab led the overall law and order situation in total opaqueness. Punjab-Islamabad clashes (IJI vs. PPP) really put the picture in a dismal condition that ended in toppling and dissolution of government twice in 1990 and later on in 1993 under the directions of Military in the name of maintaining national security. In fact, the nation lost its vision

to self-reliance and expectations to see national integrity. All stakeholders of power failed to perform their jobs and thus country was put on a track that could not hope to enjoy a graceful international stature within global brethren. The portion of agriculture was Rs. 15600 million (ibid: 838). In August 1991, the government established a working group on private investment for Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993-98). This group, which included leading industrialists, presidents of chambers of commerce, and senior civil servants, submitted its report in late 1992. However, in early 1994, the eighth plan had not yet been announced, mainly because the successive changes of government in 1993 that forced stakeholders to focus on short-term issues. Instead, economic policy for Fiscal Year 1994 was being guided by an annual plan. Fiscal ceilings to support and promote agriculture development were 11400 million (ibid: 838).

New Growth Framework of the Planning Commission recognized the limitation of development planning and commented “almost all five-year plans prepared during political or military regimes were shelved in the country’s history after regime change and none of them succeeded in getting the desired results, so there is a need to look at strategies of other regional economies that are also facing challenges such as security and governance difficulties” (Government of Pakistan, 2011d). The Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10) relied on upgrading physical infrastructure for accelerating output growth. Specific spheres were identified where support to private sector could be extended and finally social sector policies were envisaged for timely achievement of millennium development goals. It further states that never has there been a more pressing need in Pakistan’s history to search for a new model; however, at the outset it should be said that if there has to be a common vision on growth, it should by all means take account of the damages caused by security and governance issues currently facing the country.

Development Strategies

The principle aim of rural development in Pakistan therefore remain to improve the quality of life of the rural people by improving the rural economy and living condition in the villages by improving the rural infrastructure, providing social amenities, undertaking productive projects to satisfy local community needs besides, creating gainful employment opportunities. Pakistan launched three major strategies to accelerate rural development process from the year 1950 to 1978. These strategies were: first, ‘Growth Strategy’ (1950-70) which focused on ‘growth’ criteria to achieve the rapid economic development with an assumption that the benefits of development will trickle down to the poor and disadvantaged groups. This approach was reflected in People Works Program, *Tameer-e-Watan* Program and the Prime Minister’s five point developmental agendas from time to time. Second, ‘Welfare Strategy’ (1971-78) in which basic needs approach was adopted, afterwards for socio-economic uplift of the society for alleviation of rural poverty under the welfare state concept. The basic assumption being that the poor do not have the capability

to stand on their feet. This government's intervention tried to help poor in providing necessities of life as food, shelter, clothing, medical and education facilities, etc. Under such approach, *Tawana* Pakistan, Social Action Program (SAP)-I and SAP-II were included; third, 'Integrated Rural Development Approaches' (1971-78) that apparently included the lessons learnt from the failures of the past development strategies and claimed to possess better understanding of the nature and complexity of rural society. The causes of rural poverty were considered multiple and inter-dependent so an integrated or holistic approach involving all the relevant sectors was adopted for achieving the objectives of rural development. Such approaches were vividly V-AID program and *Khushal* Pakistan program, etc. (Chaudhry, 2009: 129).

Stultified Local Administration and Neo-colonialism

Ahmed and Rashid (2011) talk of fundamental problems existing in developing countries like Pakistan by referring to Debiel and Lambach (2008) who point out the local elites including actors of violence, traditional and religious authorities, remnants of the former state administration, part officials, local businessmen, influential intellectuals, repatriates from the Diaspora, etc" to be responsible for maintain the status quo. Debiel and Lambach (2008) are of the view that these "elites pose as equivalents of the state in a functional sense with the aim of redirecting external assistance in their furtherance of their own political and economic interests." (ibid: 88-89). To understand rulers' mind set in depth, it is vital to study the post-independence period of Pakistan. Following citation facilitates to infer direction of thinking held by the rulers:

"Soon after independence the rulers of Pakistan began to yield to all types of inducements to enter into neo-colonial economic and military alliances in order to preserve the internal systems of privilege and power, and the external control of the cheap labor and raw material of the country." (Gardezi & Rashid, 1983 cited in Saif, 2010: 196)

After independence, the civil service of Pakistan continued the same system of colonial administration. It retained the same class structure, the same elite character and the same colonial pattern of administration (Khan, 2009: 575). In spite of various reports⁸ recommending the reforms in the bureaucratic structure 'successive governments (have) either ignored the recommendations contained in these studies or adopted them only marginally (ibid: 576). Consequently, the civil service of Pakistan, both structurally as well as functionally, retained its colonial character. It continued to be imperialistic, elitist, and

arrogant (ibid: 576). The existing literature recounts that "lack of representative and responsive policy making results in disempowerment of the citizens undermining their entitlements" (Ahmed and Rashid, 2011: 82). The authors also refer to "top-down, non participatory and executive oriented developmentalism" that aspires to retain the situation and also this top-down approach also "undermines the national capacity to undertake research and set participatory policy priorities" (ibid: 82). The authors have referred to Haque (2010) stating "at a meeting with a recent Finance Minister of Pakistan, some of the best economists came up with the refrain that 'research and inquiry is not necessary, we know it all. We need to act and not think', alternately, 'we know it all.' (ibid: 82). Pakistan has been governed by a group of elite who were in a way united by the means of vested interests. Each of group attempted to win more and more administrative and financial power to raise its relative pressure and power. This group comprised bureaucratic, military and political elites. 'bureaucratic elite gradually became more assertive, steadily increasing their power at the expense of the political elite (Khan, 2009: 575) moreover, the military governments of 1958, 1969, and 1977 had to fall back upon the civil bureaucracy, further strengthening its power' (ibid: 576).

De-escalated Democratic Forces

The gradual weakening of democratic forces in Pakistan soon after independence created a gulf that was never allowed to get filled by democratic forces rather "this space was gradually filled, first by civil bureaucratic elite, followed a few years later by the armed bureaucracy, thus setting in motion a dry rot of power politics" (Aziz, 2009: 28). Unfortunately, third world countries generally have failed to establish the supremacy of civilian authority over the armed forces with the result that military coups became commonplace all over the third world (Khan, 2009: 570). Pakistan is one of the rank examples of the domination of the armed forces in the affairs of the state (ibid: 570). It is therefore due to the frequent takeovers by the military in Pakistan, critics label its approach to development as the 'economy of defense' (Jalal, 1995). The 'economic and social progress,' in line with this neo-colonial model, meant an increased dependence on US technical, military and commodity aid (Saif, 2010: 197). In an environment of weak political culture, bureaucrats and generals were more interested in building a defense establishment rather than investing in social sectors (ibid: 197). Heavy industry linked with military needs had become the priority of the central government, resulting in a serious neglect of the agricultural sector in addition to the lack of will on part of the central government to implement any land reforms (ibid: 197). As a matter of fact, the land reforms were proposed in a draft plan of All-India Muslim League planning committee in 1945 and later on included in the Muslim League's agrarian reforms in July 1949 which were never allowed to be implemented in West Pakistan by the powerful landed lobby (Talbot, 1990).

⁸ Pay and Services Commission, headed by Justice Muhammad Munir of the Lahore High Court submitted its report in 1948. Rowland Edgar's Report in 1953, Bernard Cladius in 1955, Paul Becket in 1957 and Report of the Pay and Services Commission (1959-62) headed by Justice Cornelius, the then Chief Justice of Pakistan. All reports emphasized the need for reforming the outmoded administrative system in Pakistan (Khan, 2009)

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Conclusion

Summing up, stakeholders' struggle to get dominance put the country on getting more and more dependent on external forces. This phenomenon never let people of Pakistan reap the fruits of what they sacrificed for during Pakistan movement. The 'concept of development' that carries three aspects, growth (the economic aspect), equality (the social aspect) and liberty (the political aspect) and its linkage with human security was completely ignored and agenda of national development was compromised over personal gains and interests.

The historical series of events help bringing the reader to conclude that there was nothing wrong with the land or the people of Pakistan rather the initial years of independence never allowed any public institution to put the country on the lines of development that was dreamed by the father of nation. The notion of development only corresponded to the definition given by members of HAG and other western ideas in Pakistan.

"Many economists still assume that industrialization increases production and income. They seek to create in third world countries a process – economic development – like the ones that first occurred spontaneously in 18th century Great Britain" (Kottak, 2000: 538).

The development efforts, programs, approaches, as well as initiatives in Pakistan were merely the carriers of western ideology and prolonging capitalistic ethos. In spite of attempts made to see any scientific research done in favor of sustainable rural development through the community by letting their indigenous notions on development operationalised embraced failure. The survey of development history of country led me to conclude that the development in Pakistan is only west-bound which is merely another face of neocolonialism. It was at times observed that advocates of national development particularly agriculture domain talked of past practices in a sorrowful and grief-stricken manner. The development staff posed an ashamed gesture towards traditional agriculture with an excuse that it is now redundant and obsolete. According to modern school, traditional skills and practices were once useful but now these were thought to be devoid of sense and out of context when compared with new innovations. There was a sense of superiority that prevailed among government departments' staff who took masses mostly as their clients. This thing reminds that public servants had forgotten the message of Jinnah during his speech to civil officers telling them to be like servants of people of Pakistan⁹.

⁹ Informal talk to civil officers at government house, Peshawar: April 14th 1948. Extraction from Statement: *if you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure but do your duty as servants to the people and state, fearlessly and honestly....* (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 231).

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