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LAND REFORM

in

PAKISTAN

by

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Country Papers represent the views of their authors and are not generally intended as statements of policy of either A.I.D. or the author's parent institution.

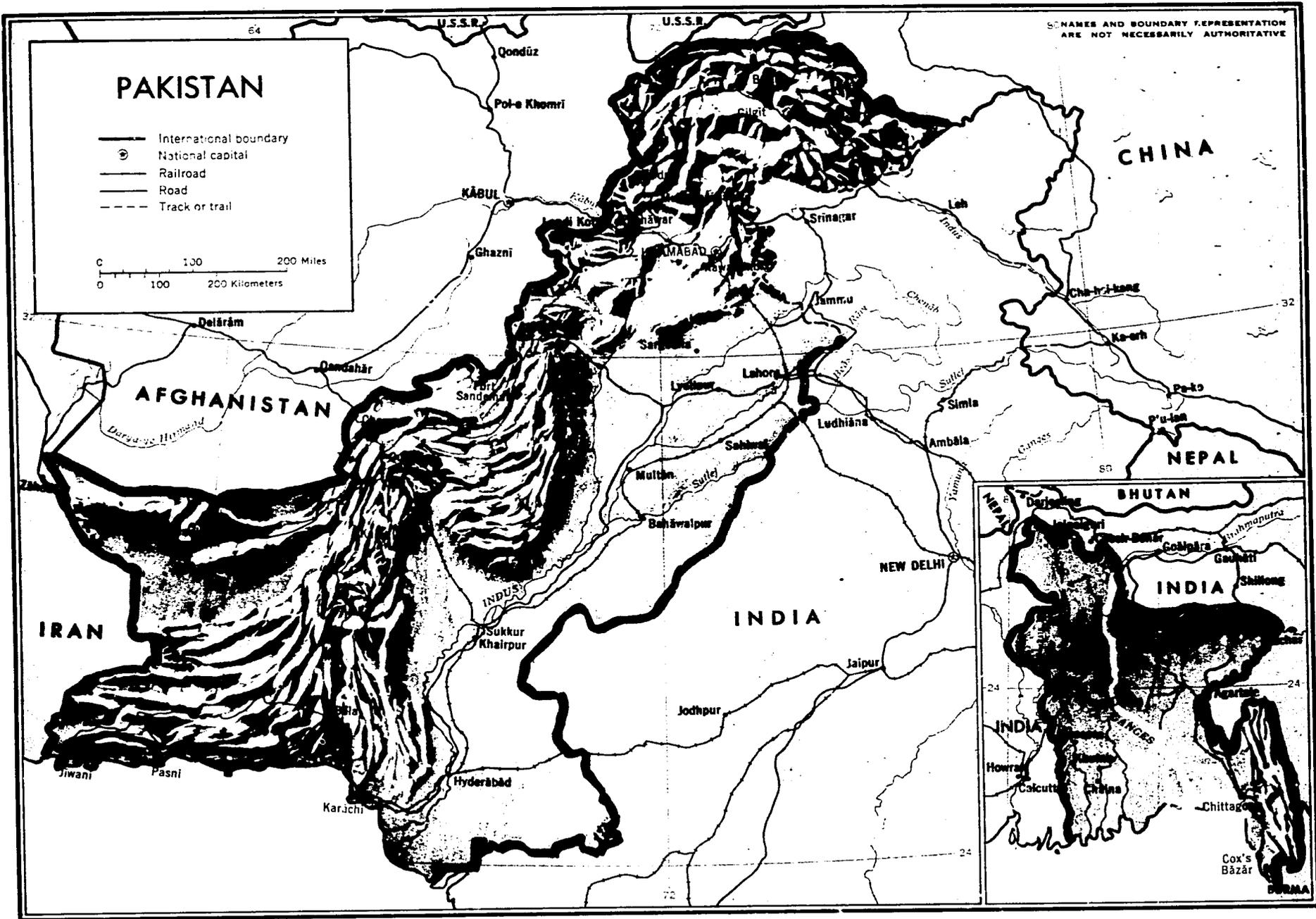
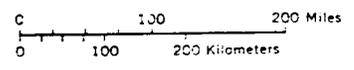
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50 NAMES AND BOUNDARY REPRESENTATION ARE NOT NECESSARILY AUTHORITY

PAKISTAN

- International boundary
- ⊙ National capital
- Railroad
- Road
- - - Track or trail



I. SUMMARY

In 1947 Pakistan inherited a country split in two parts with 1000 miles of India between them, a mere handful of trained and experienced bureaucrats, nine million refugees, a virtually unarmed army, a very small number of technically trained people and a traditional, subsistence oriented, 80 percent illiterate peasantry which had been ground down for generations by a privileged class of rent collectors.

The new government recognized the urgent need for improving the tenure status of farmers in order to encourage modernization of farming methods and to achieve a measure of social justice.

However, this new country, beset with overwhelming political, social and economic problems did not turn its attention seriously toward land reform and agricultural development until after Field Marshal Ayub Khan took over the reins of government in 1958. Thereafter and into the 1960's the government land reform commissions proceeded to sever the control of the landlord class over the farmland and the peasants. Former landlords who could establish legitimate rights to property were compensated by the government. As this program proceeded (somewhat earlier and with more effect in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan), the provincial governments became the principal collectors of land revenue.

By 1961, 98 percent of East Pakistan farmers owned all or a portion of the land they operated. The comparable figure for West Pakistan was 60 percent. The average size of farm was 3.5 acres and 10 acres for East Pakistan and West Pakistan, respectively. In West Pakistan, 64 percent of the cultivated land was in farms larger than 12.5 acres whereas only 19 percent of East Pakistan cultivated acres was in farms exceeding 12.5 acres.

During the second five year plan period, 1960-65, the Government of Pakistan began to dismantle economic disincentives for the farmer, such as export taxes, and to introduce potent economic incentives such as a 50 percent subsidy on fertilizer, virtually 100 percent on pesticides and some 20 to 30 percent on irrigation water.

During the same period and continuing on into the latter half of the 60's, fertilizer supplies and use were sharply expanded as was irrigation water. The high yielding varieties of rice, wheat and corn were introduced in 1967 with great success which led in turn to a dramatic increase in acreage of the high yielding varieties of seeds (7 million acres in FY 1969).

Although the full impact of the new wonder seeds is delayed for two or three years in East Pakistan, the country is virtually self-sufficient in food grains.

West Pakistan's land reform program reduced the land renter class materially and increased substantially the number of small holders. On the other hand, the program left thousands of major land holding families with farms of 50 acres up to several hundred acres. Many of these landed families manage their estates; they are generally well educated and profit oriented people. It is this class of relatively large and affluent farmer class that rapidly adopted the high yielding seeds and related inputs and practices. Subsidies on inputs and support prices on grains have assured a magnificent profit for these more sophisticated farmers. The smaller neighboring farmers are copying the new technology at a fairly rapid rate.

It is most difficult to assess the effect of improved land tenure practices on Pakistan's great surge in agricultural production. It appears quite clear, however, that the agricultural breakthrough, i.e., with respect to grains, came as fully and rapidly as it did because West Pakistan had a substantial core of relatively large landowners who were not seriously dispossessed by a moderate land reform.

On the other hand, this technological breakthrough will likely continue to penetrate lower eschelons of farm sizes, especially those on which the farmer now owns all or a portion of the land he operates.

The weight of observed evidence is that Pakistan's land reform programs have successfully removed a burdensome group of rent collectors, broadened the base of farmer operator land equity and have had only moderate success in consolidation of fragmented farm units.

Although it would be difficult or impossible to verify objectively, there are some reasons to believe that the relative political and social stability in the country side during the Autumn of 1968 and Spring of 1969 may have been in part a result of land reform measures and the rural works program. On the other hand, the rural population is a fractured society and not prone to initiate social revolution.

Agricultural policy in the 1960's has greatly stimulated output and at the same time has increased income disparity in the farming sector.

II. PRE-REFORM PERIOD

A. Introduction: Economic & Political Background

The social and political environment of Pakistan at Partition and an overview of nation-building problems during the first decade has been dramatically summarized by Professor Wilcox.^{1/}

"...Lord Mountbatten's hurried plans to move the date of independence ahead by a year caught Pakistan's leaders completely off guard. They had, in their new capital of Karachi on the day of their independence, neither desks nor pens nor files. They lacked adequately trained civil servants, and the Muslim troops in the army were scattered throughout the subcontinent and were, in any case, considered to be part of a joint force under continued British command. The lines of partition gave to Pakistan only one major city, Lahore, and within sixty days after Independence it was in flames. Nine hundred miles away from Karachi lay East Pakistan, isolated from its other half. The government had to use all its resourcefulness to find money for the first payroll.

"In a little more than a year, Pakistan had to face three hard facts, it had to provide for nine and a half million refugees, it had to fight a war in Kashmir which it could hardly mount, and it had to go forth without the father of the country, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah. Only one of the provinces in West Pakistan had a healthy economy, and it was agricultural, while East Pakistan's jute fields were cut off from their factories in the Calcutta area. The very continuance of Pakistan was something of a miracle.

"To catalogue the problems faced by the country in the sixteen years of its life, is a humbling experience. In nothing much more than an irrigated desert and a swampy marsh, one hundred million people, heirs of a proud tradition, are attempting to build a new society to rival their historic one. For the past decade and a half, they have been forced to build almost from the basement up and have been deprived of their best old leaders. And this is but a preliminary statement of the problems of nation-building in Pakistan."

^{1/} Nation-Building--The Problem in Pakistan: Professor Wayne Ayres Wilcox; A paper read at a meeting of the Asia Society, New York.

Pakistan inherited a subsistence oriented non-progressive agriculture. The rural sector contained about 90 percent of the population; unemployment and under-employment was roughly estimated at 20 to 25 percent and average per capita gross farm income about Rupees 250 per year (\$52 at the official exchange rate). The tenure status of farmers had deteriorated over a period of many decades and became a matter of great concern to successive Pakistan governments.

Before partition, and for the first decade thereafter, Pakistan farmers had available virtually no modern agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds and pesticides. Extension and research facilities and credit institutions were also grossly underdeveloped.

West Pakistan had a major canal irrigation system, but poor management of irrigation water over a period of several decades created widespread occurrences of waterlogging and salinity.

The monsoon agriculture of East Pakistan had approximately commensurate problems with periodic destructive floods and cyclonic winds.

Because of the large rural population and traditional exploitive tenure systems, Pakistan farms were small (West Pakistan average 10 acres and East Pakistan average 3.5 acres) and seriously fragmented.

The new government of Pakistan, with its overwhelming problems of nation building, found it impossible to make much progress during the first decade in revising the farm tenure system or in modernizing agricultural production. Consequently the growth in agricultural production fell seriously short of the population growth during the decade 1948 - 1958.

However, with the advent of a new "revolutionary" government, under the leadership of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, there was a stated policy and resolve to create a viable agriculture under conditions of social justice.

The areas of Pakistan destined for institutional reform and technological change included 22 million acres of cultivatable land and some 6 million farmers in East Pakistan, and about 40 million acres and approximately 4 million farmers in West Pakistan. The large size of these areas, the large

number of farmers involved, and the complexity of the related cultural and institutional factors of course suggests that reform and development measures introduced would not be evenly distributed or accepted geographically or as between farms.

The enormity of the changes contemplated suggest time phasing by decades or even generations.

In light of the above, the progress made as shown in the production picture in later sections will be surprising.

B. Land Tenure Structures: Characteristics and Changes^{2/}

The two main systems of land tenure which Pakistan inherited from the British regime were, broadly speaking, the permanently settled estate system in East Pakistan and the temporarily settled and Raiyatwari systems in West Pakistan. The Permanent Settlements were introduced by Lord Cornwallis in the year 1793. Under this system proprietary rights were conferred on the revenue collectors under the mistaken belief that they were landlords in the British sense. The motive for the adoption of this system was to ensure the punctual payment of a fixed amount to the Government in perpetuity for meeting its financial demands. It was the holder of the estate (commonly called the Zamindar) and not the actual occupant of the land who became responsible for the payment of land revenue to the Government. However, the actual tillers of the land were not mere tenants-at-will; the vast majority among them had permanent and heritable rights in the land subject to the payment of customary rent which was paid to the Zamindar.

Under the temporarily settled and Raiyatwari systems which were the dominating features of the land tenure in West Pakistan, the amount of land revenue was fixed on individual pieces of land and the owners and occupants possessing a permanent and heritable right of occupancy, became liable for its payment to the Government. The assessment was revised at intervals varying from 20 to 40 years so as to conform to changed economic conditions. The revision

^{2/}This background information taken from Government of Pakistan Planning Commission Reports, Agri. 96, 1961 and Agri. 74, 1959.

of settlement was theoretically considered to be an occasion for either increasing or reducing the amount of land revenue according to rise or fall in the taxable capacity of land. In practice, however, almost every new settlement resulted in an increase of the State demand.

The wide diffusion of proprietary rights under the Permanent Settlement system and the gradual change of the Raiyati landowners from the position of occupying cultivators to that of rent receivers very adversely affected the output from the soil. The Zamindars in the permanently settled areas took very little interest in increasing the productivity of the land. To a certain extent the same thing had happened in those parts of the Raiyatwari areas where the practice of subletting had been widespread and the original Raiyats had transformed themselves into absentee landowners and mere rent collectors, subsequently referred to as the "Jagir class."

Apart from the defective structure of rights in land, the land systems inherited by Pakistan also suffered a variety of other basic defects, e.g., the unit of cultivation was small and fragmented, so that only the most primitive methods of cultivation could be employed. Even for those methods, the holding was not of an economic size. Insecurity of tenants and rack-renting were the two other evils from which the system suffered. A substantial change in the agrarian structure was, on the eve of independence, therefore, considered to be essential in the interests of increased productivity and greater social justice. Some tenancy legislation measures were enacted in West Pakistan during the first ten years after partition but the pace of their implementation was rather slow partly on account of insufficient administrative arrangements and partly because the tenants were too helpless to take advantage of the legal provisions. East Pakistan was ahead of West Pakistan as the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act provided for a series of radical reforms in the land ownership and tenure system in that Province. The progress in the implementation of this law was, however, very slow mainly on account of protracted litigation initiated by former land rent collectors, started by vested interests which went up to the Supreme Court, and on account of the bottlenecks created by the absence of detailed revenue records and paucity of village establishment.

C. Land Resources Information

1. Land Availability (as of FY 1967). West Pakistan has an area of 198.6 million acres which includes about 48.7 million acres subject to cultivation, 144.5 million acres not cultivated and 5.4 million acres of forest lands. The acres actually sown to crops in any one year seldom exceeds a total of 35 million and about 80 percent of the sown area receives some irrigation water. West Pakistan is frequently referred to as a desert area because the annual rainfall averages seven inches at Karachi and increases gradually to 27-30 inches in the foothills of the Himalaya Mountains. Water is the major constraint on agricultural production in the rain fed crop lands and per acre yields are relatively low.

West Pakistan has vast areas, perhaps as much as 75-85 million acres, which are chronically short of water and primarily suitable for extensive livestock grazing. Water conservation and improved range management are required for expanding livestock production and increasing labor requirements.

The most dramatic factor happening to West Pakistan land use in recent years is the growth in area planted to crops as a result of increased availability of irrigation water from tubewells.

The population of West Pakistan was 35.8 million in 1950, 45.0 million in 1960 and 58.2 million in 1970.^{3/} The total acreage in crops increased from an estimated 30.0 million in 1950 to 40.0 million in 1970. Thus, the per capita crop area decreased from 0.84 acres to 0.68 acres between the two dates.

The rural population of West Pakistan was estimated to be 82 percent of total population in 1961 and this ratio is believed to have decreased to 75-80 percent by 1970. The ratio of total population and rural people to productive crop acres is relatively high and increasing rapidly because the crop area is relatively fixed and urban employment opportunities are not expanding as fast as is the rural or urban labor supply. In 1961 the labor force in agriculture (persons 10 years and above) totaled 7.6 million; sixty percent of the total West Pakistan labor force.

^{3/} GOP Central Statistical Office, Planning Commission.

East Pakistan has a total of 35.3 million acres of which 22.4 million acres are crop land, 7.5 million acres not useable for cultivation and 5.3 million acres of forest lands. The three great rivers which tranverse East Pakistan have an average annual runoff of 833 million acre feet, almost double the annual runoff of the Mississippi and its tributaries. In addition, East Pakistan has an annual average of 80 inches of rainfall.

This great volumn of water is truly the staff of life for more than 70 million people of East Pakistan but it is also a mixed blessing in that each 2.5 years, on the average, the waters rise too far and too fast so that 5 to 10 percent of the rice crop is wiped out or seriously damaged. East Pakistan climate is frost free and thus permits year around cropping. Although acres suitable for crops are rather rigorously, limited to about 22.0 million, the annual acres of crops total about 29 million through double cropping.

The population of East Pakistan increased between 1950 and 1970 as follows:^{4/}

1950 - 42.9 million
1960 - 53.9 million
1970 - 70.2 million

The rural sector accounted for an estimate 95 percent of the total population in 1970. The average size of a farm in this province is 3.5 acres. New areas being brought into cultivation through embankments (dikes) and reclamation just about equals the annual loss of farm land to industry, transportation, communication and power facilities, and dwellings for the rapid growing population. Thus, there is now scarcely one third acre of crop land per capita in East Pakistan and with a population growth rate close to 3 percent per annum, the arable land-population ratio will almost certainly worsen.

Unemployment and underemployment in rural East Pakistan are variously estimated at 20 to 30 percent of the total labor force. A large rural works program was carried out during the years 1963 to 1970 to create a rural infrastructure and to relieve unemployment.

^{4/} GOP Central Statistical Office, Planning Commission.

2. Classification. West Pakistan has carried out with U.S. Geological Survey assistance a decade of intensive study of the ground waters of the Indus Plain. The hydrological information and data gained from these studies has provided valuable guidance for the economic exploitation of West Pakistan's vast ground water resources.

East Pakistan has acquired relatively little ground water information in the past but a U.S. Geological Survey team is starting a study of these resources in 1970. The information from this study is essential for guiding the installation of irrigation tubewells. Irrigation water is crucial for expanding the acreage of rice and other crops grown in the boro or winter season.

The control of flood waters is highly crucial to the future development of the East Pakistan economy. There have been a number of studies and projects of limited area and scope and a preliminary reconnaissance type study of the broad flood water regulation problem. The fact that the headwaters of the East Pakistan rivers lie outside the country vastly complicates the flood control problem.

Soil and land survey and classification information and data are inadequate in both provinces. The United Nation Food and Agriculture Organization has carried out, over several years, a limited "rapid soil survey" and there are generalized soil type maps for both areas. In addition, some soil information has been gathered on the major land reclamation projects in West Pakistan.

PAKISTAN: CULTIVATED AREA AND CROP ACREAGE *

FY 1948 - 1967

(Millions of Acres)

Year	East Pakistan			West Pakistan			Total Pakistan		
	<u>1/</u> Total Area Cultivated	Total Acreage In Crops	Area Sown More Than Once	<u>1/</u> Total Area Cultivated	Total Acreage In Crops	Area Sown More Than Once	<u>1/</u> Total Area Cultivated	Total Acreage In Crops	Area Sown More Than Once
1947-48	22.0	25.3	5.9	36.3	28.8	2.4	58.3	54.0	8.2
1957-58	21.6	26.0	5.6	39.6	35.0	3.4	61.6	60.3	9.0
1966-67	22.4	29.0	7.9	48.7	39.3	4.1	71.1	68.3	12.0

* GOP Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics 1968.

1/ Includes crop land that was fallow.

3. Land Ownership, Cadastral Information and Land Titles

East Pakistan

The Government technically owns all land, however, the cultivator proprietor is accorded a permanent heritable and transferrable right to his land. The cultivator establishes title (tenure) to the land by occupancy and by annual payment of land revenue.

In Dacca, detailed cadastral information for the Province is available from two major sources. These are the Directorate of Land Records and Survey and the Revenue Division of the Secretariat, GOEP.

On the district and thana level, information concerning proprietorship of land is kept by the district and sub-district registrars. Revenue information, which is also used to confirm proprietorship, is kept by the Revenue Officer at the district level and the various tabsildars (revenue collectors) at the lower levels.

The quality of the available information concerning proprietorship, amount of land fragmentation, assessed value, assessed productivity of the land, etc., is open to question. Much of the assessed value of the land, though supposedly revised in 1960-61, is based upon values established at the time of the Permanency Settlement, over 170 years ago. Further, land survey for the purpose of revising official records is complicated by the extremely fragmented land holding. The last survey reportedly was done in 1960-61 and the next one is not required until 1975. These two illustrations point out some of the difficulties which will be encountered when using available cadastral information. Detailed evaluation and verification of specific information would be necessary.

When the Zamindar system was abolished, each farmer who was cultivating a piece of land and paying rent for it was entitled to have this land recorded in his name on the official government revenue rolls and his holding registered by the registrar. The farmer is required to renew the registration and pay the land revenue annually. Failure to pay the revenue for several years may lead to the striking of the cultivator's name from the revenue rolls and auction of the land.

Three ways of obtaining land are: direct purchase, inheritance, settlement of government land. Inheritance is a frequent cause of land disputes and fragmentation of land holdings. According to Muslim law, each son is due an equal share of the father's land. Thus, when land is passed to the sons, it undergoes fragmentation and disputes often arise over who has the right to certain parcels of land.

At present, very small portions of government land are available for settlement. These are mostly land parcels in areas which have recently been reclaimed by means of coastal embankments or by extensive irrigation projects.

Briefly, the accepted legal basis for a property claim would consist of proof of current revenue payment as obtained from the tahsildar or proof of registration of the property from the district or sub-district registrar.

A claim to land from inheritance according to Islamic law is accepted by the courts as valid in lieu of other documents. That is, where no will or document is presented to the contrary, sons may claim equal portions of their father's land and their claim, based upon Islamic law, would be upheld in court.

West Pakistan^{a/}

There are two laws in West Pakistan relating to land tenure. One is in respect to the maintenance of record of rights in land and the liabilities incident thereto in relations between the Government of Pakistan and the landowners. The other law deals with the relationships between the landowners and tenants.

Ownership in land is transferred to the cultivator either by sale or through grant by the Government of Pakistan. Such a transferee gets full proprietary rights in land free from all incumbrances, and whoever interferes with any of his rights or interest is liable to be prosecuted for criminal trespass.

^{a/} Information from a report by Moizuddin Sayyed, US-AID Rawalpindi

The land is classified in three productivity categories - A, B and C - by the Government for the purpose of fixing a transfer price at the time of sale to the landowners.

In each district of West Pakistan, documents showing the entries of record of rights of the landowners are maintained by the Government. Such entries contain the following particulars:

- (1) The name of the landowners, tenants or assigns;
- (2) The nature and extent of the interest of those persons;
- (3) The rent, land revenue, rates, cesses and other payments due from and to each of those persons and to the Government.

It is the duty of the patwari (the officer in the lowest cader) to maintain the record of rights up to date. The work of the patwari is checked from time to time by a supervising patwari, who in turn is supervised by a tehsildar and the revenue collector in each district.

Any claim arising out of or in connection with the proprietary rights of the land are decided in the first instance by the tehsildar. Appeal against the orders of the tehsildar is heard on facts as well as law by the collector of a district. In cases where the collector has passed order on the original jurisdiction then the appeal against such orders shall lie before the Commissioner of the Division. In cases where orders are passed by the collector or commissioner, then revision is on point of law alone and lies against such orders before the Commissioner or the Board of Revenue respectively.

The same procedure of appeal and revision is provided for claims arising out of the partition of land and/or the mode of making partition. The law has imposed time limitation on the aggrieved party to file an appeal. In the case of an appeal before the collector, the time limitation is thirty days from the date of the passing of the order, and in cases of appeal before the commissioner the time limitation is sixty days.

Except in cases where the Government under special contract or by grant, has exempted the landowner from the payment of land revenue, each landowner is liable for the Government land assessment on his land. In certain parts of Pakistan a specified amount is fixed for a given area of cultivated land for a season. The amount fixed varies each year according to the market rate of the produce of the land. This land revenue is collected by the Government only from land that is cultivated by the landowner. But there are certain parts of Pakistan where a certain amount of payment is fixed by the Government regardless of ownership or use of the land.

The same forum as mentioned above is available for appeal and revision of the assessment and recovery of land revenue.

Under Pakistan law, the total produce of cultivated land is divided 50/50 between the tenant and the landowner. It is the responsibility of the landowner to meet the cost for the development of the land including the cost of fertilizer. But the entire cost of seed is borne by the tenant. This practice gives rise to very few claims against the landowner.

The Government with the intention of providing maximum protection to long time tenants on given lands, has recognized the rights of such tenants on those lands. Except in cases of habitual thieves and constant defaulters in preparation and cultivation of lands according to the expectations of the landowners, the tenants acquire rights to cultivate their land without any let or hindrance from their landowners.

In the determination of any claim arising out of or in connection with the dispute between the landowner and the tenant, the same forum as mentioned above in matters of appeal and revision is applicable.

Any person who has any right or interest in the land can assert his claim in the manner mentioned above. But if a claimant fails and neglects to assert such a claim for a period of twelve years or more then the person in adverse possession gets legal rights over the land and the claimant cannot legally dispossess him from such land. The period of twelve years in such cases commences from the date of the knowledge of such a claim and the adverse possession thereto.

Under the land Acquisition Act of 1894 as amended, the Provincial Government is authorized to acquire any land within its Province if the same is needed for public purposes or for the need of a company registered under the Companies Act. But for the acquisition of land for such purposes the Provincial Government has to offer adequate compensation to the landowners.

The revenue officers under the rules that are framed by the Board of Revenue, erect trijunction pillars at every point where the boundaries of more than two estates meet. Such revenue officers are empowered to define the boundaries or limits of every estate, holding or field and to require survey marks to be erected or repaired for the purpose of indicating those limits.

D. Rural Production and Productivity

During the decade 1950-58 Pakistan agriculture was traditional and subsistence oriented. The compound growth rate of agricultural output in East Pakistan during this decade was 0.74 percent. West Pakistan did somewhat better with a 1.81 percent growth rate. The annual growth rate in Pakistan's population during the 1950's is estimated at 2.3 percent.

This alarming disparity in agriculture and population growth stimulated the new government (1958) and its planning commission to introduce important new measures for stimulating agricultural growth. In addition to accelerating the land reform program, there were introduced important new economic incentives for farmers and sharply expanded supplies of modern farm inputs. As a result of these and some other related measures, such as expanded research and extension services, the agricultural growth rate in the period 1958-68 increased to 2.76 percent and 3.91 percent for East and West Pakistan respectively. The population annual growth rate in the meantime moved up toward 3 percent.

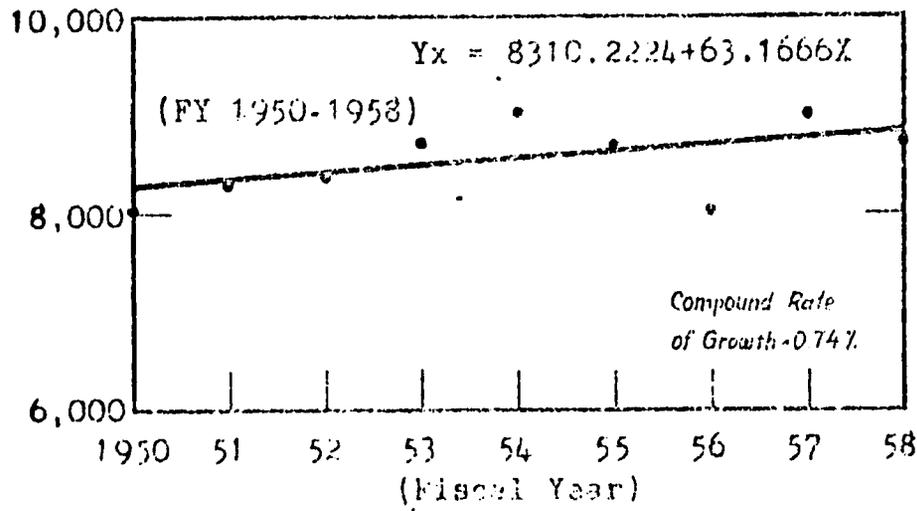
Starting in 1967 Pakistan started the introduction of the new high yielding varieties of Mexican wheat, IRRI rice and JI hybrid corn. The new varieties thrived magnificently in West Pakistan and by 1969 that province had not only achieved self sufficiency in food grains but also had a moderate export surplus.

Unfortunately the new seed varieties were not very well adapted to the East Pakistan environment. However, major plant breeding efforts are underway and a promising high yielding rice variety tailored specifically for East Pakistan is ready for widespread field trials in the summer of 1970. There is indeed a very good prospect that Pakistan will no longer need to import food grains (10 percent of grain supplies imported in recent past years) and can turn to expanded output of products of high nutritional value as well as marketing problems.

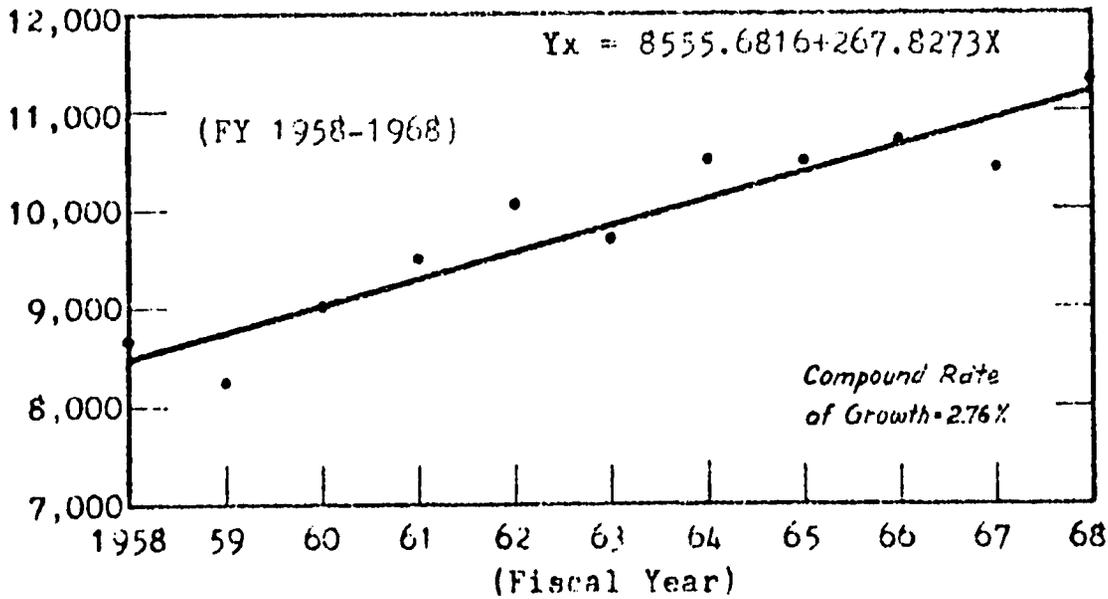
Food grains enjoy a strong competitive position in the Pakistan agricultural economy. Almost three fourths of the annual crop acres are devoted to food grain production. The rice crops is major in the East followed by jute, oil crops, pulses, sugar, tobacco, vegetables and fruit. West Pakistan features wheat and other food grains, cotton, rice, forage crops, vegetables, fruit, oilseed crops, pulses, sugar and tobacco. Livestock production is important in both provinces but the greatest promise for development in this sector lies with West Pakistan.

GROWTH IN AGRICULTURE SECTOR GROSS DOMESTIC
 PRODUCT CONSTANT FY 60 FACTOR COST
 EAST PAKISTAN

Million Rs.



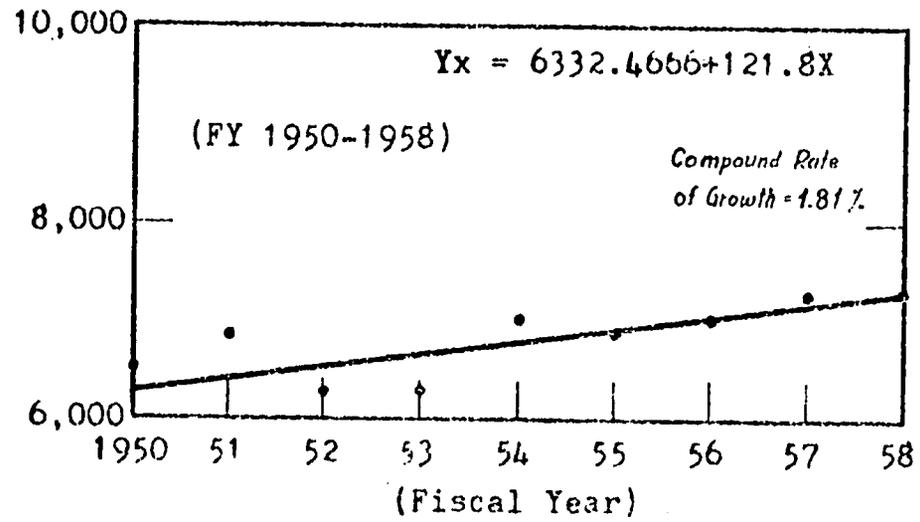
Million Rs.



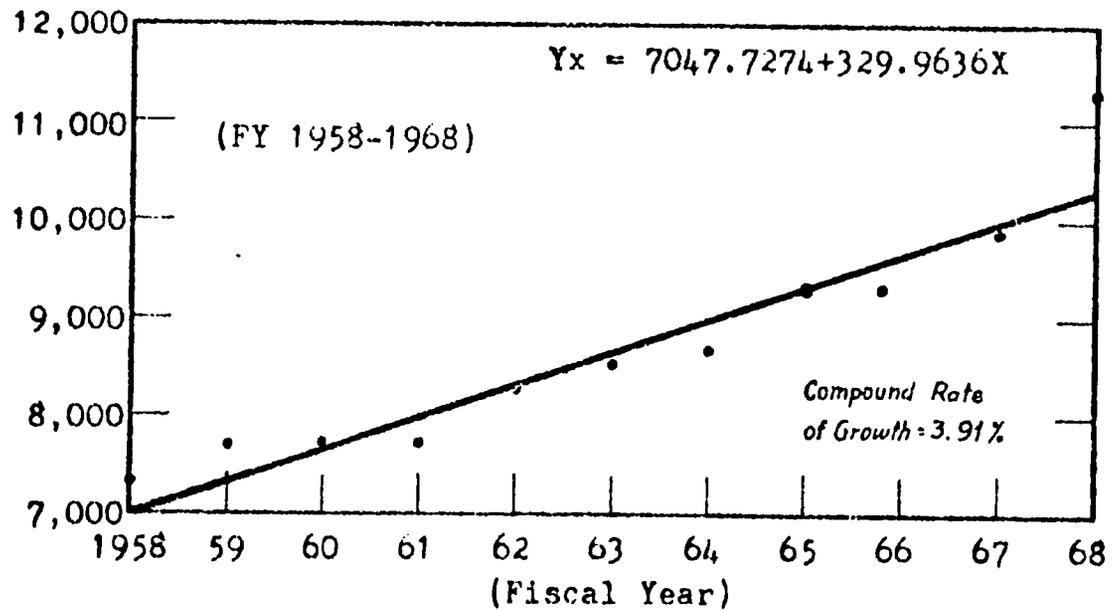
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**GROWTH IN AGRICULTURE SECTOR GROSS DOMESTIC
PRODUCT CONSTANT FY 60 FACTOR COST
WEST PAKISTAN**

Million Rs.



Million Rs.



(Least square method)

PERCENTAGE INCREASE
IN GROSS PRODUCT VALUE
VARIOUS SECTORS
BETWEEN 1949-50 and 1965-66

<u>Sector</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
Agriculture	36.0
Mining and quarrying	433.3
Manufacturing	247.6
Construction	865.5
Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	939.4
Transportation, storage and communications	115.2
Wholesale and retail trade	48.7
Banking and insurance	419.5
Ownership of dwellings	49.1
Public administration and defense	109.2
Services	77.4

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey, 1965-66, Government of Pakistan

PAKISTAN
COMPOSITION OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

(Percent)

Sector	1949-50	1959-60	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Agriculture	59.9	53.3	48.1	46.7	45.0	46.4	45.5
Mining and Manufacturing	5.9	9.5	11.8	11.8	12.2	12.0	12.1
Construction	1.0	2.1	4.7	4.3	4.5	4.6	5.3
Transportation, Storage & Communication	5.1	5.9	5.9	6.4	6.8	6.6	6.4
Wholesale and Retail Trade	11.7	11.7	12.4	12.4	12.6	12.2	12.3
Other Sectors	16.4	17.5	17.1	18.4	18.9	18.2	18.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey, 1968-69, Government of Pakistan

E. Rural Population, Employment and Underemployment

The Pakistan Economic Survey of 1965-66^{5/} commented on Pakistan's employment problem. "One of the most pressing problems facing Pakistan is unemployment. More than one-fifth of the country's available manpower is wasted every year for lack of opportunities for employment. The remaining four-fifth is not even regularly and gainfully employed. In the rural areas, almost the entire labor force remains unemployed intermittently between the harvest and sowing seasons."

In an effort to cope in part with the unemployment problem, the Government of Pakistan established the National Manpower Council in 1962. The Council functioned through three agencies: (1) the Civil Works Board, (2) the National Training Board, and (3) the High Level Personnel Committee.

The Council proceeded to coordinate manpower statistics, organize the labor market, arrange the "...development of technical training and promote labor legislation and improved industrial relations."

The Economic Review of FY 1968 commented on the high rate of new entrants into the labor force. "The population growth rate is estimated at 2.6% per annum in 1965; in that year 45 percent of the population was below 15 years; the labor force is expected to increase from 37.3 million in 1965 to 41.5 million in 1970."

It was noted further that population was increasing faster than employment opportunities. Between 1951 and 1961 the urban population increased 57.4 percent and the rural population by 20 percent. Virtually all of these increases represent unskilled labor.

A very large rural works program offered partial relief to rural unemployment during the 1960's. (The rural works were financed mainly with PL 480 rupees.) Unfortunately a comparable program was not available to urban areas.

^{5/} Prepared by the Economic Advisors to the GOP and published by the Minister of Finance.

**Sectorial Distribution
of the Labor Force 12 Years of Age
and Over Between 1951 and 1970 ^{6/}**

(in millions)

<u>Sectors</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>
Agricultural labor force	17.1	21.9	27.6	30.3
Non-agricultural labor force	5.3	7.5	9.7	11.2
Total labor force	22.4	29.4	37.3	41.5

Increasing crop yields per acre will increase labor requirements somewhat, especially for harvest and threshing. On the other hand, a steady advance of mechanization, especially in West Pakistan, will decrease labor requirements for land preparation, harvesting and threshing.

Pakistan will continue to have a major unemployment problem in the country side. Decentralization of industry and continued rural works can relieve the problem to some extent.

F. Farm Supplies and Irrigation

The Pakistan Government made a major effort during the 1960's to sharply expand farmer use of modern inputs. Both the production and imports of fertilizer expanded sharply and substantial subsidies were granted on fertilizer, pesticides and irrigation water. The following table summarizes the impressive progress made in this important phase of agricultural development.

PAKISTAN AGRICULTURAL INPUTS*

	<u>FY 1950</u>	<u>FY 1958</u>	<u>FY 1968</u>
Fertilizer nutrients, tons (000)	Nil	23.0	285.2
Acres irrigated (millions)	22.6	26.1	30.0
Area receiving plant protection (millions, acres)	Nil	0.6	9.8
Area planted to high yielding varieties (millions, acres)	Nil	Nil	2.5**
Area planted to crops (millions, acres)	57.0	60.3	68.3

* GOP Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1968.

** In 1969 the high yielding varieties acreage was 7.2 million.

^{6/}The total labor force from Economic Review, 1968. The division between agriculture and non-agriculture for 1965 and 1970 assumes the percentage in agriculture continues to decline at the same rate experienced in the 1951 - 1961 period.

West Pakistan has developed, during more than a half a century, a comprehensive canal irrigation system which draws water from the Indus River system. More recently irrigation tubewells have added greatly to irrigation water supplies. Probably as much as 90 percent of the agricultural output of this province is produced in part with irrigation water.

During the months November to April, East Pakistan gets little rain and the rivers are at low ebb. It is the season of major vegetable production but a winter rice crop (boro crop) requires irrigation. Thus, the provincial government has, during the 1960's, assisted farmers with the installation of low life pumps and irrigation tubewells. The average pump unit irrigates about 50 acres. The following table indicates the growing importance of irrigation to Pakistan agriculture.

PAKISTAN IRRIGATION*
(000 acres)

<u>F.Y.</u>	<u>Total Pakistan</u>	<u>West Pakistan</u>	<u>East Pakistan</u>
1960	26,087	25,543	544
1961	26,487	25,709	788
1962	27,618	26,565	1,053
1963	28,374	27,199	1,175
1964	28,562	27,294	1,268
1965	29,544	28,266	1,278
1966	29,759	28,346	1,413

*GOP Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1968, p. 78.

The irrigation canals of West Pakistan are installed and operated by the provincial government and water is sold to farmers. The majority of tubewells are privately owned and operated. In East Pakistan the government installs and operates the pumps and wells and charge an annual rental fee. A few pumps are privately owned.

III. LAND REFORM PROGRAM, MEASURES AND EFFECTS

A. East Pakistan

Studies of land policy prevailing in Bengal before the 18th century indicate that rulers of the period were interested in (a) keeping peasants on the land and producing and (b) collection of revenue from the cultivators.^{7/}

In order to stabilize the land revenue Sher Shah (1540-45) assessed revenue payable on the average yield of different crops on 1/3 acres of land (one bigha). During the Akbar period, Todar Mall worked out in 1582 a "great settlement" of revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The land assessment worked out at Rupees 1.5 per acre based on estimates of actual production. This "great settlement" held in effect during the regime of several successive governments.

During the early 18th century the Mughol emperor was weak and turned to "revenue farming" to insure a steady flow of funds to the state treasury. Subsequently this system degenerated into the Zamindar System which involved grants of hereditary right to land revenue collection. When the British East India Company took control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, they initially sought land revenue from auction of rights to collect rent. This method was shortly abandoned in favor of the Zamindar System.

The permanent settlement system, introduced in 1793, made the existing Zamindars full proprietors of their estates. In return, the Zamindars agreed to pay the government in perpetuity approximately ten-elevenths of the actual rent collected at that time. In others words, taxes paid by the Zamindars was to remain fixed forever.

Over the next century and half the Zamindars, continuing to operate as absentee landlords, sublet their tax collection rights to intermediaries who, in turn, sublet their rights. In extreme cases, as many as fifty intermediaries existed between the Zamindar and the cultivator. The wide diffusion of proprietary rights was anything but conducive to efficient management of the land.

^{7/} Agriculture in East Pakistan, by Kalimuddin Ahmed, p. 413.

The Floud Commission, appointed by the East Bengal Government, recommended in 1940 that the Permanent Settlement be abolished and that cultivator tenants pay rent directly to the Government. A bill implementing these recommendations was presented to the Legislative Assembly at Bengal in 1947 but was not passed before partition and the creation of the new State of Pakistan.

Legislation

When independence was achieved in 1947, 91 percent of East Pakistan's 54,000 square miles was under Permanent Settlement, and consequently the new government's revenue from these 49,000 square miles was fixed in perpetuity. An additional 2,000 square miles were held by tenants outside the Permanent Settlement scheme. Only about 3,000 square miles, or 5.5 percent of the total area, was held by the actual cultivators under the management of the government.

In 1950 the Government of East Pakistan passed the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, which provided for direct payment of land taxes to the state by the peasants. Under the Act as later amended, all rent receiving interests between the tenant and state were abolished as of April 14, 1956. The land was to belong to the government, and the tenants were to pay rent directly to the government. Full occupancy rights were assured with the right of transfer to other cultivators. Subletting was forbidden, thereby preventing the re-emergence of rent receiving intermediaries. Khas possession (land for self-cultivation) was limited to 33 acres or 3.3 acres per family member, whichever was greater, plus up to 3.3 acres for the homestead. In 1961 the limit was raised to 125 acres. All khas land in excess of this limit was to be distributed among small land owners and landless peasants. Some exceptions were allowed for cases such as large dairy farms and tea and sugar plantations. The Act also provided for the consolidation of fragmented holdings.

Outgoing rent receivers were entitled to compensation on the basis of net income from the land. Compensation was to vary from ten times net annual income for total net incomes not exceeding R's 500, to twice net annual income for total net incomes exceeding R's 100,000. Compensation was to be paid in non-negotiable bonds carrying 3 percent interest and payable within 40 years.

Implementation of Legislation

Difficulties were encountered in implementing the legislation due to inadequate administration at the village level and the lack of detailed records of land rights. However, the Government did acquire about 300 thousand acres of khas (self-cultivated) land under the provisions of the Law. Implementation was to be completed during the third plan period (1965-70) except certain revisional settlement operations which were to be completed before 1980.

According to the 1960 Agricultural Census (Table I), 98.4 percent of East Pakistan's farmers owned some land, and 81.8 percent of the land area was cultivated by the land owner. Land ownership was distributed among approximately 6 million farmers.

Unfortunately, land fragmentation remains a very serious problem. In 1960, 38 percent of the farms contained 2 to 5 fragments, 23 percent contained 6 to 9 fragments, and 29 percent contained 10 or more fragments. Only 10 percent of the farms were not fragmented. Although the 1950 Act provided for compulsory consolidation, very little acreage has been consolidated. Since the Land Revenue Administration Inquiry Committee, appointed in 1912, recommended that no compulsory consolidation programs be undertaken, the land fragmentation problem will not be solved in the foreseeable future.

Farm Tenure in East Pakistan, 1960^{8/}

	<u>Area</u>		<u>Farmers</u>	
	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Owner-Farmers	11,653,910	53.6	3,731,110	60.8
Owner-cum-tenant Farms				
Land-owned	6,125,657	28.2	2,308,330	37.6
Land-rented	3,704,156	17.1		
Tenant Farmers	242,104	1.1	100,040	1.6
Total	21,725,827	100.0	6,139,480	100.0

^{8/} GOP Census of Agriculture, 1960.

In East Pakistan the virtual elimination of the traditional and sterile rent collecting class made it possible to substantially extend the farm owner operator class. This step, important as it may be, has not solved the fundamental problem of the country side in East Pakistan.

In its simplest terms, there are some 65 million rural people living in a country side of 35 million gross acres and 22 million areable acres. The total area cannot be expanded and the prospect is for nearly 80 million people on this Florida-size area by 1975.

Of almost equal importance is the indication (1961 census) that 77 percent of East Pakistan's 6.1 million farmers are under 5 acres and they operate 42 percent of the land. More than half are under 2.5 acres (16 percent of the land) and one-fourth are less than one acre. The latter group and the landless farm laborers (probably 40 percent of farming population) are faced with dire chronic poverty. At the other end of the scale, 22 percent of the farms over 5 acres have 57 percent of the land. Three percent of the farmers with holdings above 12.5 acres operate 19 percent of the land. Many of the later group are rent collecting landlords and village money lenders.

Farm operators with 2.5 to 5 acres have been the most active group in regard to adopting new technology, especially fertilizers and low lift irrigation pumps and improved seed. There is a good prospect that a new high yielding rice variety, IR20, tailored especially for the East Pakistan Aman or summer rice crop, will lead the way to a food grain revolution in East Pakistan. If this comes to pass during the next two or three years, East Pakistan will dispense with the annual import of 1-1.5 million tons of food grains per year.

B. West Pakistan^{9/}

At the time of partition most of the land was tilled by "tenants-at-will" who had no security of tenure and could be evicted without advance notice. In the sind, 80 percent of the land was farmed by such tenants. In the Punjab and Northwest Frontier Provinces the percentage was over fifty.

^{9/} Source: GOP Planning Commission, AGR-96, May 1961.

Further, there existed a seriously skewed ownership pattern. According to Planning Board data, 65 percent of the farm owners (3.3 million people) held about 7.4 million acres of land (15 percent) in holdings of 5 acres each. In contrast, one tenth of one percent of the people (6000) owned 7.5 million acres (over 15 percent of total area) in holdings exceeding 500 acres each.

Each of the provinces of West Pakistan took some action before 1958 to withdraw or abolish the Jagir class, that is, those persons who had been granted and held the right to collect revenue from farm operators.

In the mid 1950's the Planning Commission in shaping up the first five year plan proposed -

- (1) That the size of ownership and cultivation units should be limited;
- (2) Subdivision of farm units below economic size should be prevented;
- (3) A program for consolidation of fragmented holdings should be carried out;
- (4) Laws relating to ownership and tenancy in various parts of West Pakistan should be unified;
- (5) Jagirs should be abolished, and
- (6) Uncultivated cultivable land should be cultivated.

On the basis of these recommendations, the new president issued Martial Law Regulation No. 64, effective February 7, 1959. This regulation provided that an acreage ceiling be placed on individual holdings; all intermediary interests were abolished; ejection of tenants was forbidden; all areas less than floor limits were made "impartible" (non-fractionable); and compensation for resumption of excess areas (land to be redistributed by government) is provided.

"(i) Ceiling of Ownership:

32. The most important single reform was the limitation on individual ownership to a maximum area of 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of non-irrigated land. Certain exemptions were made for the benefit of

present owners, important of them provided that:

(a) an existing owner might retain in his possession land equivalent to 36,000 produce index units, even if in terms of acres it exceeded 500 acres of irrigated land or 1,000 acres of unirrigated land; (b) the owner might transfer to his heirs land equivalent to 18,000 produce index units, unless he had already done so between 14 August, 1947, and 8 October, 1958; (c) the owner could retain 150 acres of orchards if in blocks of not less than 10 acres each, provided that it had been entered in the revenue records as such, at least since rabi, 1956-57; (d) owners of existing stud and livestock farms were allowed to retain such additional areas as the Government considered necessary. The phasing and operations of the land reforms were so designed as would minimize the problems of transition from unlimited to more restricted ownership of individual holdings.

"(ii) Payment of Compensation:

33. Compensation to the land owners was provided at a rate varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 per produce index unit, depending on the area of the land to be resumed, in fifty half-yearly equated instalments. The Government in turn would sell the land to new owners at the rate of Rs. 8 per produce index unit payable in fifty half-yearly equated instalments, including an annual interest of 4 percent on unpaid balance. The difference between the price realized and compensation paid would be used to meet the costs of the land reforms scheme. The rate of compensation was determined in the light of inflationary dangers, the financing capacity of the Government, the needs of the expropriated landlords for ready cash, and the capacity of the new proprietors to pay for land.

"(iii) Impartibility of Holdings:

34. Land cannot be partitioned into holdings of less than 50 acres (or 64 acres if it is in Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions) if presently its area is more than 50 acres; likewise, it cannot be partitioned into holdings of less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres (or 16 acres if it is in Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions) if its present area is below 50 acres (or 64 acres).

35. In cases where land cannot be partitioned as described above, it shall continue to be managed as a single unit by one of the co-sharers either by selection or by nomination through the collector of the district."^{10/}

Obstacles arising in the implementation of the Land Reform Program:^{11/}

"43. Any attempt at introducing Land Reforms inevitably requires an elaborate administrative machinery of a quasi-judicial kind coupled with efficient and effective educational campaigns to implement the programme successfully. The absence or inadequacy of such a machinery can lead to serious difficulties and create bottlenecks in the process of implementation, especially because protective legislation is difficult to implement when those to be protected are illiterate and the actual facts about legislation do not trickle down to them. The Sind Tenancy Act, 1950, is a glaring example of such a legislation where, for want of adequate administrative machinery, the provision regarding entering tenants' names in the relevant records could never be implemented. Besides, in many cases, the tenants remained unaware of the right to which the legislation entitled them. Sir Malcolm Darling, who conducted an enquiry into the conditions of agricultural labour in Pakistan (1953-54), has aptly described the difficulties (which lend confirmation to our views about the ineffective implementation of the Sind Tenancy Act) in the following terms: -

"An attempt was made to ascertain the effect of the legislation. The immediate results had been somewhat disappointing. Though information about the Act is gradually seeping through to the villagers, the hari is in the main too helpless to take advantage of it and in many cases still too ignorant even to have heard of it. Formal eviction is not necessary; a landlord can always make things so uncomfortable for a tenant that he leaves of his own accord. To a bad landlord this is an obvious temptation. A collector said that, owing to incomplete or faulty revenue records, it was often difficult to decide who had cultivated the land in the last three years."

^{10/} GOP Planning Commission, AGR 96, May, 1961, p. 9.

^{11/} Ibid., p. 12.

Ten years after the issuance of Martial Law Edict No. 64 it appears that the land revenue free loaders, Jagirs, had been dispensed with. Some 2.4 million acres had been resumed (taken over by government) and 855,000 of these acres had been sold to 200,000 tenants and small holders. Large land holders giving up land had received Rupees 65.3 million and the government reported an annual saving of Rupees 3.1 million from abolition of Jagirs. Some degree of consolidation of holdings was done on 13.5 million acres. It will be recalled that West Pakistan has about 40 million acres suitable for crop production.

The 1961 census of agriculture indicated that 40.5 percent of all farm holdings (1.5 million) were tenant operated and that these farms occupied 45.2 percent of the cultivated area. The average size of these holdings was 9.3 acres.

The cultivators that owned a part or all of the land they operated numbered 2.2 million and accounted for about 54 percent of the cultivated land. These farms averaged about 6.2 acres.

The progress of major aspects of West Pakistan land reform is indicated in the following table:

(1) The Government by July 1968 had removed the rent collector or landlord rights from 2.3 million acres and had sold 855,000 acres of this land to tenants and small holders.

(2) The Government by July 1968 had paid compensation to former landlords in the amount of 65.3 million rupees, about two thirds of the total obligation.

(3) Some degree of land consolidation had been achieved on 13.6 million acres by July 1968. West Pakistan has 40 million acres of areable crop land.

(4) Given the relatively limited objectives of West Pakistan land reform, it appears that reasonably good progress toward the targets had been achieved by July 1968.

LAND REFORMS AND CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS IN WEST PAKISTAN

LAND REFORMS (upto 7-2-1968) :

Total area Resumed	23,52,716 acres
1. (a) No. of Tenants to whom resumed land has been sold under the Sale Scheme.	150,000
(b) Area sold to them	455,000 acres
2. (a) No. of Tenants to whom resumed land has been sold under the upgrading scheme.	46,000
(b) Area sold to them	300,000 acres
3. (a) No. of small land owners to whom resumed land has been sold under the upgrading scheme.	4,000
(b) Area sold to them	100,000 acres
4. (a) Total amount of compensation payable to affected declarants	Rs. 92.60 million
(b) Amount paid up to 7-2-1968	Rs. 65.26 ..
(c) Balance payable	Rs. 27.34 ..
5. Annual Savings from the abolition of jagirs	Rs. 3.1 ..

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS

	Area in '000' acres
Area consolidated up to 1955	1,608
Area consolidated during the First Plan Period :	
1955-56	144
1956-57	191
1957-58	159
1958-59	100
1959-60	241
Sub-Total ..	835
Area consolidated during the Second Plan Period :	
1960-61	2,076
1961-62	2,249
1962-63	1,486
1963-64	906
1964-65	1,110
Sub-Total ..	7,827
Area consolidated during the Third Plan Period :	
1965-66	1,077
1966-67	1,103
1967-68	1,106
Sub-Total ..	3,286
GRAND TOTAL ..	13,556

The farm size distribution is also significant. There are 387,000 farms over 25 acres (8 percent of the total) who held 42 percent of the farm area and 35 percent of the crop land. Farms over 50 acres, 2 percent of the total, held 23 percent of the farm land and 15 percent of the crop land.

At the other end of the scale, farms under 25 acres were 92 percent of all farms and they accounted for 58 percent of the farm area and 65 percent of the crop land. Farms under 7.5 acres were 61 percent of the total number and operated 17 percent of the farm area.

Obviously the West Pakistan land reform policy and objectives aimed mainly at eliminating the rentier class and only moderately at breaking up large landed family estates. This is not unnatural since many of the members of government and other influential citizens responsible for the land reform policy were from relatively large land holding families.

The Government of Pakistan, in 1967, decided to give the highest priority to a policy of achieving self-sufficiency in the production of food grains by 1970. A high wheat support price (Rs 17 per moud) was announced; a fertilizer subsidy of about 35 percent of landed import cost was continued; expanded fertilizer supplies were provided as well as the introduction of private initiative for fertilizer distribution. A rapid increase in private tubewells for irrigation was stimulated and an all-out acceptance of high yielding varieties of Mexican wheat, IRRI rice and JI synthetic corn prevailed.

About 100,000 West Pakistan farmers had holdings above 50 acres, and accounted for some 5.6 million acres of crop land. Among this relatively affluent land holding class there were many who were educated, knowledgeable and strongly motivated by the income motive. They quickly saw in the highly favorable cost-price ratio and the technological breakthrough an unprecedented opportunity for economic gain. Under these circumstances, the acreage of high yielding varieties and the production of wheat and rice increased at a dramatic rate and West Pakistan moved from a food grain deficit area to a surplus position with two crop years. Research efforts are focused on sustaining the viability of high yielding strains of wheat and rice. As noted, the initial technological breakthrough came rapidly with the larger more affluent farmers. There is already evidence that these improved cultural practices are spreading to neighboring farm operators with smaller holdings. How rapidly the downward flow of technology will proceed is difficult to assess.

In any case, income disparity in the agricultural sector has widened, not only as between large and small farmers but as between the larger farms with irrigation facilities and farms operating in high risk rain fed areas. Because of limited water supplies, these areas (some 8 to 10 million acres referred to as Barani land) cannot effectively use the new high yielding grain varieties. The Government of Pakistan is keenly aware of the dilemma occasioned new disparities but is finding solutions difficult. There is a proposal to reduce or eliminate the fertilizer subsidy - it obviously is not required for the modernized large farms but may be necessary to encourage a more rapid adoption of the new technology by the smaller farmers.

In assessing the agricultural and land policies of West Pakistan, the following points may be pertinent:

(1) An unproductive rent collecting class was successfully dispensed with.

(2) Only moderate progress has been made with the difficult problem of consolidating fragmented farms.

(3) The redistribution of land left in place a substantial segment of relatively large farms. These circumstances contributed notably to the rapid breakthrough in food grain technology.

(4) A relatively large segment (40.5 percent) of tenant operated farms was left in place by the land reform program.

(5) The Government of Pakistan successfully introduced a combination of technical and economic innovations to produce a green revolution in grain production. Plant protection and agricultural credit are the remaining shortcomings in this otherwise dramatically successful program.

(6) The breakthrough in grains gave rise to urgent second generation problems, e.g., grades and standards, storage, transportation, export markets. Also, urgent need to assess economic alternates in agriculture, e.g., oil crops, livestock and poultry, fruit, etc.

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