## 70-Year of Economic Management in Pakistan and Role of Provinces

**Ehsan Rashid Memorial Lecture Applied Economics Research Center (AERC)** 

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### Introduction

- ▶ In its checkered history, Pakistan has followed a variety of models for economic management;
- ➤ Starting with a planned economy, select group of capitalists were sponsored to lead the process of economic development;
- ► This was succeeded by a major wave of nationalization and attempt to foist a socialistic model of economic management;
- ► Military intervention pushed back this model;

### Introduction (Cont.)

- ▶ Democracy succeeded the military rule and since then economic regime is moving in a secular trend toward a market-based economy but with considerable volatility in the styles of governance of succeeding governments.
- ▶ Provinces had little role in national economic management until 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment and last NFC Award. Their significance now is critical.

## I-Planned Economy (1947-1970)

- ► As Cold War ally of the United States of America, receiving considerable military and economic assistance;
- ► Imported the Harvard Advisory Group, setting up the Planning Commission of Pakistan;
- ► Framework of 5-Year Plans was formulated and economic management revolved around the Plan;
- ► Economic controls were widespread (rationing of essential commodities)

### Major Achievements

- ► High economic growth (6%+);
- ► Low Inflation;
- ► Industrial base established;
- ► Green Revolution in Agriculture
- ► Urbanization;
- ► Emergence of a capitalist class;
- ► Foreign Exchange Availability

### Major Failures

- ► Uneven development across East & West Pakistan;
- ► High Concentration of wealth among 22 families mostly belonging to the West Pakistan;
- ► Income distribution worsened and disparities in West Pakistan were also noticeable;
- Import substitution was promoted at the expense of exports;
- ► Unfettered support to USA compromised nonaligned status.

# II-Nationalization & Socialism (1970-1977)

- Reactionary forces pushed-back the policies of planning and state-sponsored capitalism;
- Massive nationalization of major industries and banking and financial sector;
- ▶ A gigantic public sector came into existence controlling nearly all major economic assets in the country;
- ► Economic values were transformed with capitalist held in low esteem.

### Major Achievements

- ► Correction of anti-export bias through a major devaluation of rupee leading to exports surplus after Korean War in 1951-52;
- Establishment of basic industries in the country;
- ▶ Balancing of labor-capitalist relations;
- ► Look Middle East Policy and their generous support helped remove the USA label;
- Nuclear Power Program initiated

### Major Failures

- Over-stretched nationalization without adequate preparation;
- Disruption of industrial peace and discouragement of capitalist;
- Shocking Devaluation and High Inflation;
- Improved income distribution was mired by high inflation;

## III. Mixed Economy: Public-Private Sectors (1977-1988)

- Reaction to Nationalization-Socialism was also fierce;
- Martial Government did not undo nationalization but leveraged the public sector for political patronage and for tightening the stranglehold on power;
- ▶ 5-Year Plan was back and economic controls continued; US support was also revived;
- Private sector was gradually given space to play its role and thus

### Major Achievements

- ► Economic Growth was revived and inflation was low;
- Private sector was gradually inducted back into economic development;
- Industrial sector was revived;
- Agriculture Pricing was improved through small steps toward deregulation;
- ► Foreign Exchange constraint was removed;
- ► A policy of creeping devaluation was initiated.

## Major Failures

- The initial promise to return and denationalize the industries and financial and banking assets was not honored, rather a more organized and strengthened system of public enterprises was established;
- ► The gigantic public sector was used as a source of political power and patronage;
- ► Efficiency of public enterprises was not monitored and they became a source of economic distortion.

# IV: Market Economy & Crony Capitalism-I Political Instability (1988-1999)

- ► Symington/Pressler Amendments brought an end to US financial support to Pakistan;
- ► The period coincided with the fall of Berlin Wall that signaled end of cold war;
- Wave of globalization swept through the emerging markets (East Asian countries);
- ► The decade was shaped by political instability, economic mismanagement, drying up of foreign flows and mixing of public and private interests.
- ► Start of IMF programs on regular basis

### Major Achievements

- ▶ Space was created for private sector and their role and Privatization process was initiated and a number of industries and Banks were divested;
- Broad-based reforms were implemented to create enabling environment for encouraging enhanced private investment;
- ► A large number of controls were removed such as investment licensing and import permits;
- ► High walls of tariffs were removed and trade taxes common to local production and imports were introduced; Sporadic Fund programs enabled a market based transformation.

### Major Achievements (Cont.)

- Board of Investment was established to promote investment;
- ► Tax Regime was transformed with Income and Sales taxes becoming more important revenue spinners overtaking by a significant margin excise and customs duties;
- Opened traditional sectors, such as power and highways for private investment

### Major Failures

- Inconsistent policies, political instability fueled by rapid changes in government failed to inspire investors confidence;
- ► Economic growth suffered and inflationary pressures mounted;
- Fund programs routinely abandoned mid-stream;
- Macroeconomic instability became the norm and frequent rush to IMF became a necessary;
- Questions of public propriety among key public office holders was a new phenomenon that further undermined economic environment;
- ► Freezing of Foreign Currency Accounts & IPPs Disputes

# IV: Market Economy & Crony Capitalism-II Military Rule/Economic Stability (1999-2008)

- Political instability led to another military intervention;
- ► Economic Governance improved significantly and after 9/11, resource availability was enhanced;
- Growth and price stability were revived and key reforms were implemented;
- ▶ War on terror soon started shaping the economic and political discourse; imposing a very high cost on the economy.

### Major Achievements

- Political stability and private sector friendly policies spurred domestic and foreign investments;
- ► Economic Growth was high and inflation was low;
- ► Foreign Reserves, aided by American support were highest at the time;
- Banks were privatized and performance improved markedly;
- ▶ Partial debt retirement of expensive debt made.

### Major Failures

- ► Toward the end of its tenure, the military government became complacent and its focus on economy was distracted (Judicial Crisis);
- ► The fragility of the model was visible on the face of global financial crisis & exceptional increase in oil prices, as there was a melt-down and new government shifted the blame on the military government;
- ► Around the time of its departure, much of the reserves were depleted and there were even rumors of lockers' seizures and freezing of FCAs;
- The stock market had to be suspended for more than 3 months;

## IV: Market Economy & Crony Capitalism-III Democratic Revival (2008-Present)

- Judicial Crisis and BB's tragic death led to the fall of military government;
- Democracy was revived and the next coalition government of PPP completed its five year terms;
- ► After 2013 elections, PML (N) formed the new Government and it continues to this day;
- ► There is uncertainty about the political process with the disqualification of PM Nawaz and the Panama cases.

### **Major Achievements**

#### **Gilani-Ashraf Governments**

- ► Transition to democracy after BB's tragic departure;
- ► New NFC Award was given
- ▶ 18th Constitutional Amendment was enacted;
- ► IMF Program and other inflows helped build higher reserves compared to Military Rule;
- ► Successful completion of 5 year terms.

### Major Achievements (Cont.)

#### Nawaz-Abbasi Governments

- Successful implementation of 3-Year IMF program
- Revival of economic growth and low inflation;
- ► Launching of CPEC a transformational concept;
- ► LNG terminals and import of large quantities of LNG to meet the industrial and power generation demands;
- Huge investments and additions to power, highways and other infrastructure projects;

## Major Failures

#### **Gilani- Ashraf Government**

- ► The two democratic governments had entirely different economic performance;
- ▶ Gilani government had to seek an IMF program at the outset and in the wake of global crisis and oil price hike;
- ► The program was abandoned mid-stream as the government failed to implement a key reform on taxation;
- ► There were also serious propriety issues associated with key public office holders;

### Major Failures (Cont.)

- ► Growth was lowest averaging less than 3% in five years and Inflation was too at an average of 12%;
- Although reliable estimates are missing but poverty was reduced (BISP);
- ▶ Power sector arrears became a major issue and liquidity shortages led to acute power shortages;
- ► Around the close of it's term, Government squandered much of the external resources obtained through a front-loaded Fund program and other development assistance;

### Major Failures (Cont.)

#### Nawaz-Abbasi Government

- ► The government had to seek a Fund program as reserves had nearly depleted and a situation of default was imminent;
- ► It attracted significant investment through CPEC;
- During the program period, the Government adhered to reforms diligently but thereafter it abandoned the guards and went on to spending spree and poor collections (Deficit 5.8%; Reserves down);
- ► The problem of power sector arrears resurfaced and outstanding circular debt is as high as it was in 2013;

#### Role of Provinces

- ► The provinces never played any significant role in national economic management until after the passage of 18th Amendment and last NFC Award;
- ► The new award coupled with the 18th Amendment has radically altered the political and economic landscape;
- ► The award has transferred a larger share of divisible pool to provinces thereby leaving the federation in relative poverty;

### Role of Provinces (Cont.)

- ► The scope of CCI has been expanded and matters of federation have been made part of CCI;
- ▶ In oil and gas, provinces have been made equal shareholders;
- Provinces have been empowered to borrow even abroad within certain limits;
- ► Sales tax on services has been given to provinces compromising the possibility of instituting a pure nationwide value added tax on all goods and services;

### Role of Provinces (Cont.)

- In the process of these amendments balance between federal and provincial needs as well as the mechanics of an efficient federation have been compromised.
- ► For instances Part-II of Federal Legislative list has subjects over which CCI has jurisdiction. So if the federation proposes to make policy changes those would be approved by the CCI.
- ▶ But would Provinces accept any bindings as a result of those changes? For example if a part of the subsidy on electricity is proposed to be shared with Provinces would they come forward, very likely not and this has been tested on many occasions.

### Role of Provinces (Cont.)

- Provinces have acquired centrality in economic management;
- Without provincial consent and participation, economic reforms and fiscal adjustment would be impossible;
- Need for federal and provincial coordination is imperative both in setting objectives and then achieving them.

## FEDERAL TRANSFERS TO PUNJAB

(Rs. in billion)

Description	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18 (BE)
Divisible Pool Transfers	719.337	895.781	921.697	1153.713
Grants in Aid (NFC)	-	-	-	-
Straight Transfers	7.550	5.672	7.143	8.111
Other Grants	11.606	1.685	0.344	-
Development Grants	0.832	0.950	3.385	0.100
Grand Total:	739.325	904.088	932.569	1161.924

Provincial Surplus						
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2011	133.9					
2012	-39.1					
2013	52.7					
2014	196.9					
2015	87.3					
2016	207.4					
2017	-15.7					

### Resources Transferred to Provinces

Rs. In billion

Pro	ovinces/ Heads	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15 BE
Punjab	NFC Transfers (NFC)	330	461	518	569	646	813
	Others inc. Dev. Grants	9	8	16	16	0	2
	<u>Total</u>	339	469	534	585	647	815
Sindh	NFC Transfers (NFC)	197	285	291	328	392	475
	Others inc. Dev. Grants	9	6	6	13	1	2
	Total	206	291	298	340	393	477
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	NFC Transfers (NFC)	95	158	179	200	234	284
	Others inc. Dev. Grants	25	30	27	28	27	1
	Total	120	188	206	227	261	285
Balochistan	NFC Transfers (NFC)	54	101	107	125	142	160
	Others inc. Dev. Grants	17	21	23	21	22	18
	<u>Total</u>	71	122	130	147	164	177

## Thank You