Afghanistan
Rice

At the beginning 1919, Afghanistan was not completely independent from Britain and the Emir (King) of Afghanistan was Habibullah Khan, of the Barakzay Dynasty. In February 1919, King Habibullah was assassinated while on a hunting expedition. His brother, Nasrullah Khan, assumed the throne for one week (until 28 February), when he was overthrown by Habibullah's son, Amanullah Khan (no SOLS change). It was during the first months of King Amanullah's rule (August of 1919) that Afghanistan gained official independence from Great Britain.

In 1926, King Amanullah changed his title from "Emir" to "Shah", but still maintained leadership over the country, enacting several modernizing reforms. These reforms made him unpopular with many of the tribal leaders throughout Afghanistan, and he was forced to resign in January 1929. He handed over power to his brother, Inayatullah (no SOLS change), but King Inayatullah resigned three days later due to a tribal revolt marching on Kabul. The rebel leading the revolt, who called himself Habibullah Ghazi, proclaimed himself King (SOLS change). However, Habibullah Ghazi was not of Pashtun descent (he was Tajik), and therefore was not a part of the official lineage eligible for the Kingship. Nadir Shah, who was the next in line for the throne (as a member of the Barakzay Dynasty), amassed troops and retook Kabul in October 1929. Habibullah Ghazi was captured and executive shortly thereafter, and Nadir Shah became King of Afghanistan (SOLS change).

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1933, and the throne passed to his son, Zadir Shah (no SOLS change). However, the name listed as "Leader" on the spreadsheet is Hashim Khan, Zadir's uncle, who served as Prime Minister for the first part of Zadir's rule and greatly influenced/guided the King during that period. Though perhaps the spreadsheet should list Zadir as the leader during that time (as he was the official King), sources recognize Hashim Khan's overarching guidance of the monarch.

Zadir Shah would continue as King until 17 July 1973. Though there were Prime Ministers during this time, Geddes codes Afghanistan as a monarchy until 1973. Therefore, although the individual who was Prime Minister did change several times between 1933 and 1973, none of them are coded as SOLS changes, as the actual leader was the King, Zadir Shah and the Barakzay Dynasty. In 1973, the monarchy was overthrown in a military coup led by Mohammad Sardar Daoud Khan (SOLS change). Daoud immediately abolished the Constitution of 1964 and created a presidential system, making himself President. However, Daoud's time in power is classified by Geddes as being a personalist regime. Daoud created his own political party (the National Revolutionist Party, abbreviated NRP) in 1976.

On 30 April 1978, Daoud (and most of his family) was assassinated by rebel forces led by Nur Mohammad Taraki, the leader of the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (HDK) (SOLS change). However, the HDK was soon divided between two factions, and on 16 September 1979 Hafizullah Amin (the former Prime Minister and Minister of Defense), seized power. Amin was also a member of HDK, so there was no SOLS change associated with this transition. The Communist government was very unpopular with the Afghani people—for that reason, the leaders of the HDK continually reached out to the Soviet Union for assistance. The Soviet government apparently wanted to remove Amin from office, and replace him with Babrak

Karmal (another leader of the HDK), and for this reason, in December 1979, the Soviet Union staged a full invasion of Afghanistan (Runion 2007, 110). On December 27, 1979, Soviet troops invaded the Presidential Palace in Kabul and killed Amin, replacing him with Karmal.

Geddes classifies Afghanistan as being a single party-personalist hybrid from 1979 until 1992. However, she also exempts the years of the Soviet occupation (which lasted until 1989). During this period, it is clear that the Afghani communist government would not have survived without Soviet military support. The situation is complicated by the fact that Afghanistan is not classified as "nonindependent" during the occupation. However, even if Afghanistan was "independent" during the Soviet occupation, there were no SOLS changes. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was bloody and not very successful in its goal of establishing a communist state in Afghanistan (as there was constant resistance from various rebel groups). The Soviets blamed their failures on Karmal, who they forced out of office in 1986. Karmal was replaced as President by Mohammad Najibullah, who was also a member of the HDK (as Afghanistan was under occupation, this is not a SOLS change—but even if there was no occupation, this would not be a SOLS change because Najibullah and Karmal were from the same party).

On February 15, 1989, the last Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. However, the Soviet Union continued to provide aid to Najibullah's government (also classified as single party-personalist, so no SOLS change), which was now faced with civil war. Countering the government were rebel forces known as the *mujahideen* (there were various factions involved here). In 1990, the HDK claimed it was no longer Marxist, and changed its name to the Fatherland Party (HW). Najibullah continued in power until he was defeated in 1992, by *mujahideen* forces led by Ahmed Shah Massoud and Abdul Rashid Dostam. They, in turn, named Sibghatullah Mojaddedi as the interim leader of the new Islamic State of Afghanistan on 28 April 1992 (not a SOLS change, as Mojaddedi was interim, and only in power for two months). Mojadeddi transferred his presidential power to Burhanuddin Rabbani on 28 June 1992 (this was a move based on a previous agreement by the mujahideen in Pakistan [Runion 2007, 116]). Rabbani was a member of the moderate islamist Islamic Association of Afghanistan (JIA) party (SOLS change).

As the mujahideen were never a united group, Afghanistan soon descended into a period of "warlordism", which, according to GWF, lasted from 1993 until 1996. During this time, Rabbani remained the technical head of government, but really no one was in charge. The huge influx of immigrants (mainly Afghanis who had fled during the Soviet occupation) led to widespread lawlessness, poverty, and infighting between mujahideen leaders over who would control the roadways throughout the country (Runion 2007, 120). As discontent towards these warlords grew, so too did the popularity of a Sunni Muslim puritanical movement known as the Taliban.

Under the control of Mullah Mohammad Omar, the Taliban began to grow in strength, conquering cities around Afghanistan from the various warlords. On 27 September 1996, Omar and his forces conquered Kabul, instituting Taliban rule over Afghanistan (SOLS change). Geddes now classifies Afghanistan as a single-party state (as the Taliban was a political party as well). Omar and the Taliban remained in power until 2001, when invading American forces, coupled with Afghan rebel forces known as the Northern Alliance, toppled his government.

In December 2001, an Afghan Interim Authority was formed, taking office on 22 December of that year. The chairman of this Authority was Hamid Karzai, who was not affiliated with a party. This is not coded as a SOLS change because the government's purpose was to convene a

loya jirga (Grand Council) in 2002. On 19 June 2002, the members of the *loya jirga* named Hamid Karzai as President of the "Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan". Though Karzai was technically still an interim President, this is coded as a SOLS change because, at this point, he assembled a government and drafted a Constitution. Karzai was formally elected as President in 2004 (the first national democratic elections held in Afghanistan). It should be noted, however, that Afghanistan is not coded as a democracy during this period, perhaps due to the heavy presence of US troops in the country.

In 2014, Karzai agreed not to run in the presidential election in accordance with the constitution (Graham-Harrison 2014). Both Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah claimed victory in the election, resulting in a political crisis that was resolved through a power sharing agreement between the two men (Al Jazeera 2014). Ashraf Ghani became president and Abdullah Abdullah was given the newly created position of government chief executive (J.K. 2014). Afghanistan is a non-democracy throughout this period, so we use the predesignated successor rule to determine whether a SOLS change occurred. It does not appear that Ghani was a designated successor nor Karzai's preferred candidate. Zalmai Rassoul was widely believed to have been Karzai's preferred candidate, though Rassoul did not make it to the second round of voting (Jacinto 2014; Graham-Harrison 2014). Ghani had also run against Karzai in the 2009 presidential election (Shepherd 2019). However, once in office, Ghani and Karzai met frequently, according to Karzai, almost daily (Shalizi & Donati 2014). Their relationship appears to have deteriorated, with Karzai accusing Ghani of treason after he allowed the US to drop a massive bomb in the country in 2017 (Harooni 2017). Because Ghani was not Karzai's predesignated successor nor preferred candidate, we code a SOLS change.

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