

Pakistan

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According to GWF, Pakistan is coded as an oligarchy from 1948 to 1958 (Note: Cheibub et al. consider Pakistan to be a parliamentary democracy during this period, suggesting that this was a relatively democratic period.) Just after independence, a sort of interim parliament, the Constituent Assembly, was set up to draft a constitution and to enact legislation until that point when the constitution would be used to govern the country (US Library of Congress 1994). Mohammad Ali Jinnah of the Muslim League (ML) served as Governor-General from independence in 1947 until the following year. “He assumed the ceremonial functions of head of state while taking on effective power as head of government, dominating his prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan” (US Library of Congress 1994). Jinnah died in 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan, ML, became prime minister. Since Liaquat Ali Khan was PM under Jinnah and had the same party affiliation, we code no SOLS change here. In 1951 Ali Khan was assassinated and the Governor-General, Khwaja Nazimuddin (ML) became PM. This is not a SOLS change. At the same time, Ghulam Mohammad became Governor-General. Khwaja Nazimuddin and Ghulam Mohammad struggled over who would be dominant and Ghulam Mohammad ended up dismissing Khwaja Nazimuddin and appointed a “cabinet of talents”, which included both civilian and military figures, under PM Mohammad Ali Borge (US Library of Congress 1994). Although Mohammad Ali Borge was not Khwaja Nazimuddin’s pre-designated successor, we code no SOLS change since they were both supported by the Muslim League. In 1955 the finance minister of the “cabinet of talents”, Chaudhry Mohammad Ali (ML), became PM in coalition with the United Front (UF) (Woldendorp et al.). This is only a minor SOLS change.

In 1956, Pakistan adopted a new constitution (US Library of Congress 194) and from 1956 until 1958 Pakistan is considered a parliamentary democracy. In 1956 Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy of the East Pakistani (Bangladeshi) Awami League (AL) became PM in coalition with the Republican Party (RP), a ML splinter (Cahoon 2010). This is a SOLS change. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy did not have much support in West Pakistan and ended up resigning (US Library of Congress 1994, Pakistan Herald). In October 1957 Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, ML, became PM in coalition with the RP, KrisSram, and N-i-Islam (Woldendorp et al.). This is a SOLS change. His government did not last long either, since in December 1957 Malik Firoz Khan Noon (also: Nun), RP, became PM in coalition with Diss-KrisSram. This is a SOLS change.

In October, President Mizram, with the support of the army and the civil service, “suspended the 1956 constitution, imposed martial law, and canceled the elections scheduled for January 1959” (US Library of Congress 1994). Subsequently, Misram himself was ousted by General Ayub Khan, the commander of the army. Archigos codes Ayub Khan as ruler immediately following Khan Noon. This is a SOLS change, as starting with Ayub Khan Pakistan transforms into a military-personalist hybrid regime that lasts until 1971 (GWF). Ayub Khan ruled until 1969, when unrest led to his resignation. He “handed over responsibility for governing to the commander in chief of the army” (US Department of State 2010), Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan (Mil). This is not a SOLS change since the personalist-military regime continued.

In 1971 the Bangladesh Liberation War led Khan to resign. Khan “handed over leadership” to his former foreign minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). This is a

SOLS change since the military-personalist regime came to an end and civilians retook control over the country. Bhutto transitioned the country back to democracy. From 1972 until 1977 Pakistan is considered a mixed presidential-parliamentary democracy. In 1973, after a new constitution was promulgated, Bhutto stepped down as president and became PM (US Library of Congress 1994). Bhutto's economic policies began to draw criticism and opposition movements, including the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), developed. When Bhutto declared his own victory in National Assembly elections in 1977, this was heavily disputed by the PNA and the confrontation between Bhutto and his opponents led to significant unrest (US Library of Congress 1994). As a result, "the army intervened on July 5, took all political leaders including Bhutto into custody, and proclaimed martial law" (US Library of Congress 1994). Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, Mil, became president and installed a military-personalist-hybrid authoritarian regime that lasted until 1988. This is a SOLS change.

In 1988, Zia-ul-Haq was killed in a plane crash and "Chairman of the Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan became Acting President and announced that elections scheduled for November 1988 would take place (US Department of State 2010)." We code no SOLS change for Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The 1988 elections were won by Benazir Bhutto (PPP), who became PM in coalition with the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). This is a SOLS change. From 1988 until 1999 Pakistan is considered a parliamentary democracy. In January 1990, MQM left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Jan 28 1990). In August 1990, President Khan dismissed the Bhutto government and new elections led Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of the Islami Jamhooria Ittehad (IJI) to become PM. Jatoi was an interim leader (US Library of Congress 1994; Pakistan Herald; Husain 1990). Thus this is not a SOLS change.

In November 1990 Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, PML-N, became PM. According to the Department of State (2010), the PML-N had been the most prominent member of IJI. (WKB lists his affiliation as IJA, i.e. Islami Jumhoori Itehad which consisted of a number of parties and groups listed by WKB). We code this as a SOLS change since Sharif's particular party affiliation was different than Bhutto's. While Sharif's government was relatively successful, he had difficulty reconciling "the different objectives of IJI's constituent parties. The largest religious party, Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), abandoned the alliance because of its antagonism to what it regarded as PML hegemony. The government was weakened further by the military's suppression of the MQM, which had entered into coalition with the IJI to contain PPP influence, and allegations of corruption directed at Nawaz Sharif (US Department of State 2010)."¹ As a result, in April 1993, President Khan dismissed Sharif as a PM. Balakh Sher Mezari, PML-N, became interim PM (Ahmed 1998, 207; Shah 1997, xvii). This is not a SOLS change. Just over a month later, the Supreme Court reinstated Sharif as PM (US Department of State 2010). This is not a SOLS change. In July 1993, the impossibility of President Khan and PM Sharif working together led to a political crisis that both to resign their posts (US Department of State 2010). Moeen Qureshi, Non-Party, became PM of a caretaker government (US Library of Congress 1994; Blood 1996, 237; Mohiuddin 2007, 313). This is not a SOLS change. In October 1993 Benazir Bhutto, PPP, once again became PM in coalition with the Pakistan Muslim League Junejo (PML-J) and the Awami National Party (ANP). This is a SOLS change. "In November 1996, President Leghari dismissed the Bhutto government, charging it with corruption, mismanagement of the economy,

¹ According to BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, the JI left the coalition on May 13, 1992. This would be a minor SOLS change, but, because WKB doesn't code it, we don't either.

and implication in extrajudicial killings in Karachi (US Department of State 2010).” As a result, Malik Miraj Khalid, Non-Party, became interim PM (Worldstatesmen.org; L.A. Times). This is not a SOLS change. In 1997 Sharif, PML-N, overwhelmingly won the election and resumed his post as PM. This is a SOLS change. Sharif went on to change the Constitution, diminishing the power of the President. He forced the president and other officials to resign, and targeted opposition politicians. When domestic discontent grew “Sharif attempted to replace Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf on October 12, 1999 (US Department of State 2010).” Despite being out of the country, Musharraf was able to oust Sharif and install a military government. This is a SOLS change.

From 1999 until 2008 Pakistan is considered a military-personalist-hybrid authoritarian regime. In 2008 the country is still considered authoritarian, but Geddes does not provided coding and Cheibub et al. code Pakistan as a parliamentary democracy. In August 2008, Musharraf resigned and Mohammadmian Soomro of the Pakistani Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) became acting president (Cahoon 2010; Bloomberg 2007). This is not a SOLS change. In September 2008 Asif Ali Zardari, PPP, became President. This is a SOLS change.

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