

## Pakistan

### Rice

Pakistan gained its independence from Britain (and partitioned from India) in 1947. The government was structured to be like a parliamentary democracy, but during the initial years of independence, there were no elections. GWF code the country as an oligarchy from 1948 to 1958. The first Prime Minister was Liaquat Ali Khan, of the Muslim League (ML). According to Woldendorp et al. (2000) the Pakistani Parliament contained only members from the Muslim League (one of the pre-independence political parties—all of the members were individuals who had previously served as members of the All-India Constituent Assembly, before independence and partition). The first elections in Pakistan took place on 21 June 1955 (Waldendorp, et. al. 2000, 431). Between 1947 and 1955, therefore, there were no SOLS changes, but the Prime Minister changed several times during this period. Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated on August 16, 1951, and was replaced as Prime Minister by Khawaja Nazimuddin (ML). Nazimuddin was then ousted from office by the Governor General of Pakistan, Malik Ghulam Muhammad, and Mohammad Ali Bogra (ML) replaced him as Prime Minister on April 17, 1953. In 1955, Bogra was forced to resign by the Governor General, Iskander Mirza, and was replaced by Chaudry Muhammad Ali (ML) in coalition with the United Front (UF) (Woldendorp et al. 2000). This is only a minor SOLS change.

C.M. Ali's government created a new Constitution for Pakistan, which made Pakistan into a republic. However, this new Constitution resulted in political instability for Pakistan. Ali resigned from office on 12 August 1955 due to internal problems within the Muslim League, and was replaced by Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, a member of the new opposition party, the Awami League (in a coalition with the Republican Party, RP), on 12 September 1955. (Waldendorp, et. al. 2000, 431). This is a SOLS change. Suhrawardy was in power for two years, until 17 October 1957, when he was replaced by Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, a member of the Muslim League. This is a SOLS change. Chundrigar's government was a coalition between ML, RP, KrisSram and N-i-Islam. Chundrigar was then forced to resign, and was replaced by Malik Feroz Khan Nun, a member of RP, on December 16, 1957. This is a SOLS change. Khan Nun governed in a coalition with Diss-krisScram.

On 7 October 1958, the President (formerly Governor-General) of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza, along with General Ayub Khan, declared martial law and disbanded Parliament. Ayub Khan was named the chief martial law administrator, a role he held until October 28, 1958, when he led a military coup and made himself the leader of the Pakistani government. At this point, GWF designate Pakistan as being under a military-personalist hybrid system lasting until 1971. Mohammad Ayub Khan held power until 25 March 1969, when he was ousted from power by another military general, Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan. This is not a SOLS change—Yahya Khan was a high-ranking military official. Yahya Khan promised that countrywide elections, with universal adult suffrage, would be held in October 1970.

Elections took place as planned, and the victory went to Mujibur Rahman, a member of the AL. However, the war with India over East Pakistan (which would soon become the independent state of Bangladesh) led to a delay in that government taking power. When Pakistan lost the war, Yahya Khan was forced to resign. He passed his powers as President to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a member of the Pakistan

People's Party (PPP). This is a SOLS change. Bhutto immediately declared martial law (becoming Pakistan's first civilian martial law administrator) on the grounds that it would provide continuity from the previous administration, and would give Pakistan a chance to regain some sense of normalcy after the loss of the war (Malik 2008, 162). However, unlike his predecessors, Bhutto created an interim Constitution in April, 1972, which again made him President (and ended martial law). As President, he worked to create the Constitution of 1973, which made Pakistan into a mixed parliamentary-presidential system. However, unlike the previous system where the President technically had the power to control the Prime Minister, in this Constitution, the President was relegated to a ceremonial role and the Prime Minister was the head of government. When this Constitution was approved on August 14, 1973, Bhutto became the Prime Minister. As GWF claims that the military-personalist regime in Pakistan ended in 1971, and considering that Pakistan is coded as being a democracy from 1972 to 1975 (despite the martial law), we have coded a SOLS change as occurring at the same time as the leadership change from Yahya to Bhutto. However, I thought it was important to note that there was a great deal of political turmoil during this period, and that Bhutto was not initially elected to office.

Geddes classifies Pakistan as being a personalist system from 1976-1977, however, Pakistan is simultaneously coded as a mixed-system democracy. This perhaps is due to the fact that Bhutto was continuing to rule as Prime Minister without an election to confirm him in this office. Public outcry did, however, lead to elections being scheduled for March 1977, which took place. The results of the election led to large amounts of public outcry. The election pitted Bhutto and the PPP against nine opposition parties who had united to form the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). When the PPP won the elections, the PNA immediately claimed that the voting was rigged. Demonstrations broke out throughout the country, and Bhutto declared martial law in April, 1977. Negotiations between the two parties were at a deadlock when General Zia-ul-Haq staged a military coup and took over the government. This is a SOLS change.

Zia remained in power, and Pakistan remained a military-personalist system, until August 17, 1988, when the general, along with many senior military officials, was killed in an airplane crash. Ishaq Khan took power as acting president before democratic elections could be held. In those elections, Benazir Bhutto (the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) was elected as Prime Minister on December 4, 1988. This is a SOLS change. Bhutto, a member of PPP, ruled in a coalition consisting of PPP and the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). In January 1990, MQM left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (January 28 1990). In August, 1990, Bhutto (and her government) were dismissed on charges of corruption, incompetence, and severe deterioration in law and order (Malik 2008, 181). The President of Pakistan, Ishaq Khan, appointed Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (a member of the National People's Party, abbreviated IJI) as the interim Prime Minister. This is not a SOLS change because of his interim status. Elections were held, and on 6 November 1990, Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, a member of the Pakistani Muslim League- Nawaz Party (PML-N) was elected as Prime Minister. This is a SOLS change. In 1993, due to political infighting and an inability to actually address the problems of Pakistan (Malik 2008, 184), President Khan dismissed Sharif's government on April 18, 1993. Khan named Balakh Sher Mezarai as interim Prime Minister, whose task was the organization of new elections. This not a SOLS change due to his interim position (Ahmed 1998, 207; Shah 1997, xvii). However, Sharif challenged the dismissal in

court and won, leading to his reinstatement as Prime Minister on May 26, 1993. This is also not a SOLS change, due to the fact that he was the Prime Minister before the interim, and as the interim was not a SOLS change, the SOLS continued on as the same during this period. Sharif and Khan continued to clash, to the point of destabilizing the government and completely stalling the policy process. On July 18, 1993, General Kakar, the army chief, stepped in and counseled both the President and the Prime Minister to resign from office, which they did. The army then invited Moeen Qureshi to be the interim Prime Minister (not a SOLS change) (Mohiuddin 2007, 313).

Qureshi's government organized elections, and on October 19, 1993, Benazir Bhutto, this time with a coalition of PPP, PML-J (Pakistan Muslim League- Junejo), ANP (Awami National Party), and 26 Independent members, took office as Prime Minister. This is a SOLS change. On November 5, 1996, Bhutto's government was dismissed by President Leghari (though Bhutto and Leghari were from the same party, they did not get along with one another, and Leghari accused Bhutto of corruption, and of sanctioning politically-motivated killings) (Malik 2008, 188). Leghari made Malik Meraj Khalid the interim Prime Minister, who in turn organized elections. This is not a SOLS change. On February 17, 1997, Mohammad Nawaz Sharif and the PML-N party again took the majority, and Sharif became the Prime Minister. This is a SOLS change.

Violence, conflict with India, and rebellion from within the government characterized Sharif's second term as Prime Minister. After a defeat by India on the Kargil Heights, Sharif's government was overthrown in a military coup by General Pervez Musharraf on October 14, 1999. Musharraf established himself as the "Chief Executive" of Pakistan, and ruled over a military-personalist regime (as classified by Geddes) until 2008. Though elections were held during this time, they were highly controlled by the military, and Musharraf remained as the head of the government in the office of President (however, it should be noted that the Prime Minister changed several times during this period as well). In 2007, results of an election (in which Musharraf had won again) were contested, and Musharraf declared a State of Emergency. Calls began to emerge for him to step down, and impeachment proceedings began against him. Finally, on August 18, 2008, Musharraf resigned, and was replaced by an interim President, Muhammad Mian Soomro. Soomro's government organized elections. In September 2008 Asif Ali Zardari, PPP, became President. This is a SOLS change.

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