

Timeline: charting key political and economic events in Pakistan's history

- 1947 Pakistan becomes independent nation-state
- 1947-58 Numerous civilian governments, dealing with the consequences of Independence.
- 1958-68, ruled by **General Ayub Khan** and known as the **Decade of Development**; high growth rates; high income and regional inequality
- 1968-71, ruled by **General Yahya Khan**; Pakistan's first elections in 1970, followed by separation of East Pakistan which emerged as independent Bangladesh in 1971
- 1971 left-of-centre **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto**, with nationalization of private businesses and public sector-led development the norm. Growth was relatively low
- 1977-88, **General Muhammad Zia ul Haq**; high growth rates
- Numerous governments from 1988-99 – high dependence on international loans, debt crisis, and economic performance nosedived as never before.
- 1999-2008, Pakistan was ruled by its third military dictator, **General Pervez Musharraf**; economy grew once again due to debt restructuring and large doses of foreign aid and assistance following the 9/11 terrorist attacks

Table 1 Growth Rates (%)

	GDP	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Services
1950s	3.1	1.6		
1960s	6.8	5.1	9.9	6.7
1970s	4.8	2.4	5.5	6.3
1980s	6.5	5.4	8.2	6.7
1990s	4.6	4.4	5.8	4.6
1999-2002	3.0	1.3	5.1	4.2
2002-07	6.8	4.7	10.7	6.6
2007-08	4.1	1.1	4.8	6.6
2008-09	2.0	4.7	-3.3	3.6

The longevity and recurrence of the army's role in the business of the state has a temporal dimension related to the period and duration of direct military rule, indirect military rule, informal but effective military input in governance and military's subordination to civilian supremacy. Any project of analysis into the nature and character of the army's involvement in politics would need to define and categorize its role through various phases of Pakistan's history. Table 8.1 seeks to give a broad profile of the army's role in Pakistan.

Table 8.1: Patterns of Civilian and Military Rule in Pakistan, 1947-2009

Type	Duration	Period
1 Direct military rule	17 years	1958-62, 1969-71, 1977-85, 1999-2002
2 Elected government under a military president (retired or serving general)	16 years	1962-69, 1985-88, 2002-08
3 Elected government under a civilian president: 'Rule of Troika'	12 years	1988-99, 2008-09
4 Supremacy of non-parliamentary forces under the formal parliamentary rule	11 years	1947-58
5 Civilian supremacy	6 years	1971-77

The army's direct rule covers 17 out of the 62 years of the post-Independence period. Another span of 16 years was characterized by the rule of the elected governments under successive military presidents — Ayub in mufti, Zia in uniform and Musharraf in uniform and later in mufti. The ruling generals insisted that they presided over 'real' democracy, free of all the ills of a 'sham' democracy under politicians.²³ Twelve years were taken by 'rule of troika' comprising a civilian president, a prime minister and a Chief of Army Staff (COAS), and eleven years by rule of non-parliamentary forces led by the civil bureaucracy in the early post-Independence period. The period of credible civilian supremacy under Z. A. Bhutto was as short as 6 years.

The discussion in the following sections focuses on three major aspects of civil-military relations in Pakistan: (i) state formation, (ii) genesis of military politics and, (iii) project of constitutional engineering. First, we argue in favour of going beyond the army's corporate interests and institutional ethos to analyzing the shape and character of the postcolonial state in Pakistan, which led to the ascendancy of extra-parliamentary forces. We propose to look into