

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## Structuring Conflict in the Arab World

*Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions*

This book examines how ruling elites manage and manipulate their political opposition in the Middle East. In contrast to discussions of government–opposition relations that focus on how rulers either punish or co-opt opponents, this book focuses on the effect of institutional rules governing the opposition. It argues that rules determining who is and is not allowed to participate in the formal political arena affect not only the relationships between opponents and the state, but also those between various opposition groups. This produces different dynamics of opposition during prolonged economic crises. It also shapes the informal strategies that ruling elites use toward opponents. The argument is presented using a formal model of government–opposition relations. It is demonstrated in the cases of Egypt under Presidents Nasir, Sadat, and Mubarak; Jordan under King Husayn; and Morocco under King Hasan II.

Ellen Lust-Okar is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Yale University. She received her M.A. in Middle Eastern studies and her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan. She has studied and conducted research in Jordan, Morocco, Israel, Palestine, and Syria, and her work examining the relationships between states and opposition has appeared in *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, and other volumes. She is currently working on a second manuscript, *Linking Domestic and International Conflict: The Case of Middle East Rivalries*, with Paul Huth at the University of Michigan.

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and  
Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Politics, as a practice, whatever its professions, has always been  
the systematic organization of hatreds.

– Henry Brooks Adams

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and  
Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Structuring Conflict in the Arab World

*Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions*

ELLEN LUST-OKAR

*Yale University*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and  
 Institutions  
 Ellen Lust-Okar  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
 Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
 Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Ellen Lust-Okar 2005

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
 no reproduction of any part may take place without  
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United States of America

*Typeface* Sabon 10/13 pt.    *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Lust-Okar, Ellen, 1966–  
 Structuring conflict in the Arab world : incumbents, opponents, and institutions /  
 Ellen Lust-Okar.  
 p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-83818-5

1. Opposition (Political science) – Arab countries – Case studies.  
 2. Elite (Social science) – Arab countries – Case studies. 3. Political participation – Arab  
 countries – Case studies. 4. Arab countries – Politics and government – Case studies.  
 5. Egypt – Politics and government – 1970– 6. Jordan – Politics and government –  
 1952–1999. 7. Morocco – Politics and government – 1961–1999. I. Title.

JQ1850.A792O65 2005

320.917'4927–dc22

2004051803

ISBN 0 521 83818 5 hardback

## Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>A Note on the Use of Language</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
Introduction	1
<i>Economic Crises, Political Demands</i>	2
<i>SoCs in Jordan, Morocco, and Egypt</i>	6
<i>The Methodology</i>	16
<i>Outline of the Work</i>	20
1 The Manipulation of Political Opposition	22
<i>Assuming a Unified Opposition</i>	23
<i>The State</i>	26
<i>Institutions</i>	29
<i>Why These Oversights?</i>	32
<i>On Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions</i>	34
2 Structures of Contestation	36
<i>Drawing the Lines: Illegal and Legal Political Opponents</i>	37
<i>Divided and Unified SoCs</i>	38
<i>SoCs in Monarchies: The Cases of Jordan and Morocco</i>	40
<i>Managing the Opposition: Strategies of Rule in Jordan and Morocco</i>	49
<i>Unified and Divided SoCs in Jordan and Morocco</i>	59
<i>Distinctions in Dominant-Party Regimes: Egypt Under Nasir, Sadat, and Mubarak</i>	60
<i>Refining Distinctions in SoCs</i>	66

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi		<i>Contents</i>
3	Playing by the Rules: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Political Oppositions	68
	<i>Primary Contenders in Morocco, Jordan, and Egypt</i>	69
	<i>Moderates and Radicals, Insiders and Outsiders</i>	73
	<i>Included versus Excluded Political Opponents</i>	79
	<i>Preferences Over Mobilization</i>	89
	<i>Toward a Revised Model of Opposition–Government Interactions</i>	90
4	Dynamics of Opposition in Unified SoCs	96
	<i>The Escalation of Opposition: Dynamics in the Undivided Environment</i>	97
	<i>Palace Interactions with Excluded Opponents: The Case of Jordan</i>	99
	<i>Toward a Unified, Inclusive SoC</i>	105
	<i>Palace Interactions with the Legal Opposition</i>	106
	<i>Government–Opposition Dynamics in a Unified SoC: Nasir and Sadat</i>	112
	<i>Conclusion</i>	125
5	Opposition Dynamics in Divided SoCs	126
	<i>Opposition–Government Interactions in a Divided SoC</i>	127
	<i>Palace–Opposition Dynamics in Morocco</i>	129
	<i>Dynamics of Opposition Under Mubarak</i>	140
	<i>Dynamics of Opposition in Divided SoCs</i>	151
6	Formal SoCs and Informal Political Manipulation	153
	<i>Opposition Preferences, Government Strategies, and SoCs</i>	153
	<i>Managing Political Opponents in the Middle East and North Africa</i>	157
	<i>Conclusion</i>	168
	<i>Conclusion</i>	169
	<i>Structures of Contestation</i>	170
	<i>Consequences of SoCs</i>	170
	<i>Agenda for Future Research</i>	174
	<i>Appendix: Political Forces in Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco</i>	177
	<i>Major Moroccan Political Forces in the 1970s and 1980s</i>	178
	<i>Major Jordanian Political Forces in the 1970s and 1980s</i>	187
	<i>Major Political Forces Under Sadat, 1970s</i>	191
	<i>Major Political Forces Under Mubarak, 1980s and 1990s</i>	196
	<i>Notes</i>	203
	<i>Bibliography</i>	243
	<i>Index</i>	269

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Figures and Tables

### FIGURES

1.1	GNP Per Capita – Morocco and Jordan, 1976–1998	<i>page</i> 7
2.1	Paths from Hegemony to Polyarchy	37
2.2	Structures of Contestation	39
3.1	Distribution of Policy Goods and Political Access	75
3.2	Model of Government–Opposition Interaction	90
3.3	Ideological Spectrum	91
4.1	Mobilization Subgame	97

### TABLES

3.1	Domestic Conditions in Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco	74
3.2	Expected Payoffs for Outcomes in the Model	93
4.1	Equilibrium Conditions in the Mobilization Subgame	98
4.2	Dynamics of Protest in Unified SoCs	98
5.1	Dynamics of Protest in Divided SoCs	128
6.1	Payoffs in the Mobilization Subgame	154

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## Acknowledgments

This book, which has been a decade in the making, would never have been possible without the help of a large and diverse community of support. I hope all will be pleased by the ways in which their insights are reflected here. I also hope that the following remarks reflect fully the enormous gratitude I feel for their support.

For first introducing me to the politics and history of the Middle East and then helping me shape early versions of this project, I thank Jill Crystal and Juan Cole. I also thank Christopher Achen, Doug Dion, Robert Pahre, and Carl Simon for their careful attention and thoughtful comments in the early stages of this project.

The fieldwork itself was made productive and more pleasant with the assistance of a great number of people. I cannot adequately express my gratitude for all of the individuals in Morocco and Jordan who patiently entered into discussions with me; from the *bawwab* on the street to the party leaders, I learned from them all. The staff and fellow researchers at the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR) in Amman, Jordan, the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan, and the Tangier American Legation Museum (TALM) in Tangier, Morocco, were also extremely helpful. I particularly thank the directors, Pierre Bikai of ACOR, Mustafa Hamarneh of CSS, and Thor Kuniholm of TALM, for their patient support and assistance. In Morocco I also had the good fortune of meeting Laurie Brand, and I am extremely grateful to her for her insights and queries on both Morocco and Jordan, as well as her friendship and support.

In later iterations of this work, I received help and comments from a great number of friends and colleagues. I thank Betty Anderson, Glenn



Beamer, Eva Bellin, David Brown, Barbara Geddes, Noura Hamladj, Bahgat Korany, Vickie Langohr, Kelly McMann, Michele Penner Angrist, Marsha Pripstein Posusney, Andrew Schrank, Randy Stevenson, Meredith Weiss, Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, and Mike Wolf, who offered valuable feedback on parts of the manuscript. I am particularly grateful in this respect to Robert Dahl for his enthusiastic support of what is, in many ways, an extension of his work. I thank Anne Sartori, Alastair Smith, and Jana Kunicova, who gave me helpful feedback on the formal model, and Simon Samoeil for his wonderful assistance in checking my transliteration. For their editorial and research assistance at critical points in this work, I extend my appreciation to Kellianne Farnham, Lilach Gilady, Sara Hirschhorn, Alexandra Kobishyn, Adria Lawrence, Tarek Masoud, Naysan Rafati, Raja Shamas, and Emily Wills.

I am particularly grateful to those who have read the entire manuscript, in some cases multiple times. Amaney Jamal, Fiona McGillivray, Pauline Jones Luong, Glenn Robinson, Mark Tessler, and two anonymous reviewers have shared extremely valuable comments. Lewis Bateman, my editor at Cambridge University Press, not only provided support and insights but was also enormously patient.

The project would never have been possible without significant financial support. I received early support for language study from the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, administered through the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies at the University of Michigan. The International Institute for Peace and Security Studies, also at the University of Michigan, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, the Social Science Research Council, and the James A. Baker III Institute at Rice University supported subsequent fieldwork.

Of course, nothing is possible without the support of family. I am particularly fortunate, for I am “at home” on both sides of the ocean. My own family is a constant source of inspiration and support. As the youngest of five children, I was always able to look ahead of me and know that anything is possible and nothing is required. My family in Syria has also been enormously supportive. I am still amazed at how readily they accepted me, how patiently they worked to help me learn Arabic, how sincerely they have engaged in my interests, and how cheerfully they have helped with child care. I could not have asked for more.

I am also deeply grateful to my husband, Nazih, and our sons, Stephan and Gibran. Nazih has never doubted this could be done, even if he sometimes has questioned our sanity in doing it. For his willingness to traipse across the world with me, and to share the ups and downs of the work,

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

*Acknowledgments*

xi

I thank him. In contrast to Nazih, Stephan and Gibran have been fairly oblivious to this whole project. That, too, has been a wonderful gift.

Finally, I dedicate this book to two men who were so very different and yet were both fundamental to this work: my father, Robert M. Lust, and my mentor, A. F. K. Organski. My father was a Midwestern truck driver and farmer with an insatiable sense of curiosity. My advisor was an Italian Russian immigrant who never ceased trying to convince me that I should give up working on the Middle East and turn to Italy, where I could sip cappuccinos and have easy access to data sets. Both taught me that while work is deadly serious, it can be done with laughter and joy. Both helped foster my interest in how the world worked and, moreover, were absolutely confident that I could succeed in my desire to push our understandings of it just a little bit further. I am so grateful for the lessons they taught and hope that this work would have made them proud.

Cambridge University Press  
0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and  
Institutions  
Ellen Lust-Okar  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## A Note on the Use of Language

To make the text more accessible to non-Arabic and non-French readers, I have used the English names of parties and organizations. I have also used traditional spellings of words commonly found in English (e.g., *ulema*, Alawite) and of the names of cities and states. Those who are interested can find the Arabic and French names in the appendix, endnotes, and index. The Arabic is transliterated using a simplified version of the Library of Congress system, including the use of ‘ for ‘ayn and ’ for a hamzah. Where individuals have consistently adopted a somewhat different form of transliteration, I have followed their spellings. Thus, the careful reader will note small inconsistencies in the text, but the language fulfills its ultimate purpose: the transmission of information and ideas.

Cambridge University Press

0521838185 - Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions

Ellen Lust-Okar

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Abbreviations

ASO	Arab Socialist Organization, Egypt
ASU	Arab Socialist Union (Egypt)
Ba'th	Arab Resurrection (Ba'th) Party (Jordan and Syria)
CAPMAS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (Egypt)
CDT	Democratic Confederation of Labor (Morocco)
CHRLA	Center for Human Rights Legal Aid (Egypt)
CNJA	National Council of the Youth and the Future (Morocco)
CSS	Center for Strategic Studies (Jordan)
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
ETUF	Egyptian Trade Union Federation (Egypt)
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FDIC	Front for the Defense of Constitutional Institutions (Morocco)
GDP	gross domestic product
IAF	Islamic Action Front (Jordan)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LR	Liberation Rally (Egypt)
MAJD	Democratic Front Organization in Jordan (Jordan)
MEED	<i>Middle East Economic Digest</i>
MP	Popular Movement (Morocco)
NCC	National Consultative Council (Jordan)
NDP	National Democratic Party (Egypt)
NPF	National Progressive Front (Syria)
NPUP	National Progressive Unionist Party (Egypt)
NU	National Union (Egypt)

OADP	Organization of Democratic and Popular Action (Morocco)
PDI	Democratic Party of Independence (Morocco)
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PND	National Democratic Party (Morocco)
PPS	Party of Progress and Socialism (Morocco)
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council (Egypt)
RNI	National Assembly of Independents (Morocco)
SLO	Socialist Liberal Organization (Egypt)
SLP	Socialist Labor Party (Egypt)
SoC	structures of contestation
UC	Constitutional Union (Morocco)
UGTM	General Union for Workers in Morocco (Morocco)
UMT	Moroccan Labor Union (Morocco)
UNEM	National Union of Moroccan Students (Morocco)
UNFP	National Union of Popular Forces (Morocco)
USFP	Socialist Union of Popular Forces (Morocco)