ABSTRACT

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Why are opposition groups able to form alliances in their activism against the regime in some cases but not in others? Specifically, why did opposition groups in Pakistan engage in high levels of alliance building, regardless of ideological and other divides, while similar alliance patterns did not emerge in Egypt? I explain alliances among various opposition groups in Egypt and Pakistan as a result of two factors – the nature of group constituencies and the nature of the alliance. I argue that constituencies can be characterized as two kinds: *Divided* and *Fluid*. Under divided constituencies, different opposition groups receive consistent support from specific sections of the population. Under fluid constituencies, opposition groups have no consistent basis for support. Alliances can be of two kinds, *Mobilization* or *Elite*. Mobilization alliances are formed among two or more groups to bring constituents together to engage in collective action, for example, protest, sit-in or civil disobedience. Elite alliances are formed among group leaders to express grievances and/ or find solutions to issues without engaging their constituents in street politics.

Groups may work together on an issue-based or value-based concern. Issue-based concerns focus on a specific aspect of the grievance being raised. For example, a law that imposes censorship on the press. Value-based concerns have a broader focus, for example media freedom. Mobilization alliances emerge among political groups that have divided constituencies and are unlikely among political groups that have fluid constituencies. Since a joint mobilization event requires groups to pool their supporters, groups with fluid constituencies fear that their participation will provide their partners with a perfect opportunity to make themselves visible to their support base and engage in "member poaching." While groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form mobilization alliances, they are able to form issue-based elite alliances. Groups with divided constituencies are likely to form elite alliances on both issue-based and value-based concerns. Since elite alliances do not require groups to pool their constituents, groups with fluid constituencies have few concerns about "member poaching." However, when formed to address a value-based concern, such alliances can easily lead to mobilization in the future, especially when the concern is broad and sensitive. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances.

Groups with divided constituencies often form elite alliances when they are unable to engage in mobilization because of material or other constraints. Since they do not share the same concerns about mobilization in the future, groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. I argue that examining the nature of constituencies and the nature of the alliance being formed

provides more leverage in explaining the formation of alliances as compared to other

explanations, such as ideological similarities/differences and regime policies.

DIVIDED WE STAND, BUT UNITED WE OPPOSE? OPPOSITION ALLIANCES IN
EGYPT AND PAKISTAN

By

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List of Acronyms

Egypt
ASU: Arab Socialist Union
CPPA: Committee for Political Parties Affairs
LR: Liberation Rally
MB: Muslim Brotherhood
NDP: National Democratic Party
NPUP: National Progressive Union Party
NU: National Unionq `
SLP: Socialist Labor Party

Pakistan
ANP: Awami National Party
IDA: Islamic Democratic Alliance
JI: Jamaat-i-Islami
JUI: Jamaat-i-Ulema-i-Islami
JUP: Jamaat Ulema-i-Pakistan
LFO: Legal Framework Order
MMA: Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal
MQM: Muhajir Qoumi Movement
MQM(h): Muhajir Qoumi Movement (Haqiqi)
NWFP: North West Frontier Province
PCO: Provisional Constitutional Order
PIF: Pakistan Islamic Front
PML: Pakistani Muslim League
PML(n): Pakistani Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif)
PML(q): Pakistani Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)
PNA: Pakistan National Alliance
PPO: Political Parties Order
PPP: People's Party of Pakistan
PPPP: People's Party of Pakistan Parliamentarians
PPP(s): People's Party of Pakistan (Sherpao)

Chapter I: Introduction

In 1997 relations between the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) party and its long-term ally, the Awami National Party (ANP) had never been worse. The two parties had developed deep differences over several complex issues. As ANP leaders deliberated their stance on continuing their alliance with the PML, a Karachi-based newsmagazine published a cartoon showing a man on a visit to his doctor. The man shows the doctor a large protrusion from his backside labeled – ANP. The man's shirt reads – PML. The doctor exclaims in shock and horror, "Oh, alliancitis![1]"

Politics makes for strange bedfellows. Groups that clash at certain times form alliances with each other at other times. Yet, as I will argue, the process through which opposition groups come to form alliances with each other given the constraints and opportunities presented by their environment remains an open puzzle. My research explores the answer to the following question:

Why are opposition groups able to form alliances in their activism against the regime in some cases but not in others? Specifically, why did opposition groups in Pakistan engage in high levels of alliance building, regardless of ideological and other divides, while similar alliance patterns did not emerge in Egypt?

In this study I examine two cases where opposition actors operating under seemingly similar circumstances show very different patterns of alliance formation. In Pakistan, groups have been able to work together through joint protests, strikes, civil disobedience as well as through parliamentary walkouts and joint statements. In Egypt, while opposition groups formed alliances under some circumstances, the same groups have been unable to work together under most other conditions. For example, Islamists,

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1 The Herald, March 1997

leftists and right-wing parties engaged in a campaign against the regime-initiated Press Law Number 93 in 1995, but could not form an alliance to protest the results of the elections held a few months later, despite making individual public statements declaring their intentions to work with other groups on this issue. By contrast, Islamists, leftists and ethnic parties in Pakistan formed several alliances against the Sharif regime's attempts to muzzle the press in 1998 and collectively protested the annulment of democracy in the country under General Pervez Musharraf in 1999.

The contrast in the frequency of successful alliance building among groups in the countries is even more striking when comparing the 2005 political opening in Egypt to the 2002 elections in Pakistan. In 2005, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak held presidential and parliamentary elections in the same year. This was the first time in nearly a decade that the position of the president was contested. In Pakistan, Musharraf announced parliamentary elections in 2002 and provincial elections in 2005 after taking over the government in a bloodless coup in October 1999. While state- initiated political openings provided opposition parties and groups with opportunities to campaign, increase their support base and gain additional power in the parliament, the ruling regime maintained its hold on the state in both Egypt and Pakistan. Political reform sparked high levels of street activism in both countries. In Egypt, new political movements emerged and existing groups challenged the regime through controversial statements, slogans and mobilization. In Pakistan opposition actors raised issues of religious freedom and other economic and social problems.

The reforms sparked a wave of contention in both countries, providing a perfect political opportunity and strategic incentives for opposition actors to form alliances and

gain greater influence[2]. In both cases, the ruling regime employed direct and indirect strategies to divide and weaken the opposition. Yet, while alliances among various groups emerged in Pakistan, in Egypt, Islamist parties saw internal factionalism and other groups were also limited in the extent to which they cooperated with each other and with the Islamists. Given that groups in both countries had incentives to work together and made efforts to form alliances, how can we explain the differences in the patterns of alliance formation?

I explore how while theories based on regime policies, cost-benefit analysis and the bridging of ideological divides provide some leverage in explaining different aspects of alliances, they leave many questions unanswered. I provide an explanation that addresses many of the deficiencies of the current approaches and adds a new dimension to how alliances have been studied so far. I explain alliances among various opposition groups in Egypt and Pakistan as a result of two factors – the nature of group constituencies and the nature of the alliance. I argue that constituencies can be characterized as two broad kinds: *Divided* and *Fluid*. Under divided constituencies, different opposition groups receive consistent support from specific sections of the population. The constituencies may be located in a particular geographical area, ethnic group or race with which group leaders may have some affinity. The boundaries of the constituency are clearly and consistently located in a specific section of the population and group leaders realize that the probability of gaining additional support from another group's constituency is limited.

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2 Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge Cambridge Univ. Press.

Under fluid constituencies, different opposition groups have no consistent basis for support, that is, they may receive support from different sections of the population at different times. The boundaries of the constituency are not defined and the probability of gaining additional support from another group's constituency is high. I illustrate further through the following diagram:

Figure I: Divided Constituencies
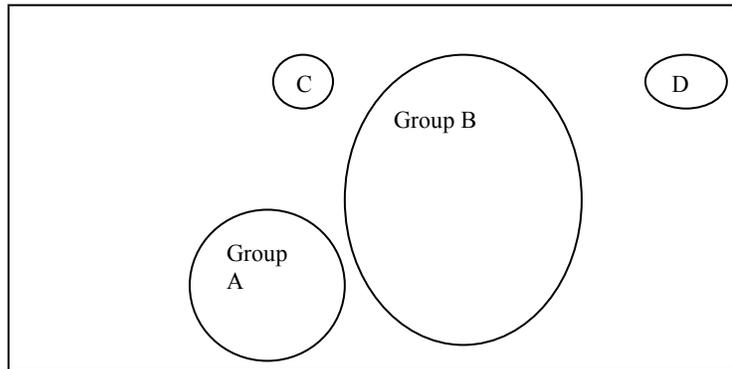
Figure II : Fluid Constituencies
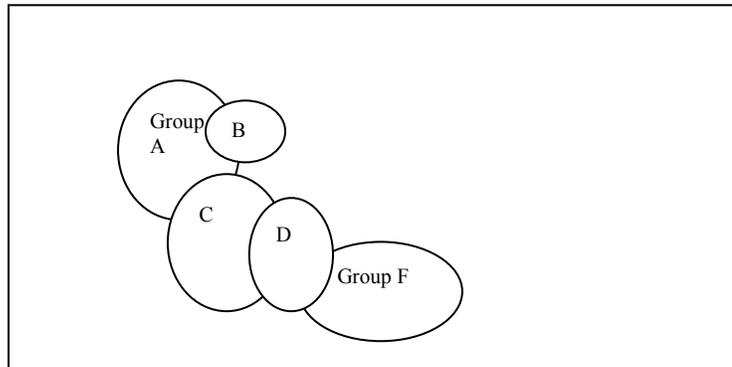
The drawing pane reflects the total politically active population in the state while the circles show each groups' constituency within the population. Figure 1 shows that groups A,B,C and D receive support from different sections of the population with very little or no overlap among the bases of support. For example, Group B receives support from a particular ethnic group, while Group A from a different ethnic group. Group C has

a pocket of consistent support from a specific geographical region while Group D receives support from a different region.

Figure 2 shows that groups A, B, C, D, E and F have less exclusive bases of support. While each group may have some core supporters, their constituency may overlap with other groups' in significant numbers. For example, Group A receives support from workers while Group B also receives support from workers in addition to professionals. Group D receives support from liberals while group F also has support in the same population section. The nature of group constituencies has a significant influence on patterns of alliance formation.

A country can be said to have divided or fluid constituencies when the majority of the groups have divided or fluid constituencies in relation to each other. Not all groups may fit into the overall characterization – for example, in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood has a consistent basis of support among students and professional associations, but almost all other groups have fluid constituencies. Many groups are also trying to expand their basis of support in Brotherhood dominated sections of the population. This makes Egypt a case of fluid constituencies, especially in comparison to Pakistan where nearly every group has an exclusive ethnic, linguistic or regional basis of support.

Alliances can be of two kinds, *Mobilization* or *Elite*. Mobilization alliances are formed among two or more groups to bring constituents together to engage in collective action, for example, protest, sit-in or civil disobedience. Elite alliances are agreements among leaders of different groups to work together. The goal is not to engage in street politics by mobilizing constituencies, but to act jointly to express grievances and/ or find solutions to issues.

Groups may work together on an issue-based or value-based concern. Issue-based concerns, while stemming from larger values, focus on a specific aspect of the grievance being raised. For example, a law that imposes censorship on the press. Value-based concerns have a much broader focus, for example media freedom. Issue-based concerns are technical as they ask for specific policy changes. Value-based concerns are often highly politically charged and sensitive as they address the core principles of the polity and society, for example, women's rights, religious freedom and the status of minorities. In order to form an alliance on an issue-based concern, groups do not have to necessarily agree on the larger value. For example, different groups may have different views on freedom of speech and expression, but form an alliance to protest against a law that imposes fines on newspapers for printing incorrect information. This distinction is important because forming an issue-based alliance allows groups to work together in an area of mutual concern, while leaving aside controversial and sensitive value-based concerns.

An alliance is successfully formed when the actors agree on a plan of action and carry it through, for example, by mobilizing constituents, informing members, signing the petition, or making public statements as agreed upon. I do not argue that for an alliance to be considered successful it must have been effective in initiating tangible changes in the nature of politics in the country, for example, by causing alterations in state policy. This dimension of success is beyond the scope of this study.

I argue that the successful formation of an opposition alliance depends on the nature of the alliance being formed: elite or mobilization. Further, opposition alliances

are also dependent on the nature of constituencies under which the groups operate. The argument is depicted in the following table:

Table I: Formation of Alliances

Alliance Type

Constituency Type	Mobilization	Elite
Fluid	No	Yes: Issue-based
Divided	Yes: Issue-based/Value-based	Yes: Issue-based/Value-based

Mobilization alliances emerge among political groups that have divided constituencies and are unlikely among political groups that have fluid constituencies. Since a joint mobilization event requires groups to pool their supporters, groups with fluid constituencies fear that their participation will provide their partners with a perfect opportunity to make themselves visible to their support base and engage in "member poaching." Mobilizing alone provides groups with a better opportunity to solidify and/or increase their support base by making themselves and their message more visible to current and potential constituents.

Groups with divided constituencies have fewer concerns about joint mobilization because their constituencies are largely fixed and their supporters are unlikely to change their loyalties. Mobilizing together shows increased strength to the regime and the ability of the opposition groups to unite against a common enemy. Groups with divided constituencies may form mobilization alliances on both issue-based and value-based concerns.

While groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form mobilization alliances, they are able to form issue-based elite alliances. That is, the claim making is focused on a

specific policy concern, for example, a particular facet of the divorce law or a law that imposes a fine on newspapers for publishing false information. Groups with divided constituencies are likely to form elite alliances on both issue-based and value-based concerns, that is, the claim making can be focused on a specific policy concern or a more general subject like human rights or freedom. Since elite alliances do not require groups to pool their constituents and are negotiated among leaders, groups with fluid constituencies have few concerns about "member poaching." However, when formed to address a value-based concern, such alliances can easily lead to mobilization in the future, especially when the concern is broad and sensitive. The value-based nature of the concern may incite constituents, who may start mobilizing spontaneously, even though the groups intended the alliance to be elite only. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances that are focused on a specific policy concern and are unlikely to lead to mobilization.

Groups with divided constituencies often form elite alliances when they are unable to engage in mobilization because of material or other constraints. Since they do not share the same concerns about mobilization in the future, groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. I argue that while other explanations, such as ideological similarities/differences and regime policies provide some leverage in explaining alliances, understanding the nature of constituencies provides an additional window into how groups form alliances without which the cases can not be fully explained . I examine rival hypotheses in greater detail further in the chapter.

Pakistan's ethnic and regional diversity and experiences with democracy and political freedom in the past have been among the contributing factors in the formation of a variety of political parties and organizations that command constituencies among a certain ethnic group, region or class. Even though political parties in Pakistan have many differences based on ideology, ethnicity and class affiliations, their divided constituencies have been an important variable allowing the formation of various alliances that may appear improbable or surprising at first.

In Egypt, relative cultural homogeneity has been a factor in preventing the emergence of ethnic and regional based political groups[3]. Decades of authoritarian rule accompanied by limited, state controlled political openings has not completely stunted the formation of opposition parties and other political groups, but has been one of the reasons why groups have been unable to command base constituencies. While ethnic and religious based parties are illegal in Egypt, groups organized along these bases may register themselves as a charity or continue their work illegally (for example, the Muslim Brotherhood). Even though many such charities and other unofficial groups exist, they have been unable to command consistent constituencies. In subsequent chapters I explain how opposition groups in Egypt have many differences with each other along class and ideological lines, these differences have not translated into divided constituencies (as seen in the case of Pakistan). While ideological and other differences are important considerations for groups when making decisions regarding forming alliances, I explain how my model provides substantial insights into explaining and predicting alliance-making that have so far been missed in the literature.

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3 Egypt has a minority Coptic Christian community who make up close to 10% of the population. The country is otherwise linguistically and ethnically homogenous.

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A full explanation for the factors that lead to differences in the nature of constituencies in various countries warrants a separate study. In this research I explain the history of politics in both countries and argue that Egypt and Pakistan have predominantly fluid and divided constituencies respectively. While the overall constituency characterization in Egypt and Pakistan may not apply to every group, a large majority of groups show such constituency patterns in each country. The prevalence of fluid constituencies has prevented the formation of mobilization alliances in Egypt, but as I will show, issue-based elite alliances have emerged from time to time despite the regime's policies and ideological differences among the actors. In Pakistan, divided constituencies allow groups to form both mobilization and elite alliances.

While in this project, I apply my model to opposition groups in non-democratic contexts, it can also help explain alliance making among any groups that aim at increasing and/or protecting their constituency. Opposition groups provide an interesting context for applying the model since they all work against a common enemy (the regime) and must interact with each other in doing so.

Understanding why groups are able to form alliances under some circumstances but not others is central to both academic and policy debates. To some scholars and policy experts, the formation of alliances among opposition groups against the power of despotic regimes seems like a logical solution to the problem of stagnant political systems. In their analysis of the 2005 presidential election in Egypt, the *International Crisis Group* recommended that legal political parties, "contest the legislative elections on a 'democratic unity' platform of political reform by forming a united bloc." The report also recommended that political parties endorse a single platform or strategy and back a

single candidate in each constituency[4]. While "working together" may seem like a ready solution to defeating a common enemy, there may be important reasons why opposition alliances may not emerge. These impediments may not necessarily stem from ideological differences among actors or regime policies. By comparing relative failure of alliance making in Egypt to successful alliance formation in Pakistan, I provide an analysis of the circumstances under which opposition groups can work together and conditions that make such alliances unlikely. I now explain the cases in greater empirical detail to establish the logic of the puzzle.

Alliances in Egypt and Pakistan:

Pakistan and Egypt are useful cases in examining alliances among opposition groups. In this section, I establish the differences in the patterns of alliance making in the two cases, showing that while various alliances have emerged in Pakistan, they have not formed in Egypt. I then go on to examine how the current literature does not explain the puzzle adequately and/or leaves many questions unanswered. I then explain my argument in detail.

Despite varying social and political circumstances, such as regime stability, levels of repression, the overall international and regional climate, and the history of intense ideological and other rivalries among groups, Pakistan's politics shows several instances of opposition groups forming alliances against the ruling regime. In 1998 the ruling PML party faced growing activism from the Islamist Jamaat-e-Islami party allied with the leftist PPP, PPP's ethnic rival MQM and other regional parties. The alliance brought together thousands of supporters in major cities to protest PML's intimidation tactics with

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4 "Reforming Egypt: In Search of a Strategy."2005. Cairo/Brussels: International Crisis Group.

the press, arbitrary use of anti-terrorism laws and increased heavy handedness in the administration.

Further instances of alliance making emerged after the October 1999 coup which brought Musharraf to power. Many opposition parties had actually welcomed the October 1999 coup as a step towards curbing corruption and lawlessness[5]. However, soon after the new military government was formed, the opposition realized that the generals had come to power without a clear plan of action towards solving the nation's mounting social and economic issues. The first instances of party mobilization against the Musharraf regime started as early as 2000 when the historically leftists People's Party of Pakistan (PPP) formed an alliance with several small ethnic parties with a history of sharp ideological differences. After months of debate within the alliance and the defection of Pakistani Tehrik-e-Insaaf in protest, PPP's arch rival, PML was finally inducted as a member in August 2000. In 2001, a new alliance of 15 parties headed by PML emerged. The new groups called itself "Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy" (ARD). PPP also joined ARD soon after its formation. Given the PPP and PML's history of intense rivalry and even violence against each other, cooperation between PPP and PML came as a surprise to many observers of Pakistani politics.

Six Islamist parties formed their own alliance, know as the Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal (MMA). Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islami (JUI), two of Pakistan's oldest Islamist movements, occupied a central leadership position in the alliance. MMA and ARD cooperated with each other on several fronts including organizing protests, petitioning as well as forming electoral alliances. Smaller non-

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5 "A New Face of Protest in Pakistan?" 2000. The Economist, July 15th 2000.

Islamist political parties such as the Tehrik-e-Insaaf, other regional parties and minority groups such as the Pakistan Christian Association also gave their support to the MMA on different occasions. Overall, opposition activism in Pakistan has been accompanied by high levels of alliance building among opposition groups despite their ideological differences, high levels of repression by the military government and the Musharraf regime's attempts to divide the opposition by offering material incentives for supporting the regime.

In Egypt, even though opposition groups have made efforts towards forming alliances, few have emerged. After nearly two decades of gradual political reform under Mubarak's regime, the government announced presidential elections in September 2005 and parliamentary in November 2005. The elections gave opposition parties greater opportunities for visibility through the media. The Mubarak government relaxed its repressive tactics, which allowed for greater freedom of assembly and expression. Observers reported that for the first time, the President was seen actually campaigning for his position. The overall atmosphere among the Egyptian people was one of hope that the system could change. Many political parties regarded the November election as the first real opportunity to contest the NDP's control over the People's Assembly and increase their representation from its historic low of less than 10 percent[6].

While the Muslim Brotherhood organized large-scale protests following the regime- initiated political opening in 2005 and sought alliances with other groups, few alliances emerged. Kifaya, while a much smaller movement in scale, participated in some protests jointly with the Brotherhood, but the group also organized separate protests on

6 Hamzawy, Amr. 2005. "Egypt: Dynamics of Regime and Opposition." Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

the same day, even though the turnout at Muslim Brotherhood protests was significantly higher. In one instance Kifaya participated in a protest with the Muslim Brotherhood, but the protest was soon disbanded because the Muslim Brotherhood did not wish to attack the Mubarak regime directly while Kifaya had no reservations about doing so. The Muslim Brotherhood has also seen smaller factions break-off to form their own political movements (e.g., Wasat Party).

The Brotherhood initiated an alliance of diverse members of the opposition called the "National Alliance for Restoration and Change," but only the liberal al-Wafd party sent a high-level representative to its first convention. Other groups withheld support. Not only did the Muslim Brotherhood initiated alliances fail, other groups were also not able to unite the opposition. al-Wafd tried to bring groups together under the banner, "United Front for Change," but even other liberal parties did not respond favorably to the attempt. The failure of alliances revealed that ideologically similar groups found it just as difficult to form alliances with each other as ideologically dissimilar groups. The alliances that did emerge successfully during this time period were issue-based elite alliances formed as an agreement not to run candidates against each other in the parliamentary elections.

The low levels of opposition alliance making in Egypt were seemingly surprising because the groups had worked together in the past; for example, the Muslim Brotherhood had formed an electoral alliance with al-Wafd party during the 1984 elections. Also in 1995, various groups formed an alliance to launch a campaign against the Mubarak's regime's new press law, commonly known as Law Number 93. With Kifaya and al-Wafd publicly stating their opposition to Mubarak in 2005, some scholars and policy makers expected that these groups would be more willing to work with the

Muslim Brotherhood. However, since both parties have Coptic Christians as leaders and as constituents they would have to seemingly reconcile their fear of Islamism with working with the Muslim Brotherhood. Ironically, al-Wafd showed greater proclivity in working with the Muslim Brotherhood as compared to cooperating with other parties, such as al-Ghad, that are ideologically closer to its goals. While Kifaya did develop differences with the Muslim Brotherhood, the key dividing factor was not the religious question but how the two parties approached opposing Mubarak directly – with Kifaya wanting to attack Mubarak without any reservations while the Muslim Brotherhood being unwilling to follow this path. While ideological differences among parties and groups were certainly not irrelevant, they were of less consequence in forming alliances, other factors were clearly at work.

No party could actually "win" the 1995 or 2005 elections, but they could successfully use the political opening to show the strength of their dissent to Mubarak and to the world. Similarly in Pakistan, General Musharraf's autocratic rule accompanied by unpopular policies had angered all political parties providing them with incentives to campaign jointly against his regime. In Pakistan, as I have shown, despite many differences among political parties and groups several alliances emerged. In Egypt, while various groups tried to work together, opposition alliances did not emerge. How can we explain the variations in alliance making in the two cases?

I argue that examining the nature of group constituencies and the nature of alliances provides strong theoretical leverage in explaining the variations in the cases as compared with other explanations such as ideological differences, regime repression or policies of divide and rule. In the next section I explain how the alternative explanations

prevalent in the literature explain some aspects of alliance making they leave many questions unanswered regarding why alliances formed in Pakistan, but not in Egypt. I argue that while groups consider many factors when forming alliances, the nature of constituencies is a very important determinant of successful alliance formation and has so far been understudied in the literature. I then operationalize my argument and explain the methods.

Explaining Alliances:

I examine the research on alliances as three broad thematic groupings: explanations that stress the ability of regimes to guide opposition alliances, those that explain alliance making as an outcome of group cost/benefit calculus, and explanations that put forth the importance of bridging ideological and other divides among groups as a solution to the problem of working together in an alliance. In this section I examine some of the existing research on alliances, highlighting gaps in the literature and questions yet unanswered. I show how the existing theories are successful in explaining some aspects of alliance formation, but none provide a complete explanation of the mechanisms through which groups are actually able to form an alliance.

Opposition alliances are determined by regime policies:

Structural theories of mobilization have stressed the importance of regime policies as the main determinant of opposition alliances. While these explanations provide a powerful theory of opposition group behavior, I argue that in Egypt and Pakistan, alliances among opposition parties are not solely determined by regime policies. Opposition groups structure their alliance making considering the structure of the regime,

but ally with each other under various structural conditions – for example, during high or low levels of regime repression, or high or low levels of regime stability. I do not claim to debunk structural theories by providing an alternative theory to alliance formation, but explore an additional look into how groups form/ fail to form alliances with each other by examining variables that have yet been ignored in the literature and are particularly important to these cases.

Some scholars have argued that regimes can structure opposition alliance making by following policies of divide and rule[7]. By favoring some groups and excluding others, regimes guide the interactions among opposition actors to prevent them from uniting against the regime in their claim making. Robert Bianchi, for example, argues that associational life in Egypt under Mubarak can be divided into three sectors. The corporatist sectors include middle class professional syndicates where corporatism has been the exclusive mode of representation. The corporatized sectors, such as the labor movement and agricultural cooperatives, have come under more and more state regulation. Finally, the hybrid sector includes the business community and religious associations where both pluralist and corporatist sectors continue to coexist and compete for predominance. Pluralism combined with corporatism is attractive to regimes because such policies alleviate the need for widespread coercion campaigns. Pluralism prevents the emergence of a unified opposition by promoting the weak, financially dependent and squabbling leaders who can be manipulated and discarded at will. Bianchi argues that

7 Kepel, Gilles. 1984. The Prophet and the Pharaoh: Islamic Extremism in Egypt. London: Al-Saqi Books, Bianchi, Robert. 1989. Unruly Corporatism: Associational Life in Twentieth-Century Egypt. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

many regimes in the Middle East and Asia have used corporatism as a supplement to pluralism to prevent the opposition from uniting[8].

While Bianchi's argument is not specifically tailored to explaining alliance making, and even though his analysis focuses on the 1980s, his model emphasizes the importance of examining regime policies as a predictor of how opposition groups work with each other. Regimes that use corporatist policies in addition to pluralism are less likely to face a unified opposition challenging state power. While Bianchi's argument is successful in explaining the lack of unified opposition in Egypt during the 1980s, Applying Bianchi's model to Pakistan shows that Musharraf used pluralist and corporatist policies, especially in the provinces to create petty leaders that are dependent on him for their continued dominance, yet faced several opposition parties allied with each other. In 2001, Musharraf announced his plan for provincial autonomy and held local elections precisely to create such patron client relationships[9]. At the central level, Musharraf tried to induce the formation of pro-government parties and caused a split in PML. The newly formed PML(q) refers to itself as the "King's Party," and has become closely allied with the regime leading to increased representation in the parliament and other benefits. While Musharraf has tried to use corporatist strategies to consolidate his rule, the opposition has still found ways to ally against him, showing that regime policies are not a sufficient explanation in explaining opposition alliances. Other factors are at work.

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8 Bianchi, Robert. 1989. Unruly Corporatism: Associational Life in Twentieth-Century Egypt. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

9 Wilder, Andrew. 2004. "Pakistan: Economic Challenges for a New Millennium." In Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Another model that emphasizes the role of the regime in guiding opposition alliance making is offered by Ellen Lust-Okar, who argues that regimes structure the opposition's willingness to engage in joint claim-making by establishing institutions that allow moderates to contests elections and participate in the polity while excluding radicals (Divided System of Contestation). When moderates (defined as groups with policy positions closer to the regime) and radicals (defined as groups with policy positions further away from the regime) are both included or both excluded in the political system (Unified System of Contestation), regimes face a unified and relatively cohesive opposition pushing for greater freedom. Under a Divided System of Contestation (SOC), moderates who have been included become unwilling to either organize protests with each other or to form alliances with radicals as they fear losing their privileged position. The institution established through the systems of contestation can therefore guide the opposition's relationship with the regime as well as among different opposition actors. She argues that Egypt's unified system of contestation under both Gamal Abdul Nasser and Anwar Sadat led to increased radicalism, protest and claim making by a unified opposition. Under Mubarak, by comparison, Egypt has had a divided system of contestation and therefore the included moderates have refrained from challenging state power jointly with each other and with the radicals for fear of losing their privileged position[10].

Lust-Okar's argument spells out the nuts and bolts of the age old strategy of "divide and rule." By including moderates and excluding radicals through the system of contestation, regimes can successfully fragment opposition groups that might otherwise

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10 Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

unite in their claim making. Yet, in the case of Egypt, Lust-Okar does not sufficiently establish that Mubarak's divided system of contestation has led to the lack of alliance making among moderates and radicals, or among included moderates.

Much of the radical activism under Sadat and Nasser was carried out by militant groups, such as Jamaa al-Islamiayya and al-Jihad. Since the beginning of the Mubarak term, these groups have become increasingly marginalized in Egyptian politics. Many of them are geographically confined to the northern regions after being active for over two decades. There is also evidence that there may have been internal splits and rupturing in the movements. In 1999 Jamaa al-Islamiyya announced a cease fire with the government, which is widely believed to have come from a faction within the movement[11]. According to Lust-Okar, in order for the divided system of contestation to work, radicals must balance moderates, such that moderates remain wary of their presence. Yet the evidence suggests that this argument is not born out in the Egyptian case with the isolation of the radical groups to north Egypt and the break up of Jamaa. Further, the isolation of radical groups in Egypt, and their relevant weakness as compared to the large and powerful (especially on the street) moderate groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood makes Egypt a case that can not fit into Lust-Okar's model – it does not qualify as a Unified System of Contestation and neither does it fulfill all the requirements for a Divided System of Contestation.

Similarly, it is difficult to classify Pakistan as either a Unified or Divided System of Contestation as per Lust-Okar's model. Various regimes have excluded militant groups, such as *Lashkar-i-Toiba,* from access to the political system. Under Musharraf,

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11 Keesings World News Archives, March 27th 1999.

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many other radical groups have been excluded. Yet it is difficult to estimate the strength of radical groups as compared to moderate groups. Radical groups may command high levels of international financial and other support, which is difficult to estimate. Comparing the relative strength of excluded radical and included moderates in Pakistan is like comparing apples and oranges making it difficult to fit Pakistan into the model.

Lust-Okar also argues that groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood have been given more political space under Mubarak and are therefore less willing to form alliances with other included moderates in making claims against the regime. Empirically, however, this is not the case: the Muslim Brotherhood has campaigned against the government and sought alliances with other groups in doing so. For example, in May 1995, the group launched a campaign against the new press law in cooperation with other parties with published newspapers. Newspapers al-Wafd, al-Ahrar and al-Arabi hit the newsstands with black frames around each page, as a symbol of their opposition to censorship. Opposition parties mutually decided to withhold publications of their newspapers on certain days. On Friday, al-Wafd, al-Shaab and al-Ahrar were not published, a week later, al-Hakika, al-Khudrm and al-Ahli did not publish. All newspapers published articles with scathing critiques of the government's policies. Even the semi-official paper al-Akhbar joined in on the sarcastic comments. These coordinated efforts evidence widespread alliance building among opposition parties and groups against the Mubarak regime against the press law. The Muslim Brotherhood has also sought other alliances with moderate groups, especially during the 2005 political opening. Moderate opposition groups in Egypt have made efforts to form alliances with each other, but while successful alliances have emerged under some circumstances, they

failed under most others. Thus, opposition groups are not "unwilling" to form alliances with each other, as Lust-Okar argues, rather, other factors must have prevented these alliances from emerging. The key to the puzzle is to understand the specific circumstances that make alliances possible, even when the system of contestation remains the same.

Finally, while Lust-Okar's argument explains how individual groups structure their claim making towards the regime, her model is less successful in explaining the processes and mechanisms behind how groups interact with each other. Why are opposition groups able to form alliances against the regime under some circumstances, but not under others, even when the system of contestation remains constant?

Structural explanations of alliances formation assume that regime-led efforts will produce consistent outcomes among opposition groups. Yet groups may face many other obstacles in forming alliances based on the circumstances within which they operate. Therefore, even when structural factors remain consistent, alliances may form in some cases and not in others. By examining the variations in alliance making and the conditions that allow for certain types of alliances to emerge, I provide a more "nuts and bolts" explanation of the phenomena.

Role of cost/ benefit analysis:

A large school of scholars see alliance formation among opposition actors primarily as an outcome of cost/benefit calculation among individuals within groups[12]. Not only must opposition actors solve the collective action problem internally, they must

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12 Several scholars argue that macro outcomes are a product of individual rationality, see Bates, Robert H. 1989. Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press., Axelrod, Robert. 1984. The Evolution of Cooperation. New York: Basic Books., Przeworski, Adam. 1991. Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

also compete and cooperate with other actors. Furthermore, this approach argues that the formation of alliances is based on incentives to cooperate, which may include greater chances of success in their goals through defeating the regime[13]. Opposition actors may not form alliances because they are engaged in "product differentiation," whereby they attempt to create their own niche by developing alternative goals and strategies. As Mark Lichbach argues, for example, smaller and newly emergent opposition groups are particularly prone to product differentiation as they attempt to outbid larger and long standing groups[14]. But, under what circumstances does the need for product differentiation override the benefits of alliance formation?

Cooperation among opposition actors may be achieved though bargaining and "tit-for-tat" strategies. Long-standing opposition groups are able to engage in formal or informal contractual agreements because they believe that their encounters with each other will continue. Further, if the opposition actors believe that the regime is weak, they have greater incentives to cooperate[15]. Therefore, opposition actors tactically seek allies with movements that will strengthen their immediate position. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly argue that social movements engage in processes of "brokerage," whereby they seek alliances with disparate groups to achieve specific objectives. They argue that movement entrepreneurs frame the claims and identities of different actors such that they appear similar[16]. They call this process "attribution of similarity," which may be either a

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13 Lichbach, Mark I. 1998. The Rebel's Dilemma. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

14 Lichbach, Mark I. 1998. The Rebel's Dilemma. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

15 Ibid.

16 McAdam, Doug, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. Dynamics of Contention. New York: Cambridge University Press.

strategic process or achieved through the revelation of similar claims through collective

action events. They argue that in order to form an alliance, groups must reconcile their

ideological differences; but what are the conditions under which "attribution of

similarity" becomes possible? Why are some groups able to engage in "attribution of

similarity," while others are unable to do so? Further, why do some groups fail to form

alliances even though they have many similar facets in their ideology and agenda? While

"finding common ground" is certainly an important prerequisite to alliance making, what

are the factors that makes groups able and willing to engage in such efforts?

As Lichbach argues, opposition actors are more likely to cooperate when they

perceive the regime to be weak and their chances of success to be high[17]. During the 2005

political opening in Egypt, for example, news coverage reported rumors about Mubarak

stepping down (because of his advancing age) and his son (who is widely known as

Mubarak's main advisor on Egypt's current opening) taking over. Some opposition

members were quoted calling the regime on "shaky ground" in news publications[18]. One

of my interviewees also explained that people in Egypt widely perceived the NDP as

internally divided between the "new guard," consisting of reform-minded officers, and

the "old guard," consisting of the older generation of officers who are anti-reformist in

their thinking[19]. 2005 saw a record number of protests from legal parties and other

organizations and groups, showing that the opposition genuinely treated the political

opening as an opportunity to show their power. Yet counter to the expectations of this

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17 Lichbach, Mark I. 1987. "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 31 (2):266-97.

18 Al-Wafd, January 30th 2005

19 Michael Slackman, personal interview August 6th 2007

theory, alliances did not emerge. By contrast, in 1995, as I examine in subsequent

chapters opposition groups formed an alliance to challenge Law Number 100, commonly

known as the Press Assassination Law, despite the Mubarak regime being firmly

entrenched. Clearly, regime strength alone is therefore not sufficient to explain

opposition alliances.

In Pakistan, the Musharraf regime's U.S. backing (both military and economic),

its wide patronage links, and its excellent showing in the 2002 elections had made him a

formidable presence at the time, yet the opposition groups engaged in widespread

alliance building against him using their combined power to exert continuous pressure on

the government. The link between the stability of the regime and opposition alliances is

therefore unclear and by itself provides an insufficient explanation for predicting

alliances

Explanations that stress regime policies and those that argue that alliances are

based on individual cost/benefit analysis are valuable in highlighting some overall

conditions under which alliance making is possible. They predict overall patterns through

time. However, examining the nuts and bolts of how each alliance came to be, or not,

reveals that additional processes may be at work. Smaller variations in the overall

patterns may reveal important insights into the processes at work and the circumstances

that affect different groups in forming alliances. As I have shown above, the existing

literature leaves many questions unanswered. I now examine explanations that stress how

groups bridge ideological and other divides in forming alliances.

<u>Bridging divides leads to alliance formation:</u>

Some scholars argue that while alliances may appear purely strategic, cooperation among actors may be a result of political learning or changing group identity that allows groups to bridge their ideological differences. The literature on political learning has pointed out that different actors can learn to work together through their exposure and experience with each other even in non-democratic settings. In Egypt, a faction of the Muslim Brotherhood has broken off to form a new movement, al-Wasat, that has an explicitly pluralist agenda. Some scholars have argued that this ideational change has been triggered by political learning caused by interactions among diverse groups of actors and amplified by feelings of shared repression[20]. Therefore, with more exposure to different ideas, opposition groups can become more open to forming alliances with each other.

Carrie Wickham, for example, argues that alliances may not be the result of ideational change per se, but that strategic cooperation may actually over time have the effect of making political actors more tolerant to pluralist politics[21]. Yet it is unclear how exposure to other groups can make actors more open and willing to work together. Was the Wasat party formed as a direct result of interactions with other groups? Were Muslim Brotherhood Islamists transformed from their previous anti-pluralist dispositions to pluralist dispositions through their strategic interactions and experiences? Or perhaps were these particular members already pluralist in their orientation, and their interactions

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20 Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2004. "The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of Egypt's Wasat Party." Comparative Politics 36 (2):205-28.

21 Ibid.

with other actors simply reaffirmed their existing beliefs? The causal explanation in Wickham's argument is not clear.

Further, as Jillian Schwedler has argued, why did these actors learn pluralism and not something else through the shared experience of repression?[22] Overall, the hypothesis that strategic, pluralist politics leads to alliance formation through ideational change is unconvincing. In the case of Egypt, as I will show in later chapters, ideologically similar and different groups have all faced difficulties in forming alliances with each other; consequently, bridging ideological divides through political learning is not a sufficient precondition to forming alliances. Other factors must be at work when ideologically similar or divergent groups try to work together through alliances.

Scholars of political development have focused on how elite networks lead to the emergence of greater understanding among various actors and can ultimately translate into joint political activity[23]. Parties emerge out of elite "cliques" or political clubs, tribal associations, nationalist movements and trade unions where leaders have increased contact with each other[24]. In her book on political parties in the Middle East, Michelle Angrist argues that provincial elites in Turkey were able to build a united political platform through their association with each other in a council established for tax administration. Over time, this council became a means for expressing grievances to the center, and local elites became politically united through their participation in the group. The council united elites across vast geographical areas, she argues, and became the

22 Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. Faith in Moderation? Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

23 Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, Angrist, Michele Penner. 2006. Party Building in the Modern Middle East. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, Laplombara, Joseph, and Myron Weiner, eds. 1966. Political Parties and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

24 Laplombara, Joseph, and Myron Weiner, eds. 1966. Political Parties and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

center of organized political activity, eventually leading to the formation of a provincial party in the country[25].

Angrist's argument is based on the presumption that increased contact among different individuals on a particular issue will lead to coordination on larger issues as the collective action problem is resolved. However, increased contact among individual elites can also lead to conflicts based on varying interests. That a unified provincial party emerged in Turkey simply because of increased contact among the elite is an unsatisfying explanation. How were the elites able to work together? While a preexisting structure such as a council can facilitate coordination, the success of alliances remains dependent on the constraints and opportunities under which elites operate.

In her work, Schwedler examines the mechanisms through which groups that are included in the political system become more willing to work with other actors by bridging ideological divides. Rejecting structural-based explanations, she argues that we can not expect different actors to be affected the same way even when faced with similar structural circumstances (such as inclusion in the political system). Through an analysis of Jordan's IAF and Yemen's Islah party, she observes that after the 1993 elections in Jordan, an opposition bloc of ideologically opposed actors emerged that included leftists, Islamists, and other smaller parties. A similar coalition did not emerge in Yemen (or emerged and fell apart), despite the Islah party's participation in pluralist politics. She explains the divergence by examining the manner in which modes of justification of acceptable practices were redrawn in the IAF and not in Islah and argues that in order to form alliances, groups need to be internally cohesive. This internal cohesion facilitates

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25 Angrist, Michele Penner. 2006. Party Building in the Modern Middle East. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

debates about whether specific alliances are justifiable to a group on its own ideological terms. She concludes that inclusion has different effects on groups depending on how the parties evolve in their internal discussion of issues surrounding involvement in the political system[26].

While internal cohesion and the bridging of ideological divides through redrawing modes of justification provides a strong explanation of how groups become more willing to participate in politics in cooperation with others, it does not explain how alliances are actually formed. In some circumstances groups with different ideological commitments are able to form an alliance, seemingly with ease, while under other circumstances they are unable despite a significant level of group cohesion and even though internal debates surrounding pluralist politics remained the same. Thus a willingness to work with other groups does not necessarily mean that an alliance will materialize. I argue that additional factors, such as the nature of constituencies and the nature of the alliance facilitate or inhibit their successful formation.

In the cases of Egypt and Pakistan, the largest Islamist parties – Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamat-e-Ulema-e-Islami in Pakistan and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt- are all considered moderate in popular discourse (as are IAF and Islah). Both parties have been included in the political system, with Jamaat having contested elections as a political party and the Muslim Brotherhood through wide representation in the parliament and fielding independent candidates in several elections. Both groups have sought alliances with other political actors. Yet, Jamaat has been much more successful in forming these alliances than the Muslim Brotherhood. It has formed alliances with other Islamists,

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26 Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. Faith in Moderation? Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

secular parties, leftist parties as well as minority groups, such as the Pakistan Christian Association. Other political movements have not responded favorably to the Muslim Brotherhood-initiated alliances. Furthermore, in the case of Pakistan, secular parties have been able to form alliances with each other, which has not occurred in Egypt. How can we explain this divergence?

In this section, I examined three kinds of explanations of alliance making: those that stress the role of regime policies in guiding opposition alliances, those that examine the role of individual and group cost/benefit calculus and those that see alliance making as a product of bridging ideological and other divides. While all of these explanations contribute to understanding some aspect of alliance making, they leave questions surrounding the actual circumstances that make each alliance possible unanswered. Regime policies and individual cost benefit analysis explanations provide predictions over time, but do not explain the actual mechanisms through which alliances are formed. Explanations that stress bridging divides show how groups may become willing to participate in politics with their ideologically divided contemporaries, but do not explain how that willingness is actually translated into alliances. By examining how several alliances came to be successful or unsuccessful, I provide an analysis of the mechanisms that make alliance making possible.

Formation of Alliances:

In the previous section I critically analyzed various bodies of literature in political science and sociology that explain the emergence and failure of opposition alliances. The available theories provide varying levels of insights into some of the variables that can facilitate or inhibit alliance making but leave us with many questions unanswered about

why groups are able to form alliances under certain circumstances and not under others. In this study, I argue that alliance making can be more fully explained in these cases by examining the nature of group constituencies and the nature of the alliance. This is a new and unique way of looking at alliances as it incorporates both the effect of preexisting conditions and the groups' agency in making alliances possible.

In this study, I define an opposition group as a political organization or movement active in opposing and/or cooperating with the regime. The group may be a legally recognized political party, an organization not officially recognized by the state, or a social movement[27]. In Pakistan, the state imposes fewer restrictions on recognizing political parties leading to the emergence of several such groups. In Egypt, the Mubarak regime imposes a high level of restriction on the formation of political parties. The process of becoming recognized as a political party is riddled by red tape with the CPPA (Committee for Political Parties Affairs) vested with absolute discretionary powers in approving or disapproving applications. Given the difficulty in setting up a party, trade unions, religious groups and student organizations have become important vehicles for expressing dissent. The Muslim Brotherhood, for example, is one of the most important voices of opposition in Egypt, although it is not legally recognized by the government. Some groups, such as Kifaya, have decided not to seek legal recognition, preferring to function informally as social movements. Through my research, I found that Kifaya's purpose in remaining a movement rather than a seeking legal recognition is to circumvent the structural limitation of working as a political party in Egypt. A political party with a declared leadership, membership roster and premises of operation is more likely to be

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27 For similar definition, see also Krain, Matthew. 2000. Repression and Accommodation in Post-revolutionary States. New York: St. Martin's Press.

systematically targeted by the regime and can not easily regroup. The purpose of these groups is to express dissent or cooperate with the regime and in doing so they have to interact with others who work within the same field.

While opposition groups may have many different goals and objectives, their identity, strategy and indeed long-term survival depends on their ability to attract and keep constituencies. A constituent is broadly defined as an individual who supports the groups by providing membership dues and/or other financial support, participating in the group's activities when called upon and/or voting for the group. Groups spend considerable time, energy and resources making themselves visible to current and potential constituents.

In countries such as Pakistan and Egypt, national voting data is often not a reliable way to assess constituencies. In Egypt, elections are often rigged in favor of the ruling regime. However, trade union and student body elections provide reliable information about the groups that dominate these strata of the population. Further, constituencies can be assessed by the kinds of individuals that attend the groups' activities, for example protests. Groups with divided constituencies show consistent support bases over time, that is, the same groups of people attend their protests and vote for them during elections. While for groups with fluid constituencies, the support basis tends to vary considerably over time and is often unclear.

In Pakistan voting data provides somewhat greater understanding of constituencies as elections tend to be relatively more free and fair. Further group constituencies can be assessed by the issues they address during their campaigns (are these more national or regional/ethnic in nature?) and attendance at protests.

While many considerations come into play when groups decide to form an alliance, protecting current constituents is a key concern as an alliance provides the partners with significant access to the group's constituency. Some groups may be in a better position to engage in such "member poaching" but alliances often do not materialize as other groups become doubtful of their partner's ability to attract their supporters.

Constituencies are divided when different opposition groups receive support from specific sections of the population. The constituencies may be located in a particular geographical area and/or class, ethnic group or race such that their boundaries are clear. Constituencies are fluid when different opposition groups have no clear basis for support. They may receive support from different sections of the population at different times. The boundaries of the constituency are therefore not defined.

An alliance is successfully formed when the actors agree on a plan of action and carry it through: for example, mobilizing constituents, informing members, signing a petition, making agreed upon public statements, and so on. Success does not depend on whether they achieve their objectives, but only on whether coordinated activities are carried out. As noted above, I identify two kinds of alliances: mobilization alliances, formed to engage in street politics by involving the constituents in a protest, sit-in, or civil disobedience; and elite alliances, formed among movement leaders or specific members to cooperate on a particular issue without engaging constituents.

Scholars examining transnational social movements, networks, and norms have provided a similar distinction among transnational networks, transnational coalitions and transnational social movements. Khagram et. al. argue that transnational networks

emerge when movements share values and discourse across borders. Transnational coalitions form when a set of actors are linked across boundaries to coordinate strategies and tactics. A transnational social movement is formed when different groups mobilize their constituencies for collective action. The third kind of linkage is difficult to establish and rarely seen. Most often, specific members are linked to others across boundaries while the movement itself stays disconnected[28]. As they explain:

> These three forms can be viewed as ascending levels of transnational collective action: often a transnational coalition will emerge after a network of communication has first developed, and a transnational movement will add the mobilization element to an existing transnational coalition[29].

They argue that groups may mobilize their constituencies once specific members have established communication linkages with each other. Yet, how do the linkages lead to successful alliance making among groups? My research takes their work further by examining instances in which groups seek to form alliances but fail.

Groups can work together on two types of concerns: issue-based, in which case the focus is on a single policy concern, for example the production quotas imposed on textile mills, or value based, in which case they focus on broader issues such as government intervention in the economy.

I explain the mechanisms and processes behind the main argument through the following hypotheses:

H1: Opposition groups form mobilization alliances when their constituencies are divided.

H2: Opposition groups are unable to form mobilization alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

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28 Sanjeev Khagram, James Riker, Kathryn Sikkink 2002. "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocay Groups Restructuring World Politics." In Restructuring World Politics : Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms ed. J. R. Sanjeev Khagram, Kathryn Sikkink Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.

29 Ibid. p. 9

While mobilization alliances are useful in showing the collective might of the opposition to the regime, they also expose group constituencies to poaching by their allied partners. Through the mobilization alliance, each group has easy access to the other group's constituency at a particular venue and time. Each group can therefore use the mobilization event to present itself as a better alternative and make itself visible to members of the other group. In countries where opposition groups have limited space to hold campaign activities and gain access to the public, a joint protest can be potentially gainfully used to engage in "member poaching." Groups may try to attract each other's constituents by using the joint mobilization event to present themselves as a better alternative with a clear line of difference with their allied partner and in this way gain access to a new constituency.

Since divided constituencies are located in a specific section of the population and are stable over time, groups are assured that their supporters are unlikely to defect and change their loyalties to other groups. Also, groups realize that their chances of gaining additional support and expanding their constituency are limited since supporters of other groups are unlikely to change their loyalties. This situation is particularly true when constituencies are divided by ethnicity or race. For example, Punjabis in Pakistan are less likely to support a Baluchi based opposition group even if they agree with its ideology or politics.

When constituencies are divided, the mobilization event is unlikely to be used as a staging ground for each group to present itself as a better alternative since the chances of gaining support from another group's constituents is very low. Instead, the alliance partners can safely pool their constituents and show greater might to the regime, call

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attention to themselves and in some cases, successfully destabilize the regime by forming an alliance. Groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based or value-based mobilization alliances.

Fluid constituencies are not consistently located in a specific section of the population and may overlap in sections with other groups. Such constituencies are therefore likely to vary considerably over time as many supporters defect to new or existing groups. Under such circumstances, each group is not only concerned about protecting its own constituency, but also expanding its support base by presenting itself as a better alternative to other groups or appealing to fence sitters. Supporters of other groups may become convinced to change their loyalties when new groups emerge or when existing groups present a new face and become increasingly visible on the political scene.

Mobilization alliances require groups to pool their constituents through a protest, sit-in or other forms of street politics. When the constituency base is not consistent, forming a mobilization alliance with another group will expose existing supporters to poaching by the other group, who will use the event to make themselves visible or present themselves as a better alternative. Mobilization alliances are therefore risky for groups who have a less clear basis for support. Mobilizing constituents alone presents a better opportunity to increase group visibility and gain additional supporters while also protecting existing supporters from poaching by other groups.

Even though groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form mobilization alliances, they may form issue-based elite alliances. This argument is presented in the hypotheses H3 and H4:

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H3: Opposition groups are able to form issue-based elite alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

H4: Opposition groups are unable to form value-based elite alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

Elite alliances are formed among leaders of different groups when they agree to work together without engaging their constituencies. An elite alliance may involve joint statements, symbolic office closings or writing an article critical of the regime. Elite alliances only involve group leaders or specific members or officers. These alliances do not put group constituents at risk by providing other groups with opportunities to poach by presenting themselves as a better alternative. Group leaders already have established careers in a particular group and are therefore not likely to change their loyalties to their allied partners. The non-engagement of constituents allows the group leaders to work together even when there are ideological and other differences among them.

Groups with fluid constituencies are able to form elite alliances as these allow them to work together without putting their constituents at risk. Specific individuals can work together without exposing their constituency base. However, an elite alliance may be difficult to contain and may lead to mobilization, especially when the nature of the concern is very sensitive. If the concern incites constituents, they may start mobilizing, thus creating opportunities for poaching by other groups. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies form successful elite alliances only when they are issue-based. The alliance must be formed focused on a specific policy of concern, for example, a law that imposes fines on newspapers that print incorrect information. Such specific and focused concerns are unlikely to draw the attention of the masses and therefore will not lead to

mobilization in the future, assuring the groups that their constituencies will not be at risk. An issue-based elite alliance therefore emerges.

Groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form value-based elite alliances as these have a broad agenda and focus, for example, freedom of speech and expression, free market economy or women's rights. Forming an elite alliance on such a broad and sensitive concern does not assure the groups that the elite alliance will not lead to mobilization in the future. Such sensitive concerns may instigate constituents to engage in collective action exposing them to poaching by the alliance partners. As I will show in the case studies, since groups with fluid constituencies want to prevent the emergence of a mobilization alliance, they are unlikely to form value-based elite alliances.

Even though groups with divided constituencies may form mobilization alliances, they may engage in elite alliances from time to time. They may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. I explain in the hypotheses H5 and H6:

H5: Opposition groups form issue-based elite alliances when their constituencies are divided.

H6: Opposition groups form value-based elite alliances when their constituencies are divided.

While mobilization alliances receive greater attention and visibility on the political landscape, elite alliances may be useful under certain circumstances. Groups may engage in elite alliances when there are logistical issues associated with organizing a mobilization event together. Mobilization alliances are also more taxing on group resources. Even if groups have the resources to mobilize together, the nature of the concern may be too technical to draw the attention of their constituents. For these

reasons, groups with divided constituencies may sometimes prefer to form elite alliances, even if they are able to form mobilization alliances.

Groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. Group leaders cooperate with each other without mobilizing their constituencies by publishing an article critical of the regime, issuing a public statement or symbolic office closing. Issue-based alliances allow groups to focus on a specific area of mutual concern without engaging their constituents. The alliances can sometimes be a useful starting point for more extensive cooperation in the future, especially when groups are unable to engage in street politics at the time because of material or other limitations.

Forming value-based elite alliances requires groups to work together on a more general and often sensitive issue. These elite alliances can often lead to mobilization alliances as the nature of the concern is likely to incite constituents. Yet, groups with divided constituencies are able to form value-based elite alliances, because they are not as concerned about engaging in a mobilization alliance in the future. Since their constituencies have been stable over time, they do not fear that other groups will use the mobilization alliance to poach their constituents. Therefore, they may also form value-based elite alliances which have the prospect of drawing in constituents and leading to mobilization in the future.

Pakistan is a clear case of divided constituencies. The country's ethnic and regional diversity and experiences with democracy and political freedom in the past have enabled the formation of a variety of political parties and organizations that command constituencies among a certain ethnic group, region or class. Frequent regime change, the personalized nature of political parties and lack of leadership and vision has prevented

national level parties from emerging. No political party can succeed in gaining significant political ground against the regime by mobilizing its constituents alone. Unlikely alliances, both mobilization and elite, have therefore become an important facet of Pakistani politics.

As I will demonstrate in the case studies, Egypt is a case of fluid constituencies. Relative cultural homogeneity has prevented the emergence of ethnic and regional based political parties. Decades of authoritarian rule accompanied by limited, state controlled political openings has enabled the formation of some opposition parties, but prevented them from commanding base constituencies. New political movements (Kifaya) and splinter groups (Wasat) have not emerged because of demands from an existing constituency, but are born out of an idea that still needs additional adherents. The Muslim Brotherhood has the highest and most stable membership base including students and professional associations. Other parties are trying to increase their support base by projecting themselves as a better alternative to the Muslim Brotherhood. Moblization alliances prevent opposition actors from solidifying their base constituency. The formation of mobilization political alliances is therefore unlikely in the Egyptian case, but groups have been able to work together through issue-based elite alliances.

Case Comparability, Method and Evidence:

This study has been conducted through a comparative analysis of Egypt and Pakistan over a 10 year period (1995-2005). While I examine empirical data primarily within this time period, I take a historical approach in the case studies to explain trends over time which are necessary to understand developments within this last decade. From 1995 – 1999 Pakistan experienced democratic rule with power being exchanged between

PPP and PML. No government was allowed to complete its term during this time as the President toppled the 1995 PPP government in 1997 and the 1999 coup removed the PML government headed by Nawaz Sharif. Egypt experienced the rule of Mubarak during the entire time period, although his policies towards the opposition changed in 2005.

Pakistan and Egypt have similarities and differences that allow for various refutable hypotheses to be constructed and tested. A rich comparative analysis is therefore possible. Both countries face high levels of social and economic disruptions. In Pakistan, rising unemployment and inflation have led to severe social unrest. Ethnic factionalism has emerged with Sindhis and Baluchis threatening the government. More recently the United States has also pressured the country to democratize. Egypt has faced rising discontent from Islamists, nationalists, liberals as well as leftists who have been vocal in critiquing the neoliberal reforms initiated under the guidance of the IMF. Mubarak was also wary of the discontent against the Sadat regime in 1978 after the signing the peace treaty with Israel. Both countries have long standing Islamist political movements that have played the role of opposition actors: Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamaat-e-Ulema-Islami in Pakistan and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Further, leftists, liberal and newer parties are also prevalent.

Both Egypt and Pakistan have experienced heavy involvement of the military in politics. In fact, in Pakistan the military has been instrumental in bringing down several popularly elected governments. In Egypt, all regimes have made extensive use of the military to maintain complete control over social and political life. In fact, one scholar

has remarked that the ultimate institution guaranteeing regime stability in Egypt is the military[30].

The regimes are also different in several ways. Pakistan has had some experiences with democracy in the past. In fact the 1999 coup displaced the democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif. However, elections in Pakistan should not be overvalued. The country has had only three short spells of democratic rule since its inception in 1947. Most elected governments have been unable to complete their terms in officer, either being dismissed by the President or overthrown in a military coup. In fact, military governments have lasted much longer than democratically elected ones. Under Musharraf, the value of elections has been further eroded as the 1999 referendum, 2002 parliamentary elections and 2005 local bodies elections were held clearly to legitimate the ruling regime and to generate elected parliaments rather than to broker a change over of power.

Similarly, in Egypt, political parties and other groups do not participate in elections to win, but to use the political opening to present a challenge to the regime through boycotts, street protests and winning a high number of parliamentary seats. Alliances can help show the might of the opposition to the regime. Not only can this collective power destabilize the regime, but as I will demonstrate, bring certain important issues to light, for example, state repression, lack of press freedom or corruption. I will show how with the 2005 political opening, different opposition parties in Egypt did try to form various alliances, but achieved limited success.

Pakistan has experienced frequent regime change. Egypt has experienced relatively fewer instances of regime change with Nasser's long regime being replaced by

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30 Zahran, Saad. 1985. Fi Usul al-Siyasa al-Misriyya (Principles of Politics in Egypt). Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabi.

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Sadat and Mubarak coming to power after Sadat's assassination. While regime change in the past may increase perceptions of regime weakness in the case of Pakistan and therefore motivate different actors to coalesce, as I have argued earlier, this factor is not theoretically or empirically decisive in predicting alliances in the cases.

Pakistan is also ethnically and linguistically diverse while Egypt is relatively much more linguistically and ethnically homogenous. Both countries have small minority populations. The prevalence of ethnic and linguistic diversity has contributed to the formation of several factionalized political parties with divided but limited constituencies in Pakistan. The Mubarak regime is also widely known to use more repression against the opposition as compared to governments in Pakistan. Event though repression was high under the Mubarak regime, the opposition did engage in risk taking behavior. Elite alliances among the Muslim Brotherhood and other groups did form to make claims against the regime. Further, groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya engaged in high levels of protest activity individually, but did not form alliances with each other. The differences in state repression are therefore not a significant confounding variable.

I conducted the research using both primary and secondary data. Financial constraints prevented me from conducting field research in the two countries, but I gathered extensive government documents, party documents and publications, magazine and newspaper coverage. I conducted 20 on the record interviews, approximately equal numbers for both countries through phone and email. The interviewees consist of scholars, policy experts, journalists, historians and party members who have extensive field experience in the subject matter. Due to the lack of face to face interaction, many of my interviewees were uncomfortable revealing sensitive information about their allies. I

therefore had limited access to their thoughts on specific alliances and how they evaluated other groups.

While these circumstances have limited the extent to which I can present an explanation of how different actors evaluated the role of constituencies in forming alliances, I present substantial data collected through party websites, press releases and internet discussion groups that explain the circumstances that facilitated or constrained alliance making. Several interviewees also referred me to newspaper and magazine articles that document events better than their recollection. Some interviewees asked that I do not reveal their name or the name of their organization. In such cases, I have followed the wishes of my sources

I used secondary studies, interviews as well as election data, when available, to assess the nature of constituencies in each country. The case studies are organized as analyses of specific instances of alliance making and the circumstances that led to their success or failure. I assessed the impact of the variables outlined above to identify common threads running through the alliances that emerged or did not emerge. I examined the groups that were able to form alliances, their constituencies, the nature of the concern, as well as several of the alternative variables outlined earlier.

Outline of the Study:

The study is thematically organized into five chapters. The case studies are explored within the frame work of the themes. Chapter II examines the nature of the party system in both countries. I explain the history of political opposition, its development over time and its current state. I provide a detailed analysis of major opposition actors in both countries. Chapter III explores the formation of elite alliances providing examples of

how particular alliances were achieved or not achieved in both countries. I present a detailed analysis of the anti-press law activism in Egypt in 1995 and the anti-Kalabagh dam activism in Pakistan in 1998. Chapter IV examines the formation of mobilization alliances. I present an analysis of several instances of failed and successful alliances in both countries examining their political and social circumstances. Chapter V concludes the study by reestablishing the link between the distribution of constituencies, the nature of the alliance and the formation of alliances and suggests areas for future research.

Chapter II: Political Parties, Organizations and Groups in Egypt and Pakistan

This research project explores why groups in Pakistan were able to engage in high levels of alliance building, regardless of regime policies and their ideological and other divides, while such alliance patterns did not emerge in Egypt. I argue that the nature of group constituencies (divided and fluid) and the nature of the alliance (mobilization or elite) has have significant impact on the formation of alliances.

Politics in both Egypt and Pakistan is characterized by many different kinds of opposition groups with varying history, ideology and strategies. Some are long standing social movements: In Egypt, Hasan al-Banna created the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, while other political groups have emerged more recently, for example, Kifaya. As regimes have tried to divide and rule the opposition, splinter groups that have emerged to cooperate with the government, and/or to form their own political identity, for example, PML(q) and PPP(s) in Pakistan. Opposition parties in both countries resemble social movements. They show low levels of internal cohesiveness and while powerful on the street, often they are unable to convert their ground support into electoral victories. Many perform functions of the government such as providing law and order and other social services. I provide a group by group analysis.

In this chapter, I provide a detailed discussion of opposition groups in both countries. I begin with a history of the political system and developments over time. I then discuss the nature of the party system, the major actors, and their constituencies. I argue that while both countries have been unable to form viable national level parties, there are important differences in the nature of the party system. As I will demonstrate,

political parties in Pakistan have highly divided constituencies. In Egypt, while several opposition groups have emerged over time, many do not have clearly defined constituencies or are trying to expand their base within other groups' supporters. Only the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd have a fairly clearly established constituencies that are divided in comparison to each other, but because other groups do not, all parties are concerned about other groups poaching their constituency.

Opposition Parties in Pakistan:

History of the political system

Pakistan's political history began with the partition from India and the formation of a homeland for Indian Muslims in 1947. Since the country's inception, questions surrounding national identity, the role of Islam in the polity and the place of the military in governance have taken center stage in the social and political climate.

Soon after independence, citizens, scholars and policy makers alike questioned the justification of the existence of the state of Pakistan as ethnic and regional factionalism broke out. In 1971, the war with India and the subsequent succession of East Pakistan into Bangladesh was a national disaster that led to an identity crisis for the nation comparable to the 1967 Arab defeat by Israel. The founding fathers of the country, such Mohammed Ali Jinnah, were well known secularists, and therefore there was no clear answer as to whether and how Pakistan was to be governed as an Islamic state. Debates about Pakistan's Islamic and national identity continue to date.

In the 1970s, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the PPP came to power and implemented socialist ideals. To address rising discontent from the Islamists, however, Bhutto chose to legitimize his rule and counter economic and social problems through a state sponsored

agenda of "moderate Islam." He tried to reconcile socialism with Islam, similar to the

rhetoric of Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt. However the state's Islamization ideology was

not successful because Bhutto did not have credentials as an Islamic scholar; perhaps

more importantly, as one scholar argues, Islamization did not trump the social and

economic problems that plagued the country[1]. Subsequent civilian governments have

paid lip service to Islam, seeking to use religiosity selectively for personal gain. In 1991,

for example, the Sharif government introduced the Sharia Bill to placate the growing

animosity from Islamist allies. While the bill aimed to Islamize several social and

political aspects of the polity, as Mumtaz Ahmed describes:

> Given the strength of the Islamic parties and their demand for a Shariah bill, Sharif
> introduced his own Shariah bill, which was a much more moderate and vague version of
> the original. It is a package of legislative and administrative measures to Islamize
> education, the mass media, economy, bureaucracy, and the legal system. A miscellany of
> pious hopes and noble intentions, the Shariah bill can be considered, at best, a symbolic
> gesture of plausible Islamic commitment by the Sharif government[2].

In 1977 General Zia came to power by overthrowing the Bhutto government in a

military coup. Zia's legacy is best remembered through his initiation of widespread

Islamization in the country. In order to counter political and social unrest, Zia Islamized

the country under the auspices of Pakistan's oldest Islamist movement Jamaat-e-Islami.

While Jamaat became the "Islamic pillar" for the Zia regime, the alliance between the

two was short lived. Jamaat, along with other Islamist parties continually pushed the

regime for elections and agitated against Zia's antidemocratic policies. Even under Zia,

there was no agreement on the role of Islam in Pakistan's polity.

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[1] Nasr, S.V.R. 1997. "Islamic opposition in the political process: lessons from Pakistan
" In *Political Islam: revolution, radicalism or reform?*, ed. J. Esposito. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press.

[2] Ahmad, Mumtaz. 1991b. "The Politics of War: Islamic Fundamentalisms in Pakistan." In *Islamic Fundamentalisms and the Gulf Crisis*, ed. J. Piscatori. Chicago: American Academy of Arts and Sciences. p. 108

Pakistan's system of government is often described as a "troika" among the President, the Prime Minister and the Army[3]. There is wide agreement among observers that the single most powerful institution in Pakistan is the military. Pakistan's strategic geographical location made the country an attractive partner to the United States during the cold war. Pakistan received large amounts of military aid from the United States, thus greatly increasing the strength of the military. The military has continued to have high levels of influence on both foreign policy and domestic affairs. Civilian governments have been fully aware that their durability depends on keeping the generals satisfied. Even when civilian governments have not been displaced directly though a military coup, the President (under the auspices of the military) has dissolved the parliament and called for fresh elections (for example in 1993, 1995 and 1997).

Pakistan has had three spells of democratic rule: the first in 1947-1958; the second in 1971-1977; and the third in 1988-1999. Thus, in Pakistan's 57 years of history, democratically elected political parties have been in power for only 27 years. The remaining 30 years have either been of military rule, or quasi-democratic dispensation, allowing very limited space to political parties. Even though the 17th amendment to the constitution provides for the formation of political parties, other amendments, such as Revival of Constitutional Order 1985, Legal Framework Order (LFO) 2002, Conduct of General Elections Order 2002, have restricted the political space for parties.

Since the 1980s, two parties have dominated politics in Pakistan – the PPP, formed by the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the PML, which had originally led the

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[3] Rizvi, Hasan Askari. 1998. "Civil-Military Relations in Contemporary Pakistan." *Survival* 40 (2):96-113, Rizvi, Hasan Askari. 1984. "The Paradox of Military Rule in Pakistan." *Asian Survey* 24 (5):534-55, Kukreja, Veena. 2003. *Contemporary Pakistan: Political Processes, Conflicts and Crises*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

movement for Pakistan's succession from India. Both the parties have refrained from forwarding a religious agenda that pits them against Islamist parties. Rather, they have provided Islamists with political space and used them to legitimize their rule. Under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, PML has maintained a close relationship with the Islamists. PPP, under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter Benazir Bhutto has had greater problems with Islamist owing to the Party's leftist history. However, given the country's enormous ethnic and regional disintegration problems, governments have preferred not to take a confrontational stance with the Islamists.

In 1990, the President dismissed the PPP government led by Benazir Bhutto on grounds of corruption. In the elections that followed, an alliance among Islamists and the right-wing PML won the majority of the seats. Nawaz Sharif, a businessman from Punjab became the new Prime Minister of the country. After coming to power, Sharif continued appeasing the Islamists by introducing the Shariah bill. At the same time, he embarked on a program of liberalization that would entail close cooperation with the west, Japan, and various international institutions. An economic crisis soon engulfed the country and serious social turbulence, crime and lawlessness prevailed. To add to the insecurities, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International collapsed revealing a corruption scandal involving high ranking officers in the military, the President as well as Nawaz Sharif. Once again the President dissolved the government in 1993 and new elections were held, but no party achieved a clear majority. The PPP formed a coalition with the ethnically based Mohajir Quomi Movement (MQM) and gained control over the government. The PPP- MQM alliance proved to be short lived as rising violence in Karachi and other economic problems forced the President to dissolve the government once again. In the

1997 elections, Nawaz Sharif and the PML came back to power. His government was dismissed in October 1999 in a military coup under General Musharraf.

The military stated its goal as bringing order and stability back to the nation, indicating that they had no intentions of staying in power long-term. Several opposition parties as well as the public welcomed the coup as they considered the imposition of martial law a welcome relief from corruption and general social and political disorder. However, subsequent electoral engineering and manipulation of the opposition convinced several observers that Musharraf was going to be a part of the political system for some time to come[4]. Upon coming to power, Musharraf approved the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) which allowed him to pass legislation overriding all existing laws, including the constitution. These Presidential legislations can not be challenged in the courts. He also allied himself with the United States "war on terror," which proved to be a useful step in preventing international scrutiny of his undemocratic strategies. In 2002, he initiated a national referendum where the population was asked to vote "yes" or "no" on allowing him to continue in office. The regime reported wide turnout and over 97% of the population voting "yes." International elections monitoring agencies and other observers, however, widely reported that the numbers had been fabricated and that the polling stations remained empty all day[5]. All opposition parties, with the exception of the pro-government PML(q) boycotted the referendum. Despite strong protests from opposition parties, Musharraf passed the Legal Framework Order (LFO) in 2002 which allowed him

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[4] Wilder, Andrew. 2004. "Pakistan: Economic Challenges for a New Millennium." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

[5] "Pakistan National and Provincial Assembly Elections, 10 October 2002 : The Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group."2006. London: The Commonwealth Observer Group.

to continue in office for another 5 years. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto were both convicted of corruption charges and exiled from the country. Even though both parties have elected new leaders, the PPP and the PML continue to be under their exiled leaders' guidance.

Political Parties in Pakistan

Pakistan's political parties are highly fragmented owing to their regional and clan-based nature and to the lack of internal democracy and cohesion within groups. Pakistan's erratic experience with democracy has often been linked to the lack of viable alternatives to military rule[6]. Civilian governments have not been able to establish effective control over the entire country and have been prone to ethnic and regional rebellion. As Ahmed Nazeer notes:

> [Thus] political parties have never had the chance to learn the art of governance by staying in office long enough. Nor could the opposition parties play their due role in sustained democratic process. Hence political parties in Pakistan largely operated while out of power as an oppositional force in an anti-system framework[7].

Pakistan's relatively low levels of restriction on the formation of political parties has led to the emergence of several parties, but most are regional, ethnically based, or class based. Many have never tried to appeal to a broader constituency, limiting themselves to their ethnic or clan base, others have tried to appeal to a national level constituency, but failed. Even Islamist parties have been limited in their electoral success unless they have formed clan or regional bases[8]. The "localization" of politics in Pakistan has proven to be

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[6] Afzal, Rafique M. 1998. *Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Malik, Iftikhar. 1997. *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*. Oxford: McMillan Press Ltd.

[7] Nazeer, Ahmed. 2004. *Political Parties in Pakistan: A Long Way Ahead*. Islamabad: Network Publications. p. 36

[8] Jalal, Ayesha. 1995. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. Edited by B. e. al. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

detrimental to the development of national based all inclusive political formations. The 2002 elections witnessed campaigning that was centered primarily on regional and clan based issues and not national concerns. Nazeer argues in relation to the 2002 election, "Local patronage has always been an important determinant in voting, but broader issues of public policy too have some relevance, even though these have been totally taken over by the former"[9].

Many parties are centered around a charismatic leader and lack internal democracy. For example, the Tehrik-e-Insaaf party was formed based mostly on the personal following of Imran Khan, the former captain of the Pakistani cricket team. The Mojahir Qumi Movement (MQM) has been formed based on the cult-like following of its leader, Altaf Hussain. Disagreements about group goals and objectives therefore often result in factionalism and expulsions. Most political parties have seen several break-off groups form over the years as a result of these internal divisions. These groups are identified by a abbreviation at the end of the party name, for example, PPP(s) referring to the Sherpao group of the PPP, and PML(q) referring to the *Quaid-e-Azam* group of the PML. According to the statistics revealed by the Election Commission of Pakistan, all major parties have more than one faction. As many as six factions of the PML contested the 2002 election[10].

In 2002 the Musharraf government passed the Political Parties Order (PPO) that made it mandatory for parties to seek formal registration with the Election Commission. 129

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[9] Nazeer, Ahmed. 2004. *Political Parties in Pakistan: A Long Way Ahead*. Islamabad: Network Publications. p. 28

[10] Detailed analysis as well as statistics are available at the Pakistan's Election Commission's website www.ecp.gov/pk

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parties submitted their papers, of which 71 qualified as full-fledged parties, including 4 alliances. The PPO also stipulated that parties must conduct internal elections and not seek international support or affiliation[11]. While the Musharraf government has portrayed the PPO as an effort to reform the fragmented party system, many political parties see it instead as a concerted effort to control opposition to his regime. Several parties did hold internal elections, but the leaders ran unopposed. The Awami National Party and some other religious parties refused to hold elections as they said their leaders were already democratically elected.

Musharraf has offered political parties many incentives in exchange for their loyalty to his regime. Parties that supported him did well in the elections, their leaders had their corruption charges dropped and they did not face constant harassment from the regime. These incentives created tensions within parties and some factions favored cooperating with the regime while others prefer to continue their opposition. The disagreements resulted in break up of existing parties. For example, PML broke up into PML(n) – Nawaz Sharif group and PML(q) – *Quaid-e-Azam* group. PML(q) cooperated with the Musharraf regime had its leaders received several benefits in exchange. PML(q) was the only party to do well in the 2002 parliamentary election and many of its leaders had their corruption charges dropped.

The Two Party System Between PML and PPP: Pakistan's politics is officially dominated by two parties – the PML and the PPP. The PML has historical roots in the Indian freedom struggle and the demands for the Pakistani state. PML was the only party

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[11] www.ecp.gov/pk

equipped enough to lead Pakistan after independence. Its leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, is known as *Quaid-e-Azam,* the founding father of the country. However, Jinnah's untimely death just seven years after independence put both the party and the newly formed country in a leadership crisis. Internal divisions emerged around a number of important issues, including the national language, ethnicity, the role of Islam, and the provisions of the new constitution. Many small dissenting factions emerged, and the new leadership responded by expelling these groups. Many then formed their own political parties and raised a creditable challenge to the PML in the 1954 elections through an alliance known as the "United Front." The fragmentation of the party system in Pakistan had already begun.

In 1958, Ayub Khan led a military coup that banned all political parties. A young army officer under his command led the resistance movement to his regime. Zulfirak Ali Bhutto defected from the Ayub Khan government and formed the People's Party of Pakistan. Bhutto was Sindi by descent and highly influenced by anti-imperialist ideals which he wrote about in his book, *The Myth of Independence*[12]. He founded the PPP on socialist principles reconciled with Islamism. He outlined his thoughts in the form of four ideals that became the foundation of the PPP: Islam is our faith, Democracy is out politics, Socialism is our economy, and finally, All power to the people. He declared the elimination of feudalism as the main goal and presented the party's motto as "*roti, kapra aur makan*," literally, bread, clothing and shelter[13]. In 1971, the PPP formed the government with Bhutto as the prime minister. He nationalized many banks and

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[12] Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali. 1969. *The Myth of Independence*. Lahore: Oxford Univ. Press.

[13] www.ppp.org/pk

educational institutions and turned Pakistan's attention to the Middle East, especially the Gulf states, where oil rents had become a significant source of income for the country.

In 1977, Bhutto was ousted and executed in a military coup led by General Zia, who then initiated a large scale Islamization program in the country. The PPP's leadership was transferred to Zulfikar Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto. After Zia's death, two main rival factions stood to control the politics of the country – the PPP under Benazir Bhutto and PML and its Islamist allies under Nawaz Sharif. In many ways Sharif's group represented the continuation of the Zia order; he was an officer under Zia and was openly sympathetic to the Islamists. PPP had earned the hostility of the Islamists because of Zulfikar Bhutto's socialism and the fact that the party was now headed by a woman. PML formed an official alliance with the Islamists under the banner, Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA).

In the elections that followed, no party won a clear majority, although PPP received the highest number of votes. The PPP formed an unlikely alliance with the ethnically based MQM party and gained enough seats to form the government. Benazir Bhutto became the first woman to lead the country. However, the fragmented nature of Pakistan's party system had become clear: no party commanded a national-level constituency, and in order to form the government or a viable opposition, unlikely alliances would have to be forged. PPP's alliance with MQM proved to be unstable from the very beginning. In order to pressure the government to agree to its demands, MQM engaged in guerilla warfare in the port city of Karachi, leading to widespread lawlessness and bringing businesses to a virtual standstill. The resulting mayhem led the President to dismiss the government. The next decade saw a seesaw of power between the PML and

the PPP, each trying to oust the other from power. An intense rivalry was underway between the two parties and their leaders.

In 1992, Benazir Bhutto revealed the new face of the PPP: its new party manifesto would stress privatization and decentralization rather than socialist principles[14]. The turn away from socialism was largely the result of the abysmal state of the economy and its growing debt. Even though the PPP is no longer considered an ideologically leftist political party, the legacy of the past remains a strong determinant of its support base until today.

While the PML and the PPP come closest to the level of national parties in Pakistan, neither has been able to establish a constituency beyond certain specific regions or class. The PML receives most of its support from the Punjab province. While the PML has typically been able to secure at least some seats in other provinces also, studies of Pakistani electoral politics and several observers have noted that PML has its strongest support base among upper classes, especially landlords, feudal lords and business leaders[15]. The historical legacy of PPP being a leftist party and PML being right-wing may have contributed to the development of this constituency. Studies have shown that the PML's support base has remained stable over several elections[16].

The PPP's support comes from labor and peasants, particularly in the rural sectors of the Sind province, and the party is widely considered the "party of the poor." Under Benazir Bhutto, even though the government assured the business industry that leftist

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[14] Zaman, Fakhar. "Brief History 1967 - 2000." www.ppp.co.pk.

[15] Wilder, Andrew. 1999. *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting in the Punjab*. Karachi: Oxford Univ. Press., Ayesha Jalal, personal interview May 21st 2007, Hussain Haqqani, personal interview June 7th 2007

[16] Ibid.

policies will not be followed, the industrial sector still remained cautious. The government and businesses clashed on many issues, including increased taxes. The two also clashed on the issue of the deteriorating rule of law in Karachi, Pakistan's important port city and commercial center. With the election of Nawaz Sharif and the IDA government in 1990s, the business community found a new partner. Sharif was a former industrialist himself and this gave a major boost to the morale of the business community. He rejected socialist and statist rhetoric and quickly initiated liberalization, deregulation and privatization policies. In 1993 Benazir came back to power, but the business sector had lost faith in her government because of rampant inflation, economic stagnation, and poor economic management. They began to openly challenge the Bhutto government at every turn.

Regionally, PPP has not been able to expand its base beyond the Sind province. Both Zulfikar Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto are from Sind and therefore have a strong electoral support base among the Sindi community. Overtime, however, due to economic growth and urbanization, more people from rural sectors are moving to the cities and being catapulted into the middle class. The business community has also become politically involved and powerful. Such demographic changes have meant shrinking electoral support for the PPP, although the basis for its constituency has remained the same[17]. The extent of the division of constituencies among PPP and PML became extremely clear in Pakistan's last democratic election, held in 1997. PML won this election in a landslide as Benazir Bhutto was dealing with serious corruption allegations that put the party into disarray. According to electoral analysis conducted by a Karachi-based news magazine,

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[17] ———. 2004. "Pakistan: Economic Challenges for a New Millennium." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

PML did not win because the party received PPP's share of the votes, rather, PPP supporters largely stayed away from the polls. The election turnout was a historical low of 35%. There was a wide difference between the votes lost by the PPP and the votes gained by PML in every province. Overall PPP received 16% less votes than the 1993 elections while PML showed a gain of 6%[18]. While PML did gain some additional vote, the party won the elections because of PPP poor performance. PPP supporters simply did not vote, while PML constituents came to the polling stations in large numbers. The data confirms that the PPP and the PML have highly divided constituencies.

Overall, even though the PML and the PPP are national-level parties and the only two that have formed the government in the past, their bases of support remain largely regional and class based. The PPP receives support in the Sind province and mostly in the rural sections and among labor classes while the PML receives support from the business community and the middle class, mostly in the Punjab province. Overtime the two parties have developed an intense political rivalry often leading to violence among supporters.

Islamist Parties: Pakistan has several long-standing Islamist parties, many of whom were formed pre independence. Many observers consider Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamaat-e-ulema-e-Islami (JUI) and Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) the most influential of the Islamist parties in the political scene. Unlike countries such as Algeria and Egypt, where Islamists have done well in electoral politics and formed large opposition blocs, Islamists in Pakistan have not been able to translate street strength into electoral victories, leading

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[18] Khan, Amer Ahmed. 1997a. "The Anatomy of a Landslide." *The Herald*, Khan, Amer Ahmed. 1997b. "The Great Debacle." *The Herald*, March 1997.

some observers to conclude that Islamists do not have a strong presence in Pakistan[19]. This is not the case. voting patterns in Pakistan reveal that Islamist parties are strongly disadvantaged in the country's two party system. The electorate is more likely to vote for the party that can win, rather than the party they would prefer in power[20]. Islamists have therefore wavered between aligning themselves with the PML and contesting elections as their own political force.

There is really no one way to describe Islamists in Pakistan. Political Islam takes many forms in the country, including its majority Sunni form and the minority Shi'i form. Within the Sunnis, Islamists have various sectarian divisions among the Deobandis, Wahhabis and Ahl al-Hadith groups. Sectarianism and regionalism is a common feature of political Islam in Pakistan[21]. Some of the oldest and most influential Islamist parties – JI, JUI and JUP-gained political ground during the Zulfikar Bhutto years, when they were the main pillars of resistance against his leftist regime. In the 1977 elections under Bhutto, the Islamists joined PML in contesting Bhutto under the banner "Pakistan National Alliance" (PNA). PNA's demands represented many different interests – both secular and Islamist[22]. The supreme guide of the JI, the highly influential Islamic scholar Maulana Mawdudi, provided the leadership of the PNA. But the PNA could never come to power in Pakistan, because the government was taken over by General Zia soon after the election results were announced.

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[19] Malik, Muhammad Asif. 2001. *Ideology And Dynamics of Politics in Pakistan*. Lahore: Publishers Emporium.

[20] Wilder, Andrew. 2004. "Pakistan: Economic Challenges for a New Millennium." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

[21] See Nasr, S.V.R. 1994. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

[22] Esposito, John. 1998. *Islam and Politics*. 4th Ed. ed. Syracuse Syracuse Univ. Press.

Under Zia, JI became one of the most influential Islamist parties in Pakistan enjoying the most cooperative relations with the government in its history. Zia's Islamization program meant giving JI members important positions in the government and co-opting them as a pillar of support for the military regime. However, as Zia's policies became more and more personalistic and elections were continually postponed, JI took on an oppositional stance to the regime and joined the resistance movement against him. With the fall of Zia, JI was once again in an alliance with the PML. JI and PML together were now called the "Islamic Democratic Alliance" (IDA), or in Urdu, *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad*. The IDA won the elections in 1990 bringing Nawaz Sharif to power. JI members became influential particularly in matters of foreign policy. They declared their agenda as the liberation of Kashmir and increased religiosity in Pakistan.

After the Sharif government fell and Pakistan found itself in the midst of another election in 1993, JI experienced a significant change in organizational structure, goals and objectives. It decided to break its cooperation with the Sharif regime and contest the elections in partnership with other Islamists. This was a significant change for JI, as the group was well aware that it did not command high levels of electoral strength and therefore could not come to power without an allied partner. Contesting elections also meant significant internal changes. A new group by the name "Pakistan Islamic Front" was set up as the political wing. JI also relaxed its membership criteria to include more members beyond the community of devout Muslims to constituents who believed in Islamism in principle. The inclusion of more members was necessary to build a constituency beyond the devout. The wider socio political base, however, did not mean that JI relaxed its hard line agenda. Their 1993 campaign was full of anti-American

slogans and was fiercely religious. The changes in the organizational structure led to internal dissent in the group. JI's former leader, Mian Tufail Muhammed disagreed with the new policies and felt that JI had becomes an opportunist movement and therefore not true to its original goals as envisioned by its founder Maulana Mawdudi.

JI declared its main reasons for leaving the alliance with PML as dissatisfaction with Sharif's Islamization policies, particularly the Shariah Bill and that the Sharif government had not given JI members the portfolios they deserve[23]. However, according to one scholar, JI had profited tremendously from its IDA membership. They had considerable freedom as the voice of Islamism in the country and also had high levels of influence on policies[24]. Why did JI decide to leave IDA and contests elections on its own? Some scholars argue that the main impetus came from the change in leadership from Main Tufail to Qazi Hussain Ahmed. Ahmed has been an activist in the student wing of JI and therefore had his own agenda for the group. He felt strongly about mobilizing international support for Afghanistan. He had also become morally committed to Islamist resistance in Palestine and Kashmir[25]. But how did Ahmed succeed in changing JI as an organization and restructuring its goals and objectives?

According to a current JI member, Ahmed's success in reorienting Jamaat came from the rising tide of anti-American sentiment in Pakistan with the Gulf war. The growing feelings of nationalism and religious fervor among the population needed an outlet, and Qazi Hussain saw this as an opportunity for JI to carve out its own

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[23] Personal interview with current JI member, June 9th 2007

[24] Ahmad, Mumtaz. 1991a. *Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tabligh Jamaat*. Edited by M. Marty and S. Appleby. Vol. v.1. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

[25] Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2002. *Revolution to Revolution: Jama'at-e-Islami in the Politics of Pakistan*. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur.

independent constituency[26]. Due to its close association with PML, JI did not have a distinct and independent constituency and its own program of action in achieving its goals. The prospects of establishing its own political space and turning divided Islamists into their own force convinced JI members to contest the 1993 elections alone. As Moten notes:

> Jamaat had tried to bring about the desired transformation of the society by adopting the politics of alliance but it had failed. It made an alliance with the Muslim League, and went from door to door asking for votes on their behalf. The Jamaa leaders were promised an Islamic system would be promulgated in the country, that Kashmir would be freed, and that justice provided to the people. The Muslim League betrayed the trust and honoured none of these promises. The alliance politics, instead of helping the Jamaat realize its goals, created confusion in the minds of the people about the message and the struggle of the organization. The Jamaat therefore decided to shun the politics of alliance and distanced itself from the Muslim league[27].

The 1993 election campaign was mostly led by JI's student wing. While the rallies and demonstrations saw large turnouts, these did not result in an electoral victory for JI: PIF only received 3 national assembly seats. Yet, the change in JI's organizational structure and objectives had already solidified. Despite the electoral loss, JI members reelected Qazi Hussain Ahmed as their leader. In his subsequent writings and speeches, Qazi Hussain reaffirmed that in order to remain in politics, JI must be a mass based movement. However, he refused to form electoral alliances with those whose objectives and characters did not meet even the minimum requirements of JI, arguing that this would both create confusion among the public and leave the JI's objectives unrealized[28].

Elections were held again in 1997. JI decided to boycott these elections to work on expanding its constituency. In 1999 Musharraf came to power in a coup. By now, JI

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[26] Personal interview with current JI member, June 9th 2007

[27] Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2002. *Revolution to Revolution: Jama'at-e-Islami in the Politics of Pakistan.* Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur. p. 125

[28] Ahmad, Qazi Hussain. 1996. "Ek hi rastha: jad-o-jahad " *Tajumanul Quran* 122 (12).

had taken on the leadership role in uniting all Islamist parties in the country. JI led the initiative that formed Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal (MMA), an alliance of 5 Islamist parties. The main members of MMA are JI and JUI. Other members are small "one man" parties that have little political clout. Some scholars speculate that MMA was formed with the assistance of the military to weaken PPP and PML. As Andrew Wilder notes "The establishment strategy in Pakistan has always been to use the religious parties against the leftist and ethnic parties who were viewed to be the major threat"[29]. Whatever the circumstances surrounding MMA's formation, the alliance has not been sustained on the basis of mutually shared ideals. In fact, there are deep ideological differences between JI's Qazi Ahmed and JUI's Fazlur Rahman[30].

JUI's constituency lies among the deeply conservative elements of Pakistani society. JUI's pro-Taliban rhetoric has alienated the group from several sections of the society, while it has attracted others. By comparison, JI's base is much more mainstream[31]. The distinct nature of their constituencies has enabled these groups to work together to seek more from the Musharraf government. The results of the 2002 elections, for example, astonished many observers. MMA did exceedingly well, particularly in the NWFP, where they proceeded to form the provincial government. The Islamists have together been able to form a regional base in the country, separate from the PML. This has been their most significant win since 1970. Some scholars explain MMA's victory as

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[29] Wilder, Andrew. 2004. "Pakistan: Economic Challenges for a New Millennium." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. p. 113

[30] Ayesha Jala, personal interview April 21st 2007

[31] Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2002. *Revolution to Revolution: Jama'at-e-Islami in the Politics of Pakistan*. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur, Wilder, Andrew. 2002. "Elections 2002: Legitimizing the Status Quo." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham: Lexington Books.

largely a result of the weakness of PPP and PML and support from the military[32]. One scholar has argued that the votes from the NWFP region (geographically close to Afghanistan and ethnically Pakhtun) may be an indication of rising Pakhtun nationalism, especially against the US invasion of Afghanistan[33]. Once again JI has capitalized on anti-American sentiment to seek its own political constituency, only this time they have been successful in forming a regional base. The military may have assisted the MMA in winning, but the military's gamble with MMA had reached further than they had hoped. After forming a base in NWFP, MMA challenged the Musharraf government's policies on the war, its treatment of *madrasas*, and issues concerning Kashmir and relations with India.

Pakistan's most influential Islamist party – JI -broke its profitable alliance with the PML to seek its own political constituency. Over the years, it has taken the lead role in uniting diverse Islamist parties and has succeeded in forming a regional base in NWFP, separate from PML and PPP.

Regional and Ethnic Parties:

> The foundation of Pakistan was based on Islam. Religion was a great unifying factor for the Muslims in the pre-independence era and resulted in the two-nation theory and the birth of Pakistan. The ethnic factor gained importance after the creation of Pakistan. Though Islam was the foundation, ethnicity became the driving force in politics[34].

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[32] Maya Chadda, personal interview May 17th 2007

[33] Wilder, Andrew. 2002. "Elections 2002: Legitimizing the Status Quo." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham: Lexington Books.

[34] Kukreja, Veena. 2003. *Contemporary Pakistan: Political Processes, Conflicts and Crises*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Pakistan is divided into four regions or provinces – Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. Each region has a unique ethnic composition. Some regions are ethnically homogeneous, while others are divided into sub-regional groupings. Not only are the regions ethnically separated, they also have linguistic divisions. The major industrialized cities, especially in the more advanced provinces of Sind and Punjab, are ethnically diverse with increased migrations from other less-developed provinces; outside the cities, however, regional divisions are very obvious. Nearly all the regions are represented by a dominant party, either a group formed on the basis of ethnicity, or one formed on a national basis, but unable to expand its constituency beyond a particular region.

The dominance of regionalism over religious nationalism in Pakistan became clear after the succession of East Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh. East Pakistan suffered significant economic disadvantaged as compared to West Pakistan. Further, West Pakistani elites were determined to squash Bengali identity and impose a Pakistani identity. Bengalis were berated as "not true Muslims" because of their cultural affinity with West Bengali culture in India. Urdu was imposed as the national language, which was only spoken by 3.7% of the population at the time. Bengalis, extremely proud of their language and heritage, strongly protested this measure. Bengalis protested other cultural assimilation measures, such as banning of Bengali poetry on the radio, were they saw as the cultural hegemony of West Pakistan.

In 1957, East Bengal came to be represented by the Awami League. Awami League became the champion of Bengali nationalism and did very well in the elections in 1971. Soon after the elections, however, troops from West Pakistan launched an offensive against Bangladeshi separatism that led to a large-scale civil war, ultimately ending in

Indian intervention and the formation of Bangladesh. This outcome was a national disaster for Pakistan. Not only did the *reason d'etre* for the existence of the state of Pakistan come into question, but Mohajirs, Sindis and Baluchis also began asserting their own nationalist aspirations. In this section, I discuss the ethnic composition of each of the regions in Pakistan and explain their political representation. I argue that ethnic diversity in Pakistan has led to the creation of political parties that command regional and/ or ethnically based constituencies.

Punjab: Punjab is one of the most prosperous regions of Pakistan, and Punjabis are well represented in the civil service and industry. Punjabis have become the dominant ethnic group in Pakistan because they inherited power from the British. The Pakistani army is also heavily Punjabi in ethnic composition. Often the region of Punjab is perceived as Pakistan alone as Punjabis are known to have the highest degree of loyalty to the nation[35]. The Punjabis' favored status has often brought them into conflict with other groups. Punjab is not represented by an ethnic party as such, but the PML has a very strong base in the region and has repeatedly done well in the provincial elections. Even though PML is considered a national-level party, the regional nature of its constituency is revealed by its strong performance in Punjab and weak performance in other provinces.

Sind: Sind consists of two main ethnic groups – the Sindis, who are considered the natives of the region, and the Mujahirs, Urdu-speaking Indian Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after its creation. The Mujahirs consider themselves to be a distinct nationality and are linguistically divided from the Sindis and other groups. Mujahirs see themselves

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[35] Ahmed, Feroz. 1999. *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

as disadvantaged in relation to the Sindis and have therefore created their own political party, *Muhajir Quomi Movement* (MQM) or Muhajir Nationalist Party.

MQM was formed in 1984 under the leadership of Altaf Hussain. The goal of the MQM has been the protection and advancement of the Mujahir community in Pakistan. MQM has high levels of support, especially in the urban centers of Karachi and Hyderabad where the immigrant ghettos have been located. Overtime, MQM has been able to gain seats in the Sind provincial assembly. Despite its representation in the parliament, MQM became an urban terrorist group, transforming Karachi and Hyderabad into the most dangerous cities in the country. MQM has a sizable number of hardcore criminals in its ranks, who with support from party leaders terrorized and murdered those that did not make their contribution to the party fund as well as others who stood in their way – even journalists and newspaper offices.

In the 1988 elections, the PPP tried to form an alliance with the MQM. MQM presented the party with 25 demands that reflected its aims and aspirations, including: a separate identity for the Mojahirs by a separate nationality, arms licenses to Mojahirs, provision of housing plots to residents of Sind, and an end to inter-provincial migration and the allotment of local Sindi plots to non locals[36]. Desperate for additional support, Benazir Bhutto accepted these demands, but the alliance broke in 1989; in 1990, MQM formed an alliance with PML. MQM continued its violence despite the fact that it received high-level government portfolios.

In 1992, the Nawaz Sharif government launched "operation cleanup" to counter the MQM threat. Many MQM leaders went underground to avoid arrests. In 1994, MQM

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[36] ———. 1995. "PPP-MQM: Negotiating With Myths." *Dawn* (Jan 3rd 1995).

came up with another set of demands as preconditions to forming an alliance with PPP or PML. The nature of the demands made it difficult for both parties to accept the alliance. Most of the demands were highly anti-Sindi. They demanded that the local governor and Chief Minister be rotated between Sindis and Mohajirs – which was a complete disregard of majority rule. They also demanded an increase in urban quotas by showing exaggerated figures of increase in the urban populations. They also asked that Karachi be separated from Sind[37]. Yet despite its ideological radicalism, MQM remains a popular alliance partner because of its electoral dominance in Urban Sind. Overtime, the group has realized that its limited ethnic constituency alone would never be enough to gain influence on national politics. Therefore, MQM became more open to forming alliances, even with PPP, a party widely supported by the Sindi ethnic group.

Similar to the Punjabis, the Sindis are not represented by a separate ethnic party. The PPP, even though formed on national principles, is the party of choice among Sindis. The Sindi roots of its founding family, the Bhuttos, and the Party's favors to the Sindi community in the past, have contributed to the emergence of a strong ethnic constituency for the PPP. The PPP has had limited success in gaining constituents outside Sind.

NWFP: The geographical remoteness of the North West Frontier Province and its proximity to Afghanistan have given the region its own unique political environment. The dominant ethnic group occupying the region is the Pushtun[38]. The Pashtuns have ethnic similarities with Afghanis, who many Pashtuns regard as their kin. The region has

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[37] Ibid.

[38] The Pushtun ethnicity is often also referred to as Pukhtun.

its own rich cultural history. The Pashtuns resisted the British rule through the *Khudai Khidmadgar Movement* (Red Shirts) and agreed to be a part of Pakistan without giving up provincial autonomy. Their history of the Pushtun resistance to the British gave the group their own sense of history and identity.

The Pashtuns are the second most dominant group in the Pakistani army and civil service. Despite the remoteness of the NWFP, the Pashtuns have become well integrated in the economy of the country. However, they have had nationalist aspirations in the past. After the formation of Bangladesh, the Pashtuns intensified their demands for succession and for the formation of Pashtunistan though the Awami National Party (ANP). However, several factors have put a damper on these demands. Many Pashtun elites have investments in Sind and Punjab and therefore have not supported independence from Pakistan. The independence movement also does not find support among the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie because many of them are agents or contactors in other parts of the country. Many have attended universities in Sind and Punjab and therefore do not bear any particular allegiance to Pashto as opposed to Bengalis or Sindis. ANP therefore has limited appeal among Pashtuns on the national question and has lost the majority of Pashtun support[39]. ANP has now become a pressure group with its politics largely revolving around bargaining for portfolios, government permits for its leaders to set up factories. Until 1998, ANPs major issues of mobilization were: opposition to the Kalabagh dam project and demands to change the name of the province to Pukhtunkhwa.

The 2002 election revealed that a new party has formed a strong political constituency in the NWFP – the MMA. MMA received wide support in the region and

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[39] Ahmed, Feroz. 1973b. "Pushtoonistan and the Pushtoon National Question." *Pakistan Forum* III (12):8-19.

now runs the provincial government. The success of the MMA in NWFP can be seen as the result of decline in support for ANP, the relative weakness of PML and PPP in the region, support from the army and, as one author has argued, the rise in religio-nationalist sentiment among the Pashtuns with the US-invasion of Afghanistan[40]. The MMA has carved a regional constituency in the NWFP among the Pashtuns, even though religious parties have had limited electoral success in contesting elections without an alliance partner such as the PML (as seen in the 1993 elections).

Baluchistan: Baluchistan is the largest province in Pakistan and shares is border with Iran and Afghanistan. The Baluchis are a group of 17 tribes that consider themselves ethnically related to the Kurds. While Baluchi nationalism has intensified during certain periods in Pakistan's history, overall the internal tribal divisions within the group have prevented a unified movement from emerging. During the Zulfikar Bhutto years, the Baluchis engaged in guerilla warfare to press their demands on the government, but were repressed with assistance from the armed forces and the Shah of Iran. The Baluchi provincial assembly was dissolved and Bhutto imposed his direct rule. Although the Baluchi People's Liberation Front (BPLF) claims to represent the nationalist aspirations of the group, the 1993 elections revealed that as many as 10 Baluchi parties and 9 independent candidates ran for the provincial elections. The political composition of Baluchistan therefore remains internally fragmented and several parties with small tribal constituencies have emerged[41].

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[40] Wilder, Andrew. 2002. "Elections 2002: Legitimizing the Status Quo." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham: Lexington Books.

[41] Ahmed, Feroz. 1973a. "Contradictions in Baluchistan." *Pakistan Forum* III (8-9):1.

Summary of Party System in Pakistan:

In the above sections I have provided a detained analysis of the two party system, Islamist parties, and regional and ethnic parties in Pakistan. I argue that political parties have developed divided political constituencies based on ethnicity or regional affinities. The following observations emerge:

- NATIONAL PARTIES ARE MORE REGIONAL IN CHARACTER: National level parties PML and PPP are mostly regionally based and have failed to expand their constituency to other parts of the country. PML has its constituency in Punjab while PPP in Sind. Their regional basis is largely determined by the ethnicity of their leaders, PML is headed by Sharif who is Punjabi and PPP has been founded and led by the Bhuttos, who are Sindi.

- ISLAMIST PARTIES HAVE SUCCEEDED IN FORMING REGIONAL CONSTITUENCY: Since breaking its alliance and seeking its own political constituency in 1993, Jamaat-e-Islami has succeeded in forming a regional-basis in NWFP through the MMA. The formation of the MMA and their subsequent electoral success in 2002 in the NWFP region has been an important development in Pakistani politics. Previously, Islamists had limited electoral success, even though they received high levels of street support. In 2002, the Islamists succeeded in carving out a regional constituency in NWFP.

- NUMEROUS REGIONAL PARTIES HAVE EMERGED OVER TIME: There are a variety of regional organizations in Pakistan – each representing the nationalist aspirations of racially, culturally and ethnically divided ethnic groups. Some parties such as the MQM have used violence to advance their agenda, while others such as the ANP have dropped secessionist ambitions over time. Some regions, such as Baluchistan, while ethnically homogenous, have subregional, tribal based divisions that have come to be represented by their own political groups.

Opposition Parties in Egypt:

History of the political system

From Nasser to Sadat to Mubarak, Egypt's political history has been characterized by socialism, economic liberalization, state sponsored political openings and subsequent closings. Egypt gained its independence in 1922, but the British continued to have a large influence in the running of the economy and polity. The successor government to the British rule consisted of a monarchical, western-oriented elite group. The Free Officers coup in 1952 brought Nasser to power with much popular support, including the close cooperation of Islamists. Nasser declared the goals of the coup as ending imperialism, eradicating feudalism, establishing social justice, founding a democratic polity, and creating a powerful army. A few years after coming to power, Nasser initiated "Arab socialism." He nationalized key industries, banks and schools including the controversial nationalization of the Suez canal in 1956.

Nasser was initially conciliatory towards Islamist groups, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, but soon used harsh repressive tactics towards them as he worked to

consolidate his power. Nasser's quest for political supremacy had led to the personalization of power. Brotherhood members allegedly attempted to assassinate him in 1954, but their attempt was foiled and many of the group's members were consequently jailed. The group itself was outlawed, a policy that continues to this day.

With all political parties and other forms of mass participation banned, Nasser soon became the nucleus of power. He established a regime of military technocrats, thus strengthening the role of the military in politics. He also strove for regional dominance by playing a major role in establishing the "Non-Aligned Movement" and seeking unification with Syria. While all political opposition remained banned, Nasser provided state-controlled organizations of grassroots participation. Three such organizations were created: the Liberation Rally, whose purpose was to represent popular forces; LR was replaced by National Union (NU), with the purpose of encouraging decision making from the village upwards; and the NU was reinvented as the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in 1961. The purpose of the ASU was to work with groups such as workers, intellectuals, capitalists and soldiers. Nasser used political organizations alongside the army, the police and the secret service to establish a *mukhabarat* (police) state. As Ninette Fahmy explains:

> Although such arrangements [ASU] appear on the surface to conform with Nasser's slogan of 'true democracy,' a closer look reveals that the ASU's penetration in the different spheres of activity and work provided the central government with an efficient tool of control and regulation otherwise denied to it, over the whole Egyptian society. In this respect the ASU did not differ much in its main function as a control device from its predecessors the NU and LR[42].

Sadat succeeded Nasser in 1970. As an officer under Nasser, Sadat had been under Nasser's shadow. Upon assuming the presidency, he had to establish his own identity in the face of his larger than life predecessor. He declared amnesty with the

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[42] Fahmy, Ninette S. 2002. *The Politics of Egypt*. London: Routledge Curzon. p. 59

Muslim Brotherhood, liberalized the polity and initiated a program of economic openness, *infitah*. He appeased the Islamists through a limited Islamization program. He took on the title of "the believer President" and in 1971 he declared *shariah* as the main source of legislation in Egypt. He released from prison several MB leaders, including leader Omar Telmasani. He initiated a private meeting with Telmasani soon after his release, the details of which were declassified only after Sadat's death. In this meeting Sadat promised increased freedom to the MB including registering with the Ministry of Social Affairs, in exchange for their loyalty to the regime. Telmasani agreed and from 1971 up to Sadat's death in 1981, MB kept a low profile in its activism[43]. Sadat's truce with the Islamists was aimed towards curbing the power of the radical left, which was becoming increasingly agitated by his economic liberalization policies. Sadat was also aware of the growing power of the radical Islamists and felt that moderates such as MB could be successfully used to counter their power.

In 1976, Sadat initiated a new set of liberalization reforms. He engineered multiple parties based on three political platforms known as *manabir*: the right wing, the center (pro government) and the left. These were allowed to participate in the 1976 elections, leading to a victory for the center. Since the result of the elections was favorable to the government, Sadat decided to convert the platforms into political parties. The following political parties were created: Liberal Party: Hizb al-Ahrah (right wing), National Unionist Progressive Party (NPUP): Hizb al-Tagammu (left) and National Democratic

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[43] Baker, Raymond. 2003. *Islam Without Fear, Egypt and the New Islamists*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, Kepel, Gilles. 2002. *Jihad, The Trail of Political Islam*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, Rubin, Barry. 1990. *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Pary (NDP). Later two other parties were also legalized, The New Wafd (liberal right) and Socialist Labor Party (Center Left).

Sadat began a new era of economic liberalization known as the "open door policy." The radical shift from a socialist to a liberalizing economy brought several economic problems including increasing debt and unemployment. In 1977 Cairo was engulfed in violent food riots. Sadat blamed the riots on the left, especially the NPUP. Prime Minister Salem charged that the NPUP contained communists who aimed to overthrow the regime. Sadat emphasized the suppression of the conspiracy and ordered the arrest of students, workers and intellectuals, especially leftists and sympathizers of NPUP. Within days, the jails were full of NPUP members. Sadat banned communists and unbelievers from political activity and state employment. Their paper *al-Ahli* was also banned. Sadat also helped the formation of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), a new party to the left of NDP in the hope that it would drain NPUP of its support[44]. Leftist party members accused Sadat of treating the riots simply as a security threat rather than a symptom of social and economic problems in the country. They also alleged that the government was encouraging Islamic groups as a political counterweight.

Sadat's troubles were further exacerbated with the signing of the Camp David peace treaty with Israel. With growing economic and political turmoil, the influence of Islamist groups increased. Radical Islamist groups launched an anti-regime campaign. The polity became deeply divided among those who completely disagreed with Camp David, other who disagreed with the way Sadat conducted the negotiations with Israel and yet others who felt feelings of humiliation comparable to Egypt's defeat in the 1967

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[44] Baker, Raymond. 1990. *Sadat and After: Struggles for Egypt's Political Soul*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.

war. In 1981 Sadat was assassinated by a member of the al-Jihad group while inspecting an army gathering. He was succeeded by another army officer – Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak came to power knowing full well the growing influence of the Islamists and rising discontent among the masses. His politics marked a shift in Egyptian politics when he announced political liberalization reforms in addition to the economic reforms initiated under Sadat. He began a semi-official press consisting of several newspapers such as *al-Akhbar* and *al-Ahram*. In addition, he also tried to counter the soft power of the Islamists by promoting al-Azhar mosque and university as an alternate voice of state sponsored moderate Islam[45]. At the same time he instructed army paratroopers to crush militant Islam.

Liberalization reforms in semi-authoritarian contexts are often described as the regime's strategy to counter the opposition, while maintaining its power and position. State controlled liberalization most often forestalls rather than encourages democratization[46]. The Mubarak regime held six set of elections since coming to power (1984, 1987, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2005). In 1984, Mubarak held elections but disallowed groups based on religion from participating. The rules required that parties receive a minimum of 8% of the vote nationally to win seats in any constituency. If any party received less than 8%, their votes would be added to those of the ruling party. An

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[45] See Islmail, Salwa. 1998. "Confronting the Other: Identity, Culture, Politics, and Conservative Islamism in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (2):199-225, Islmail, Salwa. 2003. *Rethinking Islamist Politics*. New York: IB Tauris.

[46] Brumberg, Daniel. 2005. *Democratization versus Liberalization in the Arab World: Dilemmas and Challenges for U.S. Foreign Policy*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. 2005. "Multiparty Elections in the Arab World: Election Rules and Opposition Responses." In *Authoritarianism in the Middle East*, ed. M. P. Posusney and M. P. Angrist. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. *Faith in Moderation? Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

alliance between al-Wafd and MB was the only opposition grouping able to cross the 8%

threshold. Together they received 15% of the vote and 13% of the seats. al-Tagammu and

SLP did not cross the threshold and their votes were taken by NDP. In the 1987 elections,

Muslim Brotherhood formed an alliance with the SLP and al-Ahrar. The alliance with

SLP was largely a product of the party's Islamist turn at the time. The MB-SLP-al-Ahrar

alliance did well in the elections, but the newly found understanding between MB and

SLP remained shaky as several SLP leaders resented Muslim Brotherhood's dominance

in their party and resigned. Aboul Fadlal, a prominent SLP leader who was also a lawyer,

raised a legal case against the alliance, declaring it unconstitutional.

The judiciary declared the results of the 1987 elections unconstitutional as several

candidates sued the government for not being allowed to contest. Fresh elections were

held in 1990, but several political parties boycotted the polls because the regime did not

allow foreign observers to ensure transparency in the process. In 1995, the Mubarak

regime took an additional step towards liberalization. The government approved several

new political parties and agreed to double the air time allotted to the opposition for

campaigning. In the 2000 elections, despite repression and intimidation from the

government, the Muslim Brotherhood won 17 seats in the parliament, making it the

largest opposition group in Egypt.

The 2005 elections have been the most remarkable of Mubarak's reign. In

February 2005, the constitution was amended to allow for multiparty elections; however,

the new laws made it difficult for independent candidates to participate. Critics urged that

this requirement was designed specifically to hurt MB[47]. Not only were parliamentary elections held in November as planned, Mubarak also announced that presidential elections would also be held in September. Nine political parties announced Presidential candidates including several prominent public figures like Ayman Nour from al-Ghad Party and Noman Gomaa from al-Wafd. Some parties boycotted the elections while other groups, such as Kifaya, discouraged their members from voting. The presidential election provided opposition parties with additional political space and opportunities to campaign and have their voices heard. The parliamentary elections in November 2005 were accompanied by high levels of activism by political parties as they considered it the first "real" opportunity to gain political ground[48].

The 2005 opening in Egypt was encouraged by a younger cadre of mid-career public officials within NDP. The changes within the party have led some observers to believe that the NDP may be experiencing internal factionalism, especially because of the emergence of Mubarak's western educated son Gamal Mubarak as a major public figure[49]. Speculations abound in the media that Mubarak may step down and that his son will take over the reins of the party. A change in leadership may mean that additional developments in the Egyptian political scene, especially since Mubarak has been in power for over two decades and there is widespread opposition to his rule.

While Mubarak has initiated unprecedented liberalization efforts, the scope of the reforms remain limited. The formation of opposition parties is limited by a series of laws.

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[47] Hamzawy, Amr. 2005. "Opposition in Egypt: Performance in the Presidential Elections and Prospects for the Parliamentary Elections." In *Policy Outlook: Democracy and Rule of Law Project*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace., Claude Salhani, personal interview June 20th 2007

[48] Ibid.

[49] Michael Slackman, personal interview August 6th 2007

The procedure for approving political parties is long and complicated. Parties must not be too similar to already existing parties, they must not have any members who ruled before the 1952 revolution (this law specifically targets Wafd's leader Fouad Siraj al-Din.), they must not oppose peace with Isreal, they may not have foreign contacts or funding, and they must seek approval from Committee for Political Parties Affairs (CPPA).

Political Parties/ Opposition Groups in Egypt

Egypt has a rich history of mobilization and collective action as evidenced by the anti-colonial struggle and the mass politics that brought Nasser to power in 1952. The paradox of Egyptian socio-political life is that while civil society is teeming with NGOs, professional associations and other civic and welfare based groups, this associational richness has not been translated into organized opposition parties with both street and electoral strength[50]. Even well established (albeit weak) legally recognized parties resemble spontaneous social movements with few internal procedures in place.

There are several reasons for the weakness of political parties in Egypt. One of the most important is the restrictions imposed on the political opposition by the regime and the channeling of dissent. Egypt's inconsistent experience with democracy has prevented the emergence of viable parties with pragmatic platforms. Most do not participate in elections with the hopes of actually taking over the government. Elections are political opportunities to build a constituency, inform the public about their agenda

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[50] Langohr, Vickie. 2005. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics? Egypt and Other Liberalizing Arab Regimes." In *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, ed. M. P. Posusney and M. P. Angrist. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

and raise socio-political consciousness[51]. The strict rules about recognizing legal parties have encouraged opposition groups to contest elections through independents. While independent candidacy does provide opportunities for gaining seats in the parliament, in the long-run, it prevents the development of the party as an organization, especially the emergence of internal cohesiveness and a clear platform.

In comparison to Pakistan, electoral support for each party varies considerably between elections. Muslim Brotherhood has done consistently well in elections, but most other parties receive as many as 6 seats in parliament in some elections (for example al-Tagammu in 1990 when other parties had boycotted the election) while receiving no seats in the next. While electoral results in Egypt are often manipulated in favor of the regime, the wide disparities show that groups do not have well established constituencies and voters tend to change their loyalties from one election to the next. In comparison, as discussed in the previous section, analyses of Pakistani electoral data has shown considerably consistent constituencies over time.

I found that identifying each group's constituency in Egypt is a difficult task largely because of their fluid nature. When asked to identify where the constituency for some of the major groups lie, one of my interviewees explained that it is impossible to identify a support base, because for most groups these vary considerably over time. Other groups are too new to have any constituency base, while for others the base is too small

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[51] Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. 2005. "Multiparty Elections in the Arab World: Election Rules and Opposition Responses." In *Authoritarianism in the Middle East*, ed. M. P. Posusney and M. P. Angrist. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

to be significant. The Muslim Brotherhood is the only group that has been able to establish an identifiable grassroots support base[52].

In order to function as a legal entity, many aspiring political parties settle for legal recognition as NGOs. In 1996, a new group by the name of al-Wasat (Center Party) broke off from the Muslim Brotherhood and sought legal recognition as a political party. The CPPA denied its application on the grounds that its platform did not represent a significant departure from other existing legal parties. Al-Wasat submitted a revised platform, which was once again rejected. Unable to gain legal recognition as a political party, the group decided to change its strategy and seek NGO status, which was approved. As an NGO, al-Wasat's ability to engage in political activism is severely limited. The Mubarak regime has channeled opposition towards the NGO and voluntary sector thus preventing the emergence of political parties.

Scholars have also pointed to organizational weaknesses within opposition parties, stemming from personalized leadership, lack of internal democracy, and petty rivalries. Fahmy argues:

> Political parties in Egypt are "parties of persons" that is, they revolve around the prominent personalities of their leaders rather than around a specific ideology or the embodiment of the demands and interests of various groups in the society, which also accounts for their weakness in their legislative capacity[53].

Parties have been sustained by the dynamic personalities of individuals such as Fuad Siraj al-Din (al-Wafd) and Ayman Nour (al-Ghad), rather than by internal cohesion and commitment to a political vision. Petty rivalries among leaders have resulted in

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[52] Michael Slackman, personal interview, August 6th 2007

[53] Fahmy, Ninette S. 2002. *The Politics of Egypt*. London: Routledge Curzon. p. 97 , see also Korany, Bhagat. 1998. "Restricted Democratization from Above: Egypt." In *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World*, ed. B. Korany, R. Brynen and P. Noble. London: Lynne Ryner.

squabbling among parties. For example, in 1990 several parties collectively decided to boycott the elections. All major parties with the exception of al-Tagammu followed the agreement. al-Tagammu's defection is believed to be the result of an ego clash resulting from a personal rivalry[54].

Ideologically, opposition parties in Egypt are divided among leftists, liberals, and Islamists. Islamists and leftists are known to have a history of intense ideological division, especially because of MB persecution during Nasser's reign. Yet, as Nazih Ayubi has pointed out, the rivalry among leftists and Islamists is not as ideological as some may think. Given their support among the lower middle class, Islamists can not ignore issues such as social justice and welfare politics. It would be a mistake to assume that Islamists by their nature are economically rightists. While in Egypt, Islamists have been much more successful in establishing a constituency among the lower middle class, leftists essentially try to attract the same constituency[55].

Islamists in Egypt span the spectrum from radical to moderate/conservative. While radical Islamists have been greatly weakened in Egypt with military assistance, street support for the moderate/conservatives remains strong. Leftists have also been a historically active group in Egypt. Some try to revive the legacy of Nasser and Arab Socialism, while others, like the SLP, have taken a more Islamist turn over time. Liberals represent right-wing or center-right groups.

In the remainder of this chapter, I examine in detail the different political opposition groups in Egypt. I have divided the groups into four broad categories based on their ideological roots: The Islamists, including the Muslim Brotherhood; Liberals, which

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[54] Kassem, Maye. 2004. *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
[55] Ayubi, Nazih. 1991. *The State and Public Policies In Egypt Since Sadat*. Reading: Ithaca Press.

includes the longstanding al-Wafd party, the newer al-Ghad party and al-Ahrar; Leftists, including NPUP, SLP and Nasserites. Finally I discuss the emergence of the Kifaya movement, which does not fit into a category owing to its fluid nature as a social movement rather than a traditional political organization. I discuss the history and organization of each group, examining their recruitment efforts, their constituencies (or lack of constituencies), and agenda.

I conclude that while several political opposition movements have emerged in Egypt over time, many do not have a core constituency. Past election results have revealed that most opposition parties receive support from urban Egypt, while the ruling NDP receives most of its votes from rural regions[56]. The Muslim Brotherhood has received support from students and professional associations. Other groups are still trying to establish themselves among the population by presenting a better alternative, especially to the MB.

Islamist Groups : Egypt is often referred to as the birthplace of modern political Islam in the Arab world. It is here that Hassan al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 with the goal to return to core Islamic beliefs as a solution to Egypt growing social and economic problems, exacerbated by the depression era. Overtime, Egypt has also seen the emergence of radical groups that seek the overthrow of the regime through violent means. Another manifestation of political Islam is its institutionalized form represented by al-Azhar mosque and university[57]. Al-Azhar became an influential force in Egyptian politics

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[56] Kepel, Gilles. 1984. *The Prophet and the Pharaoh: Islamic Extremism in Egypt.* London: Al-Saqi Books.

[57] Salwa Ismail has identified three strands of political Islam in Egypt: conservative Islam, state sponsored Islam and radical Islam. See Islmail, Salwa. 1998. "Confronting the Other: Identity, Culture, Politics, and Conservative Islamism in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (2):199-225

under Mubarak, who used its "soft power" to counter the discourse of the radical Islamists and legitimize this own power. The relationship between the regime and al-Azhar is however not as smooth as some scholars purport, rather, with the growth of petro-dollar funding, particularly from Saudi Arabia, al-Azhar has relied less on the government for financial support and has often engaged the government in open confrontation on social and political issues. Al-Azhar can therefore also be though of as one of the forms of Islamist opposition in Egypt. The focus of this study is on mainstream Islamists as they have been most involved in seeking allies and coordinating strategies with other groups. I therefore focus my analysis here on the *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, The Muslim Brotherhood.

The Face of Moderate Islam in Egypt- The Muslim Brotherhood : The Muslim Brotherhood is currently one of the oldest organized moderate social movements in Egypt. The group has shared a tumultuous relationship with the regimes of Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak. As an organization, the groups has preferred moderate activities, but cadres of secret paramilitary units emerged from time to time, especially when the group was being directly targeted by the regime. The movement finds wide support among students, professional associations and trade unions, especially in urban centers. A network of charity institutions such as Islamic clinics and schools are also an integral part of the group's activities[58].

Organizationally, the Muslim Brotherhood continues to follow the rules and by-laws put together by its founder. The movement is headed by a General Guide, who has

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[58] See Clark, Janine A. 2004. *Islam, Charity, and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

considerable influence on strategies and orientation. Two main offices work within the movement – *Maktab al-Irshad al-Aam*, or the Office of General Guidance, which is the executive body and the Shura Council, which serves as the legislative body. The movement remains highly centralized. A change in the General Guide can result in the transformation of the movement. For example, with the emergence of more moderate leaders such as Mamum Hodaybi (became the leader of the group in 2002) and Mohammed Akef (took over after Hodaybi's death in 2004) following Sayyid Qutb's execution in 1966, the Muslim Brotherhood has shown greater inclinations towards presenting itself as moderate and responsible opposition open to working with other groups (see also Wickham). Some scholars have noted the emergence of a younger cadre within the movement led by Isam al-Aryan and Abu-al-Futuh who have forwarded the Brotherhood's calls for freedom, liberty and democracy since the late 1990s[59].

The Brotherhood's confrontation with the regime began under Nasser's reign. Nasser and the Free Officers came to power with the support of the Brotherhood in 1952, but soon he began to imprison thousands of members after the regime accused the group of trying to assassinate Nasser and Prime Minister al-Nuqarsh. The government declared the movement illegal in 1954. Yet, it continued its clandestine activities and imprisoned members a cohesive group. Sayyid Qutb, one of the most influential leaders of the movement at the time, was hanged in account of conspiracy against the government. During his prison sentence, Qutub because increasingly radical and removed form al-Banna's original vision for the MB. Qutub's thinking became central to the emergence of

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[59] Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, Abed - Kotob, Sana. 1995. "The Accommodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies Of The Muslim Brotherhood Of Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27:321-39.

militant Islamist groups such as al-Jihad and Jamaa-al-Islamiya. The 1928 through 1952 period makes the highest level of mobilization for the Muslim Brotherhood[60].

The Muslim Brotherhood gained new recognition under Sadat, who sought to use moderate Islamists as a buffer against the growing power of the leftists. Sadat released hundreds of Brotherhood members from prison, and asked that the movement support the regime in its endeavors. During the 1976 food riots, the Brotherhood showed restraint as the NPUP bore the brunt from the government. The seeds of mistrust between the Islamists and the leftists were sown as this time. During the 1980s political opening, A leftist newspaper referred to the Islamists as "the second danger," the first being the regime[61]. The Leftists looked upon the Islamists as dangerous to socio-political and intellectual freedom.

Under Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood has received waxing and waning access to governmental institutions and space to spread its message. Yet, the regime remains wary of any viable secular or religious opposition. MB members have therefore been targeted through arrests and intimidation, especially during election times. The Muslim Brotherhood can not receive recognition as a legal party because of its religious orientation. Therefore, MB contested the 1984 and 1987 elections in coalitions with other groups. In 1984, an alliance with al-Wafd party proved profitable to both in gaining a high number of parliamentary seats. In 1987 MB formed an alliance with Socialist Labor Party and al-Ahrar. Together, the alliance was known as "The Islamic Front."

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[60] Munson, Zaid. 2001. "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *The Sociological Quarterly* 42:487-510.

[61] Flores, Alexander. 1997. "Secularism, Integralism, and Political Islam: The Egyptian Debate." In *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, ed. J. Beinin and J. Stork. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

The elections held during the 1990s have been especially eventful for the Muslim Brotherhood. The group has continued to stress its commitment to working within the system while the regime has cracked down severely on its members, accusing them of anti-government activity. A new law governing the 1990 election stated that candidates from non-recognized parties contest elections as independents rather than in coalition with other parties. The Brotherhood saw this as a major onslaught by the government because running candidates as independents would weaken their visibility as a groups and affect party cohesiveness in the long run. The Muslim Brotherhood, along with several other opposition parties decided to boycott the parliamentary election. The group did however contest the local elections in 1992, but the turnout was low and they did not succeed in gaining a high level of seats.

In July 1994 Mubarak invited legal parties to a conference in order to garner their support in the regime's anti-terrorism campaign. The goal of the conference was also to prevent other groups from working with the Muslim Brotherhood[62]. 276 representatives from nine parties and trade unions, business community and intellectual circles attended the conference, but the public response was widely believed to be apathetic. The MB participated in the subsequent parliamentary elections held in 1995, 2000 and 2005. Each election has been preceded by a major government offensive again the Brethren. Throughout the decade, the Brotherhood continued to affirm that it is not engaged in anti-regime activities. In an interview with the opposition newspaper *al-Ahli*, Supreme Guide Mustafa Mashour said that the group had asked the government to engage in a dialogue

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[62] See a detailed analysis of the conference in Tal, Nachman. 2005. *Radical Islam in Egypt and Jordan*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, Hala, Mustafa. 1992. *The Political Reform in Egypt, from the Reform Movement to Violent Groups*. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies.

on many occasions, but the government had refused. He also spoke about the

movement's persecution at the hands of the Mubarak regime even though the group has

refrained from conflict[63].

In the midst of the government crackdown an internal rift surfaced within the

Muslim Brotherhood. On January 12th 1996, *al-Shaab* reported that the Party Affairs

Commission had received an application from some younger MB members to form their

own political party under the name of al-Wasat. In addition to MB members, the

application included 2 Copts and 4 women. *al-Shaab* article presented the formation of

the group as an initiative to establish a Brotherhood political party separate from the main

group as a means to create a transparent political arm, similar to the Islamic Action Front

party's relationship to the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. However in a later article in

the same publication, Counselor Hudaybi denied that the Brotherhood had any links with

al-Wasat. Al-Wasat member Abu al-Ula Madi also denied having links with the Muslim

Brotherhood[64]. The emergence of this group came as a major shock to the Brotherhood.

General Guide Hudaybi made it clear that the group had defied the rules of the

organization, but that they could still remain associated with the Muslim Brotherhood as

their chances of receiving recognition as a legal party were very slim[65].

Despite heavy repression and the succession of several members to form al-

Wasat, the Brotherhood launched an enthusiastic campaign for the 2000 elections. The

regime countered the campaign with arrests, intimidation and harassment. To add to

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[63] Al-Ahli, February 2nd 1996

[64] Al-Shaab, January 12th 1996, al-Shaab January 16th 1996

[65] Al-Ahli, February 7th 1996

MB's difficulties, one of its closest allies, the Socialist Labor Party, became embroiled in an internal leadership dispute. The Parties' Committee suspended the SLP and halted the publication of its newspaper *al-Shaab* until the party resolved its internal problems. Despite the difficulties, the MB made an impressive showing in the elections through its independent candidates and won seventeen of 282 seats in the parliament. Abu-al-Futuh declared that in the light of the election results, MB would once again seek legal recognition as a political party. He added that the resulting party would not be a European style religious party, but a civil one that stipulates that *shariah* is the main source of legislation in the country[66].

The 2005 election was highly eventful for the Brotherhood. The group came out of its non-confrontational stance with the regime and openly protested many of the regime's policies. The MB welcomed Mubarak's initiative for presidential elections, but with the subsequent detention of many members a series of protests were held throughout the country. On March 28th, the MB asked for permission to organize a peaceful protest outside the Egyptian national assembly. The permission was refused and the protesters were denied access to the People's Assembly. The protesters then gathered at Ramses Square and Zaynab Square, as pro-reform slogans began others joined in and the protestors soon grew to thousands[67]. The regime responded by arresting 48 members and detaining them. The arrests led to outrage in the MB, and soon several other protests were organized outside key locations, such as the Press Syndicate Office in Cairo[68].

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[66] Al-Hayat, December 2nd 2000

[67] Keesings World News Archives March 28th 2005

[68] Keesings World News Archives March-April 2005

The high turnout at Muslim Brotherhood protests shows that the group has considerable grassroots support. Overtime, the MB has expanded its influence to professional associations and trade unions as well as at universities. In 1991, MB members participated in a conference at Zagazig University where they spoke against the emergency law and restrictions on civil liberties. Subsequently, the MB members competed successfully in the student association elections at Zagazig in 1993. The University faculty club also became dominated by Brotherhood members. In addition to Zagazig, the MB commands a strong constituency among students and faculty members at Cairo Univeristy and Asyut University[69]. MB is often in fierce competition with Leftists who are also actively recruiting constituents among university students.

Since the mid 1980s, the Muslim Brotherhood has also increased its influence in trade unions. The lack of open competition for People's Assembly seats has led the group to seek representation in trade unions as an alternative political arena. As Tal explains:

> Because of the ban against the Brotherhood's movement as an independent party, the trade unions served the Muslim Brotherhood as an alternative arena for political activity once banned from the People's Assembly. Thus, the regime's attempts to neutralize Muslim Brotherhood opposition inadvertently pushed the Brotherhood towards trade unions, which then became the political stage for confrontation[70]

The MB gained control over several trade unions, for example, Engineer's Union in 1987, Doctors Union in 1988 and the Lawyer's Union in 1992. Boycotting the 1990 elections proved to be useful in focusing the group's energies on trade union elections. The increase in the Brotherhood's influence in trade unions alarmed the regime and in 1993, the Mubarak government passed Law Number 100. The purpose of the new law

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[69] Claude Salhani, personal interview June 20th 2007

[70] Tal, Nachman. 2005. *Radical Islam in Egypt and Jordan*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. p. 55

was to regulate trade union elections by stipulating that for an election to be valid, at least 50% of the members must vote. Further, the court would monitor the conduct of the elections. Many trade union members were severely critical of Law Number 100. In the 1993 elections, the Brotherhood once again gained control over several unions despite the newly imposed restrictions.

In addition to socio-economic groups such as students and professionals, the Muslim Brotherhood has expanded its influence among the urban middle class through a network of Islamic clinics and other welfare activities. Often more efficient that government clinics, these institutions serve as a constant reminder of the failure of Egyptian regime in providing for the basic needs of the polity[71]. Despite state repression, both through its security apparatus and laws restricting the political space, the Muslim Brotherhood has been successful in achieving representation in several sectors in the society. Not only is it the largest represented opposition in the parliament, it also commands constituents among students and in professional associations. The group's social welfare and charity activities have also allowed them to spread their message among the urban middle class. The Muslim Brotherhood is considered the most well entrenched political opposition group in Egypt.

Liberals: Liberal parties in Egypt are mostly secular groups that seek democratic reforms in the country. The major groups include al-Wafd, al-Ghad and al-Ahrah. Al-Wafd has historically been strongly supported among the upper classes while al-Ghad and al-Ahrar have very limited support.

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[71] Clark, Janine A. 2004. *Islam, Charity, and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

The New Wafd: Al-Wafd al-Jadid or The New Wafd Party is one of the most historically significant liberal parties in the country. Al-Wafd was formed in 1919 to serve as a mobilization platform against imperialist rule. The party continues to be politically active and currently represents the liberal right. Fahmy explains,"Of all the parties that evolved under Sadat, the New Wafd was perhaps the only one that had a chance to build strong roots with the public"[72]. The party was abolished under Nasser in 1954, but reemerged as a legal party during Sadat's rule under the new parties law passed in 1978. In order to become legal, al-Wafd had to seek approval from 20 members in the parliament. Through patience and perseverance, al-Wafd members were able to meet this goal. Many members of the liberal party al-Ahrar left and joined al-Wafd at this point. Al-Wafd members saw al-Ahrar as a political rival for the loyalties of the middle and upper class[73]. Al-Wafd leadership attacked al-Ahrar as an artificial creation headed by Army officers and undeserving of liberal support.

Al-Wafd targeted the Sadat regime and his regime created "loyal opposition." The party pressured Sadat to make al-Azhar a separate and independent institution and to modernize Islamic law. The strength of al-Wafd and the fan following of its leader Fouad Siraj al-Din earned it the wrath of the regime. In 1978, Sadat cracked down on the Wafd by passing a law that did not allow politically active citizens before 1952 to lead parties. This new law directly targeted al-Wafd's leader Siraj al-Din. Faced with the difficult choice of purging its leadership or dissolving the group, the party disbanded, although some of its members continued their political activism as independents.

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[72] Fahmy, Ninette S. 2002. *The Politics of Egypt*. London: Routledge Curzon. p. 77

[73] Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 1984. "The Reemergence of the Wafd Party: Glimpses of the Liberal Opposition in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1):99-121.

The party remerged in the 1984 elections under Mubarak. They contested the 1984 election in alliance with MB, despite the different ideological stances of both groups. The alliance was a unilateral decision made by Fouad Siraj al-Din and MB leader Omar Telmesany. No other party members were consulted[74]. Al-Wafd confronted the divisive issue of the proper relation between Islam and the state and more specifically how and with what thoroughness s*hariah* should be adopted. For al-Wafd however, the Islamic challenge has been comparatively easy to confront because of the party's long association with secularism[75]. The electoral alliance with the MB allowed al-Wafd to endorse the call for the application of *shariah* and then do as little as possible to pressure the government to that end. This approach led to the breakdown of the alliance and in 1986, even though together the two parties acquired 57 seats in the parliament. Al-Wafd began to search for a new electoral partner. In the 1987 elections, al-Wafd tried to access the Coptic vote and deemphasized the need for application of the Shariah. However, al-Wafd's representation went down to 35 seats.

By 1986 many internal divisions had emerged in the Wafd party. The structural and ideological conflict within the party continues to be a major challenge. In the 1995 elections, al-Wafd gained only 6 seats but retained its position as an opposition party. In 2005 al-Wafd once again showed some proclivity to work with the Brotherhood, especially towards joining the Brotherhood led group, "National Alliance for Restoration and Change." The election results, however did not prove favorable as al-Wafd only won 7 seats. The decline in the number of seats is attributed to the death of Siraj al-Din. The

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[74] Fahmy, Ninette S. 2002. *The Politics of Egypt*. London: Routledge Curzon.

[75] Springborg, Robert. 1989. *Mubarak's Egypt*. London: Westview Press.

new leader, Nouman Jummah proved inexperienced in planning strategically for the election. Fahmy argues, "The extent to which the party will manage in the future to pull itself together under the leadership of Go'ma depends on the extent to which the latter will either concentrate on party issues or alternatively will become entangled in personal disputes with other party members"[76].

Al-Wafd, along with leftist parties Tagammu and Arab Nasserrites, decided to boycott the 2005 presidential elections. However, the party later decided that it was in its best interest to participate. Nouman Jummah stood for elections along with Ayman Nour from al-Ghad and Talat Sadat (nephew of Anwar Sadat) from al-Ahrar and Hosni Mubarak from the NDP. Al-Wafd ran a highly controversial election campaign. Its campaign slogan roughly translated from Arabic as "We have been suffocated.[77]" The party's use of the slogan points to the extent to which Egyptian are ready for change. At a campaign rally at Port Said, as Jummah spoke, the crowd chanted: "We have been strangled. We have been stolen. We have been embezzled. It is not fair! Enough. Enough. Enough. We want a free government. Life is bitter"[78].

In the parliamentary elections, al-Wafd could only secure 14 seats, showing the inability of the party to use its historical roots and legacy to command electoral strength. Jummah stood third in the presidential race after Mubarak and al-Ghad leader Ayman Nour. Compared to other parties and opposition groups, Wafd has a somewhat well defined class constituency. Al- Wafd is led by landed professional and commercial elite,

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[76] Fahmy, Ninette S. 2002. *The Politics of Egypt*. London: Routledge Curzon. p. 81

[77] Sharp, Jeremy. 2005. "Egypt: 2005 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections." Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, Slackman, Michael. August 23rd 2005. " Opposition Party's Angry Slogan Gets Cairo's Official O.K." *The New York Times*.

[78] Slackman, Michael. August 23rd 2005. " Opposition Party's Angry Slogan Gets Cairo's Official O.K." *The New York Times*.

especially those associated with the private sector. Membership consists of intellegencia that support right wing ideology, especially people with property and special skills such as law[79]. Copts are also given representation in proportion to their numbers in the population. Further, al-Wafd is one of the only opposition parties in Egypt to receive some support in rural areas. Al-Wafd relies on patron-client relations among local families in the countryside. Since al-Wafd's class appeal is confined to the upper echelons and among some Coptic communities, its mass support, especially in urban areas, is limited. al-Wafd has never been successful in expanding its middle class base. Wafd's lack of support among the masses may have been instrumental in the formation of the 1984 electoral alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood. In its recruitment, al-Wafd is in highest competition with NDP, who also actively seek to build patronage relationships among the elite[80].

Hizb al-Ahrar (Liberal Party): Liberal Party was one of Sadat's creations as a party of the liberalization reforms in 1976. Sadat originally envisioned al-Ahrar as a loyal opposition. Al-Ahrah tried to combine ideologies of capitalism and God but did not gain much electoral success, probably because of the odd combination of ideologies. With the formation of the New Wafd in 1978, 12 Ahrar deputies defected to the new party. One author speculates that Sadat legalized al-Wafd to create competition between the two liberal parties and prevent either of them from becoming a strong presence[81].

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[79] El-Mikawy, Noha. 1999. *The Building of Consensus in Egypt's Transition Process*. Cairo: American Univ. in Cairo Press.

[80] Noha El-Mikawy, personal interview April 18th 2007

[81] Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 1984. "The Reemergence of the Wafd Party: Glimpses of the Liberal Opposition in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1):99-121.

Under Mubarak, the Ahrah became more religious in its orientation and started an anti-Christian newspaper called *al-Nur*. It formed an alliance with the MB and SLP in the 1987 elections. The alliance had strong Islamist leanings. Al-Ahrar has had modest showings in elections – winning one seat in the 1995 elections and again in the 2000 elections. Neither al-Ahrar nor al-Wafd have succeeded in gaining a strong foothold in Egyptian electoral politics. Al-Ahrar leader Talat Sadat contested the presidential elections, but did not have a good showing. The party did not win a single seat in the parliamentary elections. As Springboard argues, "By the spring of 1987 it was apparent that none of the secular opposition parties was attracting significant numbers of new votes or members. Indeed they were struggling to hold on to those they had"[82].

Al–Ghad (Tomorrow Party): Al-Ghad is one of the newest parties to be licensed in Egypt. The Committee for Party Affairs approved al-Ghad's papers in October 2005. The party describes itself as "liberal, democratic and aiming to represent the youth[83]." Some prominent leaders such as the scholar Mona Markam Ebeid have joined the party as its founding members. The party does not yet command a base constituency or support, yet its leader Ayman Nour, an independent member of parliament for over 10 years has been embroiled in a controversy that has reached international levels. On January 29th 2005, Ayman Nour was arrested on the charge of forging signatures needed for party approval. According to the charges, at least 14 of the 2000 signatures had been forged. The party newspaper was also suspended.

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[82] Springborg, Robert. 1989. *Mubarak's Egypt*. London: Westview Press. p. 200

[83] Otterman, Sharon. 2005. "Interview with Ayman Nour on Egypt's Elections." Washington DC: Council on Foreign Relations.

Nour's arrest sparked severe criticism from human rights organizations and opposition newspapers. The London based newspaper, *al-Quds al-Arabi* released a scathing criticism of the arrest arguing that these developments are a major set back to democracy in Egypt. The newspaper alleged that Nour had been arrested because he was opposing Jamal Mubarak succeeding Hosni Mubarak[84]. Reporters Sans Frontiers also became actively involved with this issue. Nour's arrest turned him into a martyr of sorts. A Whitehouse spokesperson released a statement disapproving of the arrest and US Secretary of State Condolezza Rice visited with Nour during her trip to Egypt in June 2005.

Nour went on a hunger strike in prison to protest the lack of democracy in Egypt. His wife became his main advocate and spokesperson for al-Ghad. The party was finally allowed to publish its first newspaper issue in March 2005. After an international uproar on the issue, Ayman Nour was released from prison on bail in March. He decided to put in his papers for presidential candidacy. Several other prominent groups such as SLP, Tagammu, and al-Wafd had decided to boycott the elections, but after Nour announced his intention to run, al-Wafd leader Nouman Jummah decided to participate as well.

The results of the 2005 presidential and parliamentary election did not bode well for al-Ghad. Nour won a distant second in the presidential election and lost his seat in the parliament to an NDP candidate. After the elections, Nour was arrested once again and given a 5-year prison sentence. Through these measures, the Mubarak regime effectively neutralized al-Ghad even before it could establish itself as a political group and develop a

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[84] Al-Quds al-Arabi, February 3rd 2005

core constituency. Even the enormous international publicity surrounding Nour's arrest did not give the party the support it needed.

Leftists: Leftist parties have a historical roots in Egypt dating back to the socialist era under Nasser, but many did not become formal institutions until Sadat's reign. The two oldest parties are the NPUP, or Tagammu, and the Socialist Labor Party (SLP).

NPUP/ Tagammu and Arab Democratic Nasserite Party: NPUP/ Tagammu was created by Sadat in 1976 to represent the left. The party was formed by grouping together wide factions such as Arab Nationalists, Nasserites, Social Democrats and liberals. From the outset, internal factionalism has always been a hindering factor for NPUP. In 1976, Egypt was engulfed in widespread food riots. NPUP took the brunt of the blame for inciting and organizing the riots. Sadat dismissed the party and its publications and labeled its members "communists" and "atheists." Other opposition parties, most prominently the Muslim Brotherhood supported the regime and therefore earned the wrath and mistrust of NPUP that continues till date.

Under Mubarak, NPUP was reinstated. In 1990 all political parties with the exception of NPUP decided to boycott the elections. The NPUP became the only party to participate and won 6 seats. The party has been able to keep its representation between 5 and 6 seats in subsequent elections. In 1992, Mubarak legalized the Arab Democratic Nasserite Party. The formation of the new party came as a severe blow to NPUP as they feared losing their members as well as their constituents. NPUP and the Nasserite party compete for constituencies in the same socio-economic group and therefore have many similarities in their party program and vision. Both NPUP and the Nasserites receive

some support from students and the lower middle class including artisans, peasants and laborers. NPUP has received high levels of support from the industrial districts in Cario in the past. However, NPUP faces a key organizational dilemma with regard to its support base. In order to adequately represent the interests of the lower echelons of society, NPUP must take a much more populist and radical leftist stance than it is currently willing to undertake. In order to retain its support base, NPUP must find the means to reconcile its ideology with a social base that it wide enough to for it to survive as a viable political party. As Mona el-Mikaway explains:

> Having a social base tied to the lower echelons of the manufacturing and service sectors, the Tagammu had to stand against privatization and rationalization of the public sector and the state bureaucracy to respond to the fears and demands of such as social base. However, the Tagammu had no way of enforcing such as radical stance.[85]

Socialist Labor Party: Sadat legalized the Socialist Labor Party after the food riots in 1977 as a replacement for NPUP. Springborg argues that SLP is more cohesive than NPUP because it has been reconstituted from a single ancient regime political organization – *Misr al-Fatat* (Young Egypt) formed in 1930s as a neo fascist movement[86]. Even though Sadat envisioned SLP to be a loyal opposition party to prevent the havoc created by NPUP, his hopes were soon bellied. Far from serving as a loyal opposition, SLP critiqued Sadat on many fronts, including – normalization of relations with Israel, economic liberalization, corruption and abuse of power. The party publication, *al-Shaab* became one of the most popular opposition newspapers in Egypt and abroad.

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[85] El-Mikawy, Noha. 1999. *The Building of Consensus in Egypt's Transition Process*. Cairo: American Univ. in Cairo Press. p. 48

[86] Springborg, Robert. 1989. *Mubarak's Egypt*. London: Westview Press.

SLP soon started taking an ultra nationalist and religious turn in its ideology. In 1987, the party formed an alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood. SLP invited al-Tagammu to the negotiations to form the alliance, but the party decided not to attend. The alliance gave the Muslim Brotherhood the legal channel it needed to contest elections and SLP gained the mass support it lacked. The alliance won a total of 60 seats, including 30 for MB, 27 for Labor and 3 for Liberals. Other than the number of seats won, the alliance managed to raise the visibility of the opposition in the parliament.

Even though the alliance was profitable to all the parties, the growing influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the SLP and its Islamist orientation led to a split in the SLP between its Islamist wing and those that disagreed with the new turn in ideology. SLP has remained a close ally of the Muslim Brotherhood since. In 2000, the SLP became embroiled in an internal leadership dispute and the Mubarak regime dismissed the party and shut down its paper. In December 2004, SLP won an appeal in court to republish *al-Shaab*.

The Emergence of Kifaya: Kifaya is one of the newest political movements in Egypt. Its unique nature as a movement and not a political organization or party warrants separate discussion. Its dynamism, vision and goals have given the group much international attention. The group was originally formed in response to the Palestinian uprising and picked up momentum during the 2003 US invasion of Iraq as an anti-war mobilization effort. Since then, the group has evolved its activities into pro-reform and anti-Mubarak activism in Egypt.

The group is an amalgam of members with several different political ideologies –

communists, Islamists as well as liberals and Copts. The group does not have a formal

organization structure or a designated leader. The members hold meetings in each other's

houses, as the group does not have a central office. The only semblance of a formal

structure representing the movement is its website. The absence of SMO style

functioning enables the movement to work within the Egyptian power structure,

especially avoiding being crushed by the security forces. One of my interviewees, Calude

Salhani related an incident that occurred while he was at Kifaya spokesperson George

Issac's house in Cairo:

> The phone rang, and it was a police person asking George Issac to cancel the
> demonstration to be held the next day. George Issac tried to explain to the police person
> that he did not have the authority to do that because he is not the leader of the movement.
> The police person could not understand this, he kept insisting that Issac cancel the
> demonstration. Issac kept insisting that he can't even if he wanted to. The extent of the
> disconnect between the police person and George Issac was very clear[87].

Kifaya has organized several protests in Cairo asking Mubarak to step down and severely

criticizing plans to let Jamal Mubarak take over as President. The regime has reacted to

these protests by arresting demonstrators, preventing them for reaching protest cites, and

targeting individual members of Kifaya. The group does not have a vision beyond the end

of Mubarak's regime. Their purpose, as expressed by spokesperson George Issac is to

"break the culture of fear around political activity in Egypt"[88].

Kifaya members have shown a wiliness to work with other groups, even the

Muslim Brotherhood, provided the Brotherhood behaves like a political and not a

religious organization. Kifaya has stressed that they have been born out of the weakness

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[87] Claude Salhani, personal interview June 20th 2007

[88] Salhani, Calude. 2005. "Politics & Policies: The Kifaya Factor ": UPI (*www.upi.com*), Murphy, Dan.
March 28 2005. "Egypt reins in democratic voices." *Christian Science Monitor*.

of the opposition parties in Egypt, but do not aim to replace them. In fact Kifaya has no plans for seeking legal recognition. Other parties, while welcoming Kifaya, have also expressed some weariness about competing with the new group. Tagammu Secretary General Abdul Razaq was quoted in *Gulf News*, "We welcome this group as an addition to out endeavors for change in Egypt." He continued, "But it should be wary of falling into the trap of seeking itself as an alternative to others.[89]"

Kifaya's members are mostly intellectuals, leftists and liberals. However, given that Kifaya is still very new on the political scene, it has not formed a constituency base. Even though spokespersons for the movement claim members in thousands, according to one scholar, Kifaya's grassroots support is limited as best as judged by the few hundred people that have participated in their protests[90].

After the 2005 anti-Mubarak/pro-democracy campaign died down, Kifaya has tried to reinvent its agenda towards foreign policy issues. The group has become increasingly anti-US and anti-Israel in its message. In 2006, Kifaya launched a million-signature campaign to pressure the regime into withdrawing from the Camp David accord with Israel. Their new populist rhetoric received mixed response from many of their adherents during the 2005 campaign. One popular Egyptian blogger wrote:

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[89] Sherbini, Ramadan Al. 2005. "Muslim Brotherhood Eyes Key Poll Victories." *Gulf News*, November 4th 2005.

[90] Hamzawy, Amr. 2005. "Opposition in Egypt: Performance in the Presidential Elections and Prospects for the Parliamentary Elections." In *Policy Outlook: Democracy and Rule of Law Project*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

OK. Well, setting aside my deep respect for Kifaya and my belief in their sincerity aside, I was not surprised at this move. The group is mainly composed of Leftists and a significant number of Nasserites, those who still believe in Nasser's ideology (how a supporter of a ruthless dictator such as Nasser be in a democracy advocacy group, I have no idea). Anyway, so the Nasserites in Kifaya want us to abandon Sadat's "shameful peace" and once again adopt Nasser's way, because you know ladies and gentlemen , with Nasser, we really won a lot of wars![91]

Summary of the Party System in Egypt:

In the above sections, I have provided a detailed analysis of the party system in Egypt. I have shown that most parties do not have well defined constituencies. Many are struggling to keep their members while others are trying to spread awareness about their existence. The following observations emerge:

- ONLY MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND AL-WAFD PARTIES HAVE A DIVIDED CONSTITUENCIES IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER: The Muslim Brotherhood receives support from students and trade unions in urban areas. Al-Wafd has a smaller base among the wealthy sections of the population, especially in the lawyer's professional association.

- NEWER PARTIES AND GROUPS DO NOT YET HAVE A STRONG BASIS FOR SUPPORT: al-Ghad party and Kifaya group have been formed recently. Their formation has been guided by an idea rather than an already existing constituency. Although these parties have received high levels of publicity owing to controversies surrounding their leaders and activities, they have yet to establish a grass roots base.

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[91] "Kifaya: Cancel Camp David," blog post on August 23rd 2006, *The Big Pharaoh*, www.bigpharoh.com

- LEFTIST PARTIES ARE HIGHLY FRAGMENTED AND HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ESTABLISH THEIR CONSTITUENCY BASE: Leftist parties are divided among al-Tagammu, SLP and the Nasserist party. All three parties have been in existence for some time but neither has been able to gain a constituency base.

Chapter III: Elite Alliances

Opposition activity is often conceptualized and measured as rebellion, protest, violent rioting and civil disobedience in the contentious politics literature[1]. While explaining these forms of claim making is certainly very relevant to both academia and policy making, opposition activity can also take more subtle forms such as publishing an article critical of the regime, symbolic office closings, releasing open letters and petitions. These do not involve street politics, but are important forms of claim making as they provide different avenues for conflict and cooperation among actors.

In this chapter, I examine the formation of elite alliances. These are formed among leaders of various political groups to engage in opposition activity through non-mobilization means. The elites form an alliance without engaging their constituencies in protest or other forms of collective action, instead they may work together through joint petitioning or office closing. Elite alliances may be of two kinds: issue-based or value-based. Issue-based elite alliances focus on a particular policy concern, for example the imposition of quotas on textile mills whereas value-based elite alliances focus on more general concerns such as women's rights, free market economy and freedom. While issue-based concerns often stem from larger values, groups can often form an alliance on a specific issue of mutual concern even when they don't agree on the larger more contentious and sensitive value.

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[1] Krain, Matthew. 2000. *Repression and Accommodation in Post-revolutionary States*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Lichbach, Mark I. 1987. "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31 (2):266-97, Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61 (1):123-52, Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, Carol Mueller, ed. 2005. *Repression and Mobilization* Vol. 21. Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, Hafez, Mohammed M. 2002. *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

I argue that both groups with fluid and divided constituencies may form elite alliances. Groups with fluid constituencies form issue-based elite alliances as these have a clear non-mobilization agenda. Engaging in mobilization requires groups to pool their constituents at a particular place and time. This exposes each actor's constituency to poaching as other groups may use the event to make themselves visible as a better alternative and gain supporters. While some groups are in a better position to engage in such "member poaching" as compared to others, fluid constituencies make each group wary of the possibility of losing supporters.

Groups with fluid constituencies can form elite alliances as these do not require engaging constituencies. Yet, elite alliances can easily lead to mobilization in the future, especially when dealing with socially and politically sensitive concerns such as freedom, democracy and free market economy. Constituents can start putting pressure on the group to mobilize or start mobilizing spontaneously exposing them to poaching by other groups. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies form issue-based rather than value-based elite alliances, as these are focused on a specific concern and are unlikely to lead to mobilization in the future. The focused and technical nature of the issue makes it less likely to catch the attention of constituents. Value-based elite alliances do not offer groups such assurances and are therefore unlikely to emerge.

Groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. Since constituencies are well defined, losing popular support to other groups is not of prime concern. Even though groups with divided constituencies are able to form mobilization alliances, often elite alliances are more suitable because of high levels of regime repression, material constraints or the technical nature of the concern at

hand. Both value and issue-based elite alliances may form as groups are not as concerned about engaging in joint mobilization in the future.

I begin this chapter by briefly explaining how different literatures in political science have observed the formation of elite alliances but not explained how and why they emerge. I then explain my argument in greater detail followed by two case studies. The first case study analyses the 1995 anti-press law opposition activism in Egypt. I examine how several groups with fluid constituencies worked together through issue-based elite alliances although given the social and political circumstances at the time and the ideological and other divisions among the groups, an alliance seemed unlikely. I also show how the same groups were unable to form value-based alliances to oppose the regime after the results of the 1995 parliamentary elections were announced. The second case study examines how two groups with divided constituencies formed both issue-based and value-based alliances to express opposition to the construction of the Kalabagh dam in Pakistan. This issue-based elite alliance soon expanded to include more partners leading to the emergence of a widespread anti-regime campaign that culminated in the October 1999 coup led by General Pervez Musharraf. I explain regime repression, stability or selective inclusion of certain moderate groups do not adequately explain the formation of alliances in these cases and demonstrate how the alliance outcomes fit my model.

While I found several cases of elite alliances in my research, I focused on these campaigns because they clearly demonstrate the effect of divided and fluid constituencies. Both instances of opposition activity and alliance making have received very little attention in the scholarly literature on social movements, with most scholars

choosing to focus on large protest events instead. These alliances provide important insights into why alliances form under certain circumstances, but not under others.

The Egypt case study demonstrates how groups operating under fluid constituencies can in fact form alliances under specific circumstances. While Egyptian opposition groups are notorious for their dividedness and bickering, they were able to successfully form an alliance to convince the Mubarak regime to repeal the 1995 Press Law. This incident of opposition alliance making has received very little or no attention in the scholarly literature.

The firm entrenchment of the Mubarak regime at the time, combined with widespread use of repression and inclusion of select moderate groups through state controlled elections made the emergence of an opposition alliance seemingly unlikely, but as I propose, the issue-based nature of the elite alliance allowed the groups to work together. Each group participated in the alliance without mobilizing its constituents. In this way, the groups were able to protect their constituencies but yet also address a concern that affected them all. The same groups could not form an alliance when the nature of the concern expanded to an anti-elections campaign. Groups brought up their differences and expressed concerns about others' dominance among constituents.

The Kalabagh dam project case in Pakistan shows that groups with divided constituencies can work together through elite alliances. The technical nature of the concern and, as I will show, PPPs unique position at the time prevented the emergence of a mobilization alliance but the groups were able to form an issue-based elite alliance. Unlike the case of Egypt, the anti-Kalabagh alliance soon expanded to include more members and became an anti-regime mobilization effort. I propose that the prevalence of

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divided constituencies encouraged the formation of a mobilization alliance as each group knew that the only way to effectively challenge the Sharif government was to pool their constituents.

Elite Alliances in the Literature:

Elite alliances have emerged as a major explanatory variable in several literatures – the political parties literature, transitions to democracy and social movements. While each body of literature is vast, in this section I discuss specific arguments that are relevant to this research. These arguments have made a significant contribution within their field, but as I argue the current research leaves gaps in our understanding of why elite alliances emerge in some circumstances but not in others.

The agency based approach in the transitions to democracy literature has stressed the role of elite based "pacts" as central to the transition process. Various groups involved in the political process bargain and decide the rules of the game. They mutually agree not to harm each other's interests and to cooperate with each other. The result is an explicit agreement known as a "pact[2]." Pacts reduce uncertainty as they allow elites to negotiate and come to a mutually accepted agreement. Over time these pacts become institutionalized as the rules of the game come to be further defined[3]. Pacts include many different kinds of actors – elites in the government, the military and the opposition. Guerllimo O'Donnell and Philleppe Schmitter argue that two groups emerge within the

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[2] Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, Karl, Terry. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America " *Comparative Politics* V.23 (1):1-21.

[3] Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

government – hardliners, who do not wish to reform the regime and softliners, who are more open to changes within the ruling structure. The opposition is divided into radicals, who do not want to cooperate with the regime and moderates, who are open to working within existing institutional structures for initiating reform[4]. Pacts emerge between softliners in the regime and moderates in the opposition and then can be extended to hardliners in the form of guarantees.

O'Donnell and Schmitter's approach has been severely critiqued for being overly simplistic and teleological without keeping in mind the complexities that define everyday politics in several transition countries[5]. The model fails to be useful when trying to understand how a "moderate opposition" emerges to negotiate with the regime. Schwedler has argued that the typology of moderates and radicals in the opposition is not useful because there are many different kinds of groups that are lumped together as "moderates." In reality, these groups are very different in nature. Further, the same group may be moderate on some issues and radical on others. Simply labeling some groups as "moderates" does not provide much analytical leverage[6]. The moderate opposition in most countries consists of several squabbling groups, many of whom may never work together. How do the opposition groups come to cooperate with each other such that they are able to present a united front to the regime?

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[4] O'Donnell, Guerllimo, and Philleppe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Washington DC: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

[5] Carothers, Tom. 2002. "The End of the Transitions Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1):5-21, Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. *Faith in Moderation? Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

[6] Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. *Faith in Moderation? Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

From a social movements perspective, Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikknik argue that the "boomerang pattern" is central to the success of social movements. They define the boomerang pattern as situations where social movement leaders gain additional support from activist elites in other countries. The newly formed alliance then pressures the government for change[7]. Such alliances emerged in several instances of activism around the world. But how are these alliances formed? How are elites able to put aside their differences and engage each other such that an alliance emerges?

Game theoretical perspectives have conceptualized the problem of cooperation among elites as a prisoner's dilemma. The classic prisoner's dilemma postulates at the problem of cooperation is one of collective action. Incentives to participate in an alliance are few as the outcome is shared by all regardless of individual cooperation. Therefore incentives to defect are high. However, cooperation is possible under prisoner's dilemma under certain circumstances. Robert Axelrod argues that cooperation is likely when the players may continue to interact with each other in the future. The "shadow of the future" then motivates elites not to defect from the alliance[8]. Borrowing from this literature, Angrist has argued that political parties emerge when elites interact with each other in an institutional setting[9]. In this study, "shadow of the future" arguments do not provide much leverage in explaining elite alliances as the chances of long-term interaction are always present among politically involved elites, yet they are able to cooperate under some circumstances but not under others. How can we explain this difference? I now turn

[7] Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders : Advocacy Networks in International Politics* Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

[8] Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

[9] Angrist, Michele Penner. 2006. *Party Building in the Modern Middle East*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

to a more detailed conceptualization of my theoretical argument explaining the formation of elite alliances.

Formation of Issue-Based and Value-Based Elite Alliances:

I have argued that the nature of elite alliances is substantively different from mobilization alliances. Groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form mobilization alliances, but may work together through elite alliances. When constituencies are fluid mobilization alliances expose supporters to poaching by other groups. The mobilization event provides other groups with easy access to each others constituency at a particular venue and time. The mobilization event can therefore be conveniently used to poach constituents as groups can make themselves and their message visible to others' constituents and present themselves as a better alternative.

Since groups with fluid constituencies have no consistent basis for support, mobilizing alone provides a better opportunity to expand and solidify a support base. Elite alliances do not require groups to engage their constituencies since groups cooperate through their leaders. In this way, groups are able to address a mutual concern without exposing their constituents to poaching by other actors.

However elite alliances may lead to mobilization in the future, especially if the nature of the concern being addressed is socially and politically sensitive. Groups may come under pressure from their constituents to mobilize or members may start organizing spontaneous protests. These events will expose constituents to poaching by other groups, defeating the purpose of forming an elite alliance. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances. These are focused on a specific concern and are unlikely to lead to mobilization in the future because of their technical

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and focused nature. Value-based issues are likely to be more volatile and prone to future mobilization.

Groups with divided constituencies may also engage in elite alliances, even though they are able to form mobilization alliances. Elite alliances may be beneficial for such groups under certain circumstances. Elite based activism is less likely to be repressed by the regime. Also, mobilization may not be possible because of resource constraints or the concern may be too technical to achieve a significant turnout at protests and rallies. Groups with divided constituencies may form issue-based or value-based elite alliances as they are unconcerned about engaging in mobilization in the future. Since their constituencies are divided, supporters are unlikely to defect and offer their loyalties to other groups. To sum up, I present the argument is in the following table:

Table II: Formation of Elite Alliances

Constituency	Elite Alliances
Fluid	Yes: Issue-based
Divided	Yes: Issue-based/ Value-based

I now go on to present the case studies. I examine cases of successful and unsuccessful elite alliance making in Egypt and Pakistan that illustrate that the alliance outcomes were consistent with my model. Since many of these events were not well reported in the scholarly literature, I relied mostly on interviews and data collected through party websites and news publications to reconstruct the story. I show how in the case of Egypt, a successful issue-based elite alliance formed but the same groups were unable to form value-based or mobilization alliances. In the case of Pakistan, I examine

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how groups with divided constituencies formed both value and issue-based elite alliances which soon expanded into an anti-regime mobilization campaign.

1995 Anti Press Law Activism in Egypt:

Egyptian opposition politics is well known for its ideological divisions, personal rivalries and vast differences in strategies among groups. Yet the history of opposition activism reveals that the groups can form alliances under certain circumstances. In this section, I discuss the formation of the 1995 anti-Press Law activism alliance among groups, despite their various ideological leanings and the Mubarak regime's repressive policies. The alliance succeeded in convincing the Mubarak regime to repeal the law, despite the government being highly wary of the growing strength of the opposition, especially trade unions, leftists and Islamists. The alliance survived under a volatile election year political environment, with the Mubarak regime imposing several restrictions on freedom and widely repressing voices of dissent, Further, this was the first election with meaningful opposition participation since 1985. For over five years most legal opposition parties and other mainstream groups such as The Muslim Brotherhood had no formal avenues for participation in the government. The Mubarak regime was firmly entrenched.

These circumstances would hardly be considered propitious for the emergence of an opposition alliance. Yet, as I demonstrate, contrary to the predictions of other models, a successful issue-based elite alliance emerged. The groups were able to address a mutual concern while also protecting their constituencies. Since the groups did not mobilize their constituencies, my conjecture is that they were unconcerned about losing support to other

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groups. However, the same groups were unable to cooperate with each other to oppose the results of the 1995 election. The nature of the concern was value-based as it attacked the very ethos of a regime that holds elections without intending to broker a change of power. The data suggests that the possibility of forming an alliance with groups with fluid constituencies raised fears of member poaching. Concerns about protecting their constituencies prevented the groups from forming alliances with each other.

In 1995 the Mubarak government announced parliamentary elections to be held in November. All opposition parties with the exception of al-Tagammu had boycotted the 1990 parliamentary elections because of the Mubarak regime's refusal to allow judiciary oversight. Therefore between 1990 through 1995, only al-Tagammu party had some voice in the parliament while other groups remained outside the official channels. Some groups, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood had used this time period to expand their support base in an alternative field of political contestation – professional associations, such as the doctor's syndicate. Yet, for most groups the 1995 elections were crucial in gaining back lost ground in the parliament.

The Muslim Brotherhood declared that it would contest the elections through independents and would be looking to form new alliances with other groups. al-Wafd, SLP and several smaller parties also made public announcements declaring their intentions to participate in the elections to be held later in the year. In addition to parliamentary elections, professional syndicate elections were also scheduled for the same year. Since 1990 the Muslim Brotherhood had greatly increased its power and influence over professional associations making the group a formidable presence for the regime. The Mubarak regime was also suffering from "Algeria complex" jitters,

especially with regard to the Muslim Brotherhood and its supporters. In the 1991 elections in Algeria, the Islamist party gained tremendous ground and was reportedly on the verge of victory when the army launched a coup. Both the opposition and the regime were poised for an eventful year to come.

Wary of the opposition's increasing strength, both in professional associations and on the street, the Mubarak regime launched an offensive against the three largest groups – the Muslim Brotherhood, SLP and al-Wafd. In January security officials arrested the National Chairman of the SLP, Adel Hussain for having ties to Islamist extremist groups. Husssain's arrest sparked a public outrage. Ibrahim Nafei, editor of the semi-official al-Ahram sent a letter to the public prosecutor's office protesting the arrest[10]. Many party members reported that the arrest was actually aimed at weakening the close alliance between the Muslim Brotherhood and the SLP. Yet, SLP President Ibrahim Shukri declared that the regime's coercion tactics would not break the cooperative understanding between the SLP and the Brotherhood[11]. The regime was making it amply clear that they would punish any groups that cooperated with the Muslim Brotherhood, making it even more unlikely that alliances would emerge.

The Muslim Brotherhood also reported arrests of its members after their homes and offices were raided by security officials. On January 23rd 1995, the Deputy Secretary General of the Doctor's syndicate and a prominent Brotherhood leader Essam el-Aryan was arrested along with several other prominent professionals. Even al-Wafd was not spared in the government's campaign against the opposition. In August, al-Wafd's

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[10] Personal Interview, April 9th 2007

[11] Al-Hayat, January 9th 1995

newspaper editor-in-chief al-Badawai was beaten and arrested leading to outcry from the journalists' community.

The arrest of prominent personalities ensured high levels of news coverage both in domestic and international sources and sent a clear signal to the opposition that the regime would do everything possible to maintain its hold on power. The Mubarak government justified its offensive as necessary in the face of rising Islamic extremism. Frequent police clashes among security officials and Jamaa-al-Islamiyya, especially in upper Egypt were making headlines in domestic newspapers. Within the month of January, the death toll resulting from the clashes rose to 80[12]. Jamaa and al-Jihad also targeted tourists and in November claimed responsibility for attacking the Pakistani embassy in Cairo. The growing influence of these movements in Egyptian politics led the Muslim Brotherhood to release an open letter to Mubarak restating that the group had renounced violence and was most willing to work under accepted institutional channels[13]. The Mubarak regime's policy of excluding and repressing radical Islamists while providing moderate groups with an opportunity to participate in the parliament was clearly designed to keep the opposition within his grip by making moderates less likely to challenge the regime. According to some models, these circumstances should have prevented groups from forming alliances against the regime[14].

With the upcoming elections and rising Islamic extremism, the Mubarak government passed new measures to maintain control over the polity. On January 24th,

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[12] Keesings World Archives, January 21st 1995

[13] Al-Hayat, January 30th 1995

[14] Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

while addressing a group of police officers in Cairo, Mubarak praised them for their work in curbing Islamic militancy and accused the opposition newspapers of waging an anti-government campaign by publishing criticism and slander against the militants' arrests[15]. Mubarak's statement was a harbinger of the new restrictions on freedom of expression and assembly in Egypt that were to follow. In February 1995, the government passed law 100. As per the new law, the government would have increased oversight of the union and professional association elections. Government oversight over union elections would mean that the opposition would lose its strong hold over these arenas of political activism. Since 1990 the professional associations in Egypt had become largely Muslim Brotherhood dominated. Instead of focusing their energies on winning a place in the parliament, which they saw as a rubber stamp, the Brothers had changed their strategy to increase their power and influence in the professional associations. Taking note of the new strategy, in 1993, the Mubarak regime passed a new law that declared union elections null and void if the turnout was less than 50%. Law 100 was the regime's latest effort to reclaim dominance over the associations. SLP newspaper al-Shaab released a vehement critique of the new law and accused the government of waging war against the Muslim Brotherhood and the Labor Party. The deputy leader of the Labor Party Mohammad Hilmi Murad declared the law illegal as it was passed without consulting the unions[16]. While several unions including lawyers, pharmacists, doctors and engineers staged sit-ins at their headquarters and observed strike days, they refrained from organizing protests fearing police retaliation.

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[15] Al-Ahram, January 26th 1995

[16] Al-Shaab, February 15th 1995

In May 1995, the government introduced a new press law, officially known as Law Number 93 and commonly nicknamed "Press Assassination Law." The law stipulated that the government would hold newspapers liable for publishing any information that was found to be slanderous and false. Publishing false information or rumors could lead to a three to five year prison sentence and a fine of E 5,000 – 20,0000. The higher limit would be imposed if the information threatened public order. The law was passed with very little debate in the parliament and was promulgated immediately. The actual text of the law was deliberately vague to allow the government to use its provisions to prosecute journalists as needed. The semi-official newspaper al-Ahram noted that the role of the new law is to promote responsible journalism[17].

The government's attempt to muzzle the press came as a shock to journalists and opposition leaders all over the country. While Egypt has a history of state incursions in freedom of speech and expression, the country has the most advanced press in the Arab world. Cairo is considered the largest publishing centers in the region. Opposition parties have been allowed to publish their own newspapers since the 1977 Parties Law passed by the Sadat regime. Newspapers such as the Liberal al-Ahrar and the Leftist al-Ahli have engaged in lively debate on domestic and foreign policy issues since 1978. Not only do opposition newspapers report on the activities of the party, they also provide analysis of current events and are often the main mouthpiece of the party to reach its constituents. al-Wafd and al-Shaab (belonging to the Labor Party) are some of the most commonly read opposition newspapers.

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[17] Al-Ahram, May 30th 1995

Journalism is seen as a highly respectable profession and has attracted some of the most educated sections of society[18]. Egyptian journalists come from a variety of political convictions and perceptions and each publication reflects these views – from Marxists to conservative. The state has always had a tumultuous relationship with the journalists. While on one hand, there has been considerable press freedom in Egypt, on the other hand governments since Nasser have targeted outspoken critics of the government through threats and intimidation and promoted loyalists to important public offices. As one author explains:

> The dynamics of government – media relations are based on the interplay between the regime attempting to mobilize public opinion by using the journalists, and the latter attempting to write and say what they want. The result of this interplay depends on personalities as well as policies[19].

The goal of both the trade union law (number 100) and the press law (number 93) was to prevent the opposition from gaining additional supporters. The new press law hurt every opposition party in Egypt was a major onslaught on the journalistic profession more generally. By the first anniversary of the law, nearly 100 journalists, contributors and editors had been interrogated in connection with "crimes of publication." 33 of those investigated were officially charged[20]. While some official newspapers such as al-Ahram remained quiet on the issue, al-Akhbar published articles critical of the new law. Renowned journalist Mustafa Ameen wrote sarcastically, "We must be grateful to the government for not including the death penalty among the new punishments it has

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[18] See Rugh, William. 2004. *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
[19] ———. 1979. *The Arab Press: News Media and Political Processes in the Arab World*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press. P. 47.

[20] Kienle, Eberhard. 2001. *A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt*. London: I.B. Tauris.

imposed on journalists, and for sufficing with mere 15-year prison terms and fines of only a paltry 20,000 pounds[21]." Opposition newspapers including al-Wafd and al-Shaab were rife with articles critical of the law. However, given that the Mubarak regime was firmly in place, the high levels of repression against major groups and severe curbs on freedom, the appearance of an alliance seemed unlikely.

Yet, an organized campaign against the press law emerged in May when al-Wafd, al-Ahrar and al-Arabi, three of the main opposition newspaper hit the newsstands with a black frame on the front page as a symbolic gesture against the press law. While the expression of opposition was subtle, many prominent journalists felt that this was a powerful way to express the extreme disillusionment with the status of freedom of press in Egypt[22]. Representatives from several opposition parties met at the journalists syndicate to coordinate strategies on how best to oppose the law. Representatives of the semi-official al-Akhbar al-Youm also participated. According to one party member, the group discussed many possibilities including boycotting the upcoming elections. Yet since most opposition parties had already boycotted the elections in 1990, this idea was dropped[23]. Even though the government incursion on freedom of speech and expression is an extremely important issue for opposition groups in Egypt, the emerging cooperation among the groups was limited to party leaders only.

All participating opposition parties agreed to suspend one issue of their newspapers. Al-Wafd, al-Ahrah and al-Shaab did not publish on Friday while al-Hakika,

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[21] Al-Akhbar, May 30th 1995

[22] Michael Slackman, personal interview August 6th 2007

[23] Personal interview April 17th 2007

al-Khudr, al-Arabi and al-Ahli did not publish the week after. Suspending newspapers is a highly significant form of protest for opposition groups because in a country where freedom of assembly tends to be restricted, opposition parties use publications as their major mouthpiece to reach out to the public. It is notable that even al-Tagammu party participated in the activism. Al-Tagammu has a history of non-cooperation with other opposition parties in Egypt. In 1990, al-Tagammu was one of the only major parties who decided not to comply with the opposition's call for an election boycott.

On June 7th, approximately 1, 000 journalists organized a protest in their syndicate premises in Cairo. Both journalists from the opposition press and the semi-official press participated in the protest. The protest occurred with heavy police patrol both in and around the premises. The protesters wore prison clothes so symbolize the extent to which the law had imprisoned their profession and the suffocation they felt. Several members from other professional unions also attended to express sympathy with the journalists. The journalists raised slogans denouncing the government and the parliament and declaring that the new legislation would effectively kill press freedom in Egypt. While members from different opposition groups were present at the protest, this was not a joint effort organized by the political parties. The primary organizers and participants were members of the journalists union.

The opposition parties did organize one protest on June 18th at al-Wafd's headquarters. Nearly 8,000 people attended the protests. The organizers and participants included al-Wafd and Muslim Brotherhood. Members of the journalists' union also attended. Opposition leaders made speeches against the law and asked that Mubrak repeal

its provisions. The demonstration occurred under heavy police patrol, but officers did not intervene in the peaceful protest[24].

The government retaliated against the widespread opposition claim making before the elections by imprisoning several prominent party members. In August, armed men attacked the editor of al-Wafd, who was deeply critical of the press law. al-Wafd claimed that the armed men were security officials, but the interior ministry denied the charge and ordered an investigation into the event[25]. Muslim Brotherhood members continued to face arrests. In July the Interior Ministry reported that they had imprisoned 200 Muslim Brotherhood members[26]. This was the largest regime onslaught against the Muslim Brotherhood in the year. The widespread coercion campaigns further agitated the opposition parties and on August 30th, members of al-Wafd, al-Tagammu, SLP, Nasserites, the Muslim Brotherhood along with several other smaller parties sent a memo to President Mubarak asking him to either repeal his restrictive measures or step down[27]. The memo was highly significant because not only had the major opposition parties challenged Mubarak directly on a particular policy concern but also in collaboration with each other despite regime repression, inclusion of selected moderate groups and deep ideological differences among the actors.

The alliance among opposition parties and between the parties and professional syndicates soon expanded to include participation by human rights organizations. The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR) became of the major champions of

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[24] Personal interview April 17th 2007

[25] Al-Wafd, August 3rd 1995

[26] Keesings Contemporary World Archives, July 28th 1995

[27] Al-Hayat, August 30th 1995

press freedom in the country. With assistance from its international network and domestic offices, EOHR drafted several appeals to the Mubarak regime asking him to repeal the new press law. In their reports and publications, EOHR referred to the 1995 press law as the "Press Assassination Law" and charged that the new restrictions would essentially criminalize any expression of a political viewpoint[28]. EOHR gave extensive support to the journalists union by publicizing their opposition to the law internationally through the IFEX (International Freedom of Expression Exchange) website. The International Press Institute also became involved in the campaign. On May 29th 1996, IPS director Johann Fritz wrote an open letter to President Hosni Mubarak expressing grave concern that the new press law would stifle freedom of speech and expression in Egypt[29].

Faced with increasing criticism from the journalists syndicate, international human rights organizations and the opposition parties and groups, the Mubarak regime decided to refer the press law to the constitutional court and then finally rescinded the law in June 1996, thirteen months after the law was promulgated. Law 93 remains the only repressive measure passed in the 1990s to be abandoned. The new law that replaced 93 was much more liberal. Prison sentences and fines imposed were reduced and the conditions under which the law could be applied were also limited to spreading false information with malicious intent[30]. The repealing of the law came as a victory to those that had campaigned against it, however the story of government incursions into civic

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[28] Public Statement on Press Assassination Law, www.eorh.org

[29] Public Statements 1995, www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi

[30] Kienle, Eberhard. 2001. *A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt*. London: I.B. Tauris.

freedoms in Egypt continued with additional laws restricting speech, expression and assembly in the future.

Even though the press law was eventually repealed, it did succeed in preventing the opposition from spreading its message in an election year and intimidating leading critics of the regime. Nearly one month before the election, security officials arrested Magdi Hussein, editor of al-Shaab newspaper for liable under the new law. Hussein's articles against the regime, and particularly against the press law had featured prominently in the pages of al-Shaab. Hussein was arrested for publishing a report in July alleging that a high ranking public official's son had avoided paying the bill at a restaurant. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Hussein declared, "What this is about is an attempt by the Government to punish the newspaper for its explicitness in criticizing the Government and for our Islamic conviction[31]."

The 1995 elections were held under less than optimal circumstances for the opposition. Many prominent leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood were in jail, including Esam al-Aryan, who had filed his papers to run as an independent from his prison cell. Others had been harassed and intimidated, including SLP leader Adel Hussein who was arrested and released earlier in the year for suspected ties to Islamist extremists. Nonetheless this was the first chance in 10 years for the opposition to expand its influence in the parliament as nearly all parties had boycotted the 1990 election. The Muslim Brotherhood contested through independents in alliance with its traditional partners, the SLP and the Liberal Party. Together these parties were known as the "Islamist bloc."

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[31] The New York Times, October 29th 1995

The elections were marked by high levels of violence between government supporters and the opposition and within the opposition. Nearly 75% of the candidates ran as independents with no official party affiliation[32]. The results of the election bore heavily in favor of the ruling regime. The NDP was able to hold on to all its seats in the parliament. The opposition gained only 14 seats, of which al-Wafd won 6, making it the largest party to be represented in the parliament. The Muslim Brotherhood gained one seat. The opposition cried foul and accused the government of rigging and stuffing the ballot boxes in addition to intimidating and stifling the opposition. al-Wafd party's newspaper headlines read, "The triumph of thievery!", while al-Ahrah's newspaper declared, "A black day for democracy[33]." Police scuffles with opposition members broke out in several districts in Cairo as the state run television and newspapers announced the results.

Regime attacks against the opposition did not end with the election victory. Soon after the results of the first round of elections became public, the regime arrested 94 members of the Muslim Brotherhood for trying to incite a riot after the elections. An unknown assailant shot Ayman Nour, a popular candidate of the Wafd party at the time[34]. Nour survived the attack and decided not to press with an investigation, but party members alleged that this was a plot to further intimidate the opposition.

The charged political atmosphere created another opportunity for the opposition to form an alliance and launch a campaign against the Mubarak regime. This was the first

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[32] Korany, Bhagat. 1998. "Restricted Democratization from Above: Egypt." In *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World*, ed. B. Korany, R. Brynen and P. Noble. London: Lynne Ryner.

[33] Al-Wafd November 30th 1995, al-Ahrar November 29th 1995, Fandy, Mamoun 1995. "Egypt Nears Twilight Zone After Undemocratic Elections." *The Christian Science Monitor* Dec. 11th 1995:19.

[34] Ayman Nour later left al-Wafd party and started a new group by the name al-Ghad.

opportunity for opposition parties to have a say in the government since 1985. The widespread election fraud had created public outrage. Egyptian opposition parties had already worked together in an alliance to successfully rescind the Press Law. They were in an excellent position to take their agenda forward. With their poor showing in the election and many prominent leaders already in jail, opposition parties had nothing more to lose. After deliberating over the weekend of December 9th and 10th, opposition groups including al-Wafd, the Muslim Brotherhood, SLP, the Liberal Party and the Nasserites released a statement stating their position on the elections and a program of action. The statement was widely published in opposition newspapers such as al-Wafd and al-Shaab and read that the groups would cooperate to lobby for fresh elections monitored by the judiciary and independent observers. The statement also appealed to trade unions and other professional associations for their support[35]. Even though the opposition seemed poised to form another elite alliance, surprisingly no joint campaign emerged after the statement was released.

al-Tagammu broke ranks with the alliance accusing the Muslim Brotherhood of monopolizing the professional associations and preventing other parties from a free and fair chance of gaining constituents. Since 1990s, the Muslim Brotherhood has dominated in professional associations in Egypt. Their "take-over" of this important constituency is a major loss for the leftist al-Tagammu, who is trying to expand its support base in the same strata of society. al-Tagammu's statement suggests that working jointly with the Muslim Brotherhood on a value-based concern had raised fears of losing further support to the Muslim Brotherhood. The Nasserite Party accused al-Tagammu of hypocrisy for

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[35] Al-Shaab December 11th 1995, al-Wafd December 11th 1995

agreeing to demand the presence of foreign observers at the elections as they considered such a presence foreign intervention[36]. Groups had put aside these controversial divisions to form an alliance again the Press Law, but in campaigning against the results of the elections, these aspects because of paramount concern. Even though the members made individual statements that they had agreed to put aside their differences and work together, no joint campaign emerged. My conjecture is that the value-based nature of the concern prevented the alliances from emerging as each group became concerned about other groups attracting their supporters.

While members of the "alliance" did launch independent campaigns, for example, al-Wafd party made extensive use of the internet to make appeals for international support, no elite or mobilization alliance materialized. The level of regime repression towards the opposition remained largely the same since before the election and the political atmosphere was similarly charged with wide public outrage on the issue. Structural conditions, ideological differences among groups and regime policies remained the same, yet while an alliance formed to protest the Press Law, groups were unable to form an alliance against the elections result. My model explains the lack of alliance building as a result of the nature of the concern.

The emergence of alliance making among opposition groups in the 1995 press law activism and the lack of alliances post-elections suggests that groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances but not value-based elite alliances or mobilization alliances. The anti-press law activism was nearly entirely conducted through non-mobilization means. Elites from different parties agreed to participate through the

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[36] Al-Quds al-Arabi, December 11th 1995

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medium of their newspapers. The success of the campaign depended on all major parties participating and such cooperation did emerge and succeed in gaining the attention of the regime. The opposition did organize one large protest against the law, but this protest was organized by MB and al-Wafd. As explained in Chapter II, these groups have divided constituencies in relation to each other as al-Wafd receives support from the upper strata of society, especially in rural areas, while MB receives the core of its support from students and professional unions in urban areas. Given that the campaign against the Press Law lasted for one year, the emergence of no other mobilization alliances further points to the extent to which the groups limited their efforts to issue-based elite alliances.

The same group of parties, however, could not cooperate in a post-election anti-Mubarak alliance. Protesting the results of the election and demanding free and impartial re-polling is a value-based concern as it questions the very basis of Egyptian politics where the results of the election always favor the regime. Groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form value-based alliances as these address sensitive issues and can incite constituents into mobilization creating opportunities for member poaching by other allies.

Fears of losing their constituency to other groups keep parties from cooperating. Therefore no elite alliance emerged to protest the results of the 1995 elections. Parties such as al-Tagammu became fearful of MB dominance in their constituencies and competition with other leftist parties. When asked why his party did not cooperate with other groups to protest the 1995 election results, one group member told me, "This is a very big issue. In Egypt. whenever there is an election, there is always a question if the

results are fair, but how can we work with other groups when we don't know about their intentions? [37]"

I now examine the case of Pakistan where groups with divided constituencies formed an elite alliance against the Kalabagh Dam project activism in Pakistan. The alliance soon expanded to a large-scale mobilization campaign against the government.

Kalabagh Dam and Anti-Sharif Activism in Pakistan 1998-1999

The Kalabagh dam elite alliance in Pakistan and the subsequent anti-Sharif campaign illustrates that groups with divided constituencies can form elite as well as mobilization alliances on issue or value-based concerns. When constituencies are divided, members are less likely to defect to other groups. Mobilization alliances that pool the constituencies of the groups therefore emerge.

Despite being able to form mobilization alliances, which are more visible and therefore attract greater attention, groups with divided constituencies may sometimes form elite alliances. These are less likely to be crushed by the regime, use fewer group resources and are often useful when the nature of the concern is too technical to draw the attention of a large number of constituents.

When forming an elite alliance, groups with divided constituencies may focus both on an issue or value-based concern as forming a mobilization alliance in the future is always a possibility. As I show in the case of the Kalabagh dam project – PPP's unique position at the time, combined with the technical nature of the concern prevented a mobilization alliance, but the party did form an elite alliance with the regional ANP. With rising discontent against the Sharif regime the issue-based elite alliance evolved into

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[37] Personal interview, July 2nd 2007

value-based. More partners joined the alliance ultimately leading to the emergence of a massive anti-Sharif campaign ending with the 1999 coup.

Kalabagh dam was first conceived in 1984 as a solution to the country's growing water and electricity needs. The proposed dam would be constructed across one of Pakistan's major rivers – the Indus. The location of the dam would be on the border of Punjab and NWFP. The paperwork for the dam was finalized with the assistance of the World Bank and United National Development Program in coordination with the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) authority in Pakistan. Large scale development projects such as dams have caused controversy in several countries due to their environmental and humanitarian impacts. In Pakistan, the issues surrounding the Kalabagh dam project have stirred the nationalist sentiments of several provinces, most notably in Sind and NWFP regions.

As I explained in Chapter II, Pakistan is divided into 4 provinces – Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP. Ethnic tensions have been central to Pakistan's politics and have often given rise to secessionist demands leading to mistrust among the different regions and ethnic groups. Nawaz Sharif and the PML have a strong constituency in Punjab. Since the government was dominated by Punjabis at the time and the military has always had a strong Punjabi presence, other provinces made accusations of Punjabi hegemony over the country. The Kalabagh dam project is seen as another way for the PML to impose Punjabi will on the country. Other provinces, most notably NWFP and Sind alleged that Punjab will benefit disproportionately from the construction of the dam while they will bear the brunt of its ill effects such as floods and desertification. Sind and Baluchistan alleged that they will receive less water and therefore will not be able to

sustain their economy while NWFP argued that the dam will lead to widespread flooding in the region with cities central to the economy becoming submerged. Punjab would benefit greatly from the dam at it is considered the granary of Pakistan. Increased irrigation facilities will help assist Punjab's agriculture while the electricity produced will help fuel its urban economy.

Emergence of the Kalabagh Dam Campaign:

Sharif came to power after fresh elections were announced in early 1997. The elections were a result of the dismissal of the Bhutto government in 1996 due to financial mismanagement and mass corruption. PML won an overwhelming majority and received solid support from provincial parties such as ANP (NWFP) and BNP (Baluchistan) and the urban Sind ethnic based MQM party. Sharif also received high levels of support from his traditional constituency among the business elite and traders. The business community had become disillusioned with the Bhutto government's lack of effective economic policies and had hoped that Sharif would be the answer to the growing economic problems in the country. Sharif political career is preceded by his background as an industrialist and therefore he is often seen as partial to business interests. The stock market in Pakistan showed a rise of nearly 7% when trades became confident that Sharif would be taking over the government.

Another major victory for the Sharif regime emerged when his government succeeded in abolishing the 8th amendment to the constitution that allows the President to dismiss the parliament. The President Farooq Leghari resigned in December 1997 over growing tensions with the regime creating an opportunity for Sharif to strategically place

a candidate of his own choice as the President. The new President Rafiq Tarar was blatantly handpicked by the Sharif government. Media analysts and other observers openly referred to Tarar a "puppet" of the regime and accused Sharif of exercising absolute power. A well known journalist Zarraf Abbas wrote:

> Having successfully reversed the cycle of attacks and accusations, first he [Nawaz Sharif] forced President Farooq Leghari to step down. Then he saw to it that Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah was shown the door. And then a finishing touch, he presented to the nation his personal selection for President – a highly conservative retired judge, Mr. Rafia Tarar[38].

Tarar's credentials as a hard line Islamist activist led several analysts to speculate that the government was trying to appease the Islamists who had so far refrained from giving their support to the regime[39]. Sharif's position as the prime minister seemed more secure that any previous democratically elected regime in Pakistan. With the Sharif regime looking more stable that ever, no observer could have predicted the anti – regime alliances that would soon emerge.

Sharif's strong position in the government was accompanied by internal crisis in the PPP. Benazir Bhutto had become embroiled in a corruption scandal with several investigations probing her off shore bank accounts and domestic assets. In the 1997 elections, PPP gained very few seats concentrated mostly in rural Sind. In fact, the 1997 elections had effectively reduced the PPP to the role of a provincial party. The Sharif government took full advantage of the PPP's weak position by taking on direct supervision of the corruption investigations against Bhutto. On request by the government, Bhutto's Swiss bank accounts were frozen. Further, her husband was

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[38] Abbas, Zaffar. 1998. "Controlling Interest." *The Herald Annual* Jan 1998:59. P. 56

[39] Rehman, Ashaar. 1998. "Will The Real Tarar Please Stand Up?" *Newsline*, Abbas, Zaffar. 1998. "Controlling Interest." *The Herald Annual* Jan 1998:59, Jahangir, Asma. 1998. "The President's New Clothes." *The Herald Annual* Jan 1998:64.

already in jail over allegations of receiving kickbacks from various industries. Bhutto accused the government of "victimization" as tensions between the PPP and PML came to an all time high.

The first sign of opposition against Nawaz Sharif came with the defection of the ANP from the Sharif government in February 1998. ANP had been a close ally of the PML for over nine years. While the defection came as a shock to the PML, the regime still maintained a comfortable majority in the parliament. ANP broke its alliance with the PML over the refusal of the Sharif government to allow an official name change for the NWFP to "Pukhtoonkhwa." ANP had asked for the change because the new name would better reflect the ethnic and linguistic composition of the region. Party members argued that every other province in Pakistan had been named after its major ethnicity, for example Punjab being composed of Punjabis and Baluchistan of Baluchis. NWFP should therefore have the same right to protect its ethnic identity. Pakistani news media reported rumors that Sharif had promised ANP the name change prior to the elections[40]. After deliberations the ruling PML government refused ANP's demand as they feared a name change would encourage ethnic based demands on the government from other provinces. The ruling regime argued that the name change would adversely affect the nation's unity and internal sovereignty. The Hazara regions in NWFP, who form the main opposition to the ANP and stood firmly against the name change. The regime's refusal to change the name of the province came as a shock to ANP leaders. In February The ANP formally took on the role of the opposition along with the PPP in the parliament.

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[40] Khan, Ismail. 1998. "Another Frontier." *Newsline*, Abbas, Zaffar. 1998. "Controlling Interest." *The Herald Annual* Jan 1998:59.

In May 1998, India successfully conducted several underground nuclear tests. Nawaz Sharif's regime faced tremendous domestic pressure to match India's nuclear capabilities even though the country was in tremendous economic crisis. Caving to the pressure, Pakistan also tested its nuclear capabilities. The result was increased economic difficulties due to sanctions from the United States. The government declared a state of emergency after the tests and waived all fundamental rights. Sharif announced economic austerity measures to counter the financial crisis that had engulfed the country. In addition to new tax evasion rules and other ways to increase the government's revenue, the government announced an economic development program which included building the Kalabagh dam on the Indus river. The construction of the dam would encourage domestic industry and agriculture and increase the productivity of the economy. The dam had been first proposed in the 1980s, but tabled at the time due to major controversies surrounding the project. Sind and NWFP had alleged that Punjab would benefit disproportionately from the construction of the dam while other provinces would face desertification and flooding. This time, the Sharif government was determined to see the project through. Sharif made extensive use of state run media to embark on a publicity blitz to assure people of the benefits of Kalabagh. A smear campaign labeled all those opposed to the dam as "unpatriotic[41]." Sharif's brother, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif became a major proponent of the dam. On June 16th 1998, he declared that the dam would be built "come what may" and described the opponents of the dam as Pakistan's "eternal enemies[42]".

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[41] Zaidi, Ali Faisal. 1998. "The Case Against Kalabagh." *The Herald* July 1998:62.

[42] Ahmed, Aamer. 1998. "Man With a Mission." *The Herald* July 1998:67.

ANP stood firmly against the project and saw thus as another attack on its identity as a region. ANP Chief Begum Wali Kahn accused the regime of wanting to build the dam for the good of the generals and aristocrats who had bought land east of the Indus River. She explained, "For us Pakistan exists on both sides of the river[43]". ANP found a ready partner in the PPP to launch an anti-dam campaign. Representing the interests of Sind, PPP's main opposition to the dam was on the account of the mistrust and suspicion with which Sind views the efforts by Punjab to tap its waters[44].

An ANP – PPP alliance soon emerged on the issue. However, the two parties faced many obstacles to mobilizing against the Sharif government. The PPP was very weak after its poor showing in the elections and the Sharif government was firmly entrenched after abolishing the 8th Amendment and handpicking Tarar as the new President. Further ANP is a regional party, limited to the relatively geographically isolated NWFP region. ANP and PPP also represent different ethnic groups. Given these circumstances, the emergence of a ANP-PPP alliance seemed unlikely. Yet, the two groups formed an issue-based elite alliance to protests the Kalabagh dam project.

On June 13th, in an expression of their opposition and solidarity, ANP and PPP members walked out of the budget session of the parliament. The speaker of the house had disallowed the discussion of the Kalabagh dam because he argued that the issue was technical and not political. After not being allowed to raise the issue as a point of order in the parliament, the two parties' MPs began to thump their desks in protest. Their complaints were not met with any response which led to each of them leaving their

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[43] Qureshi, Rizwan. Ibid."Interview with Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Former ANP Chief."64.

[44] See Ansari, Massoud. 1998. "Storm Over Indus." *Newsline*.

copies of the proposed budget on the speaker's desk and walking out. The MPs attacked

the speaker while walking out raising slogans such as "agent of the Punjabis." ANP chief

Begum Wali Khan declared, "Now we regret our alliance with the man who looks like

the Prime Minister of the Punjab[45]". The ANP – PPP alliance was formed despite the

ethnic differences between the two parties. The divided nature of the constituencies made

the alliance possible.

The walkout was accompanied by protests and strikes organized by each party in

their respective regions. Joint mobilization did not occur because of the logistical

problems related to organizing a cross-province protest. Further, the PPP was at its

weakest point at the time while the ruling PML was in a much stronger position. In his

article in a Pakistani news magazine, Ali Hasan argued that PPP took a cautious approach

to Kalabagh not only because of Punjab's hegemony in the national assembly but also

because of its unique position as a national level party. While PPP had been reduced to a

Sind based provincial party in the 1997 elections, the party did not want to alienate its

pockets of support in Punjab who may stand on the other side of the issue. PPP is a

national level party, therefore it was hesitant to take a strong position on an issue that

provokes different responses from different regions. Further, Hasan argues that the

inciting public emotions on the dam have proven difficult for the PPP. He explains:

> It seems people are more prone to respond to issues such as law and order,
> unemployment, support pricing for agricultural products and so forth. The Kalabagh dam
> seems to come lower in the public's list of immediate concerns. However the dam never
> ceases to be controversial and remains an issue that can trigger of (sic) nationalist
> sentiment. The crucial question is, with the PPP reduced, at least in the assemblies to a
> Sindi party, will it now come out openly against the project if plans to go ahead with the
> dam ever materialize?[46]

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[45] Khan, Ismail. Ibid."Another Frontier."

[46] Hasan, Ali. 1997. "Desert Storm." *The Herald* July 1997. p. 102

Even though PPP faced a dilemma in coming out openly against the dam, the party could

not keep quiet on the issue, given the importance of the project for Sind. The joint efforts

by the two groups were therefore limited to non-mobilization strategies. Further, even

though the dam project stirs nationalist emotions in Pakistan, ANP and PPP did not try to

frame the concern as a question of ethnic identity to attract constituents to the street. The

nature of the alliance was purposefully focused on the issue-based concern of the

Kalabagh dam.

Both groups organized separate protests in their own provinces. On June 17th,

PPP organized a strike in Sind. ANP used its website to raise awareness about the effort

and called upon the people of Sind to put aside their ethnic and nationalist differences

and participate. On August 10th 1998 ANP organized a massive rally in NWFP while PPP

gathered its supporters in Sindi cities.

The two parties made several joint statements to the press on the issue. On June

17th in a press conference, PPP and ANP leaders urged that they would stand firmly

against the construction of the dam and against Punjabi domination. They expressed

solidarity with each other and urged other provinces to put aside regional mistrust and

join them in their efforts[47]. Sharif's provincial supporters BNP and MQM urged the

government to consider the opinion of the provinces in making decisions about the dam[48].

The anti-dam activism was accompanied by heavy handed repression by the

government in the wake of the continuing emergency laws. Widespread arrests of anti-

dam activists, raids and searches became commonplace. In addition Bhutto faced

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[47] Takkar, Nafees. 1998. "Opp Deplores Kalabagh Dam Construction." *The Nation*, June 17th 1998.

[48] Ibid.

additional corruption allegations and related investigations. In an open statement to PPP supporters, she urged party members to show restraint in organizing protest on the issue of her likely arrest[49]. Despite high levels of regime repression, the alliance persisted. Ultimately, given the widespread opposition to the Kalabagh dam, the Sharif government decided to table the issue.

By the end of the summer, Karachi had become embroiled by strife among MQM supporters. Internal dissent in the MQM had led to the defection of some members and the formation of a new group – MQM – Haqiqi, commonly referred to as MQM(h). The rising violence between supporters of both groups led to the imposition of direct rule by the government in November 1998. The imposition of direct rule angered both the PPP and the MQM, two parties who are otherwise staunch ethnic rivals. ANP had also begun raising concerns about the general competence of the Nawaz Sharif government on its website[50]. The result was the emergence of a wider anti-Sharif campaign.

Emergence of the Anti-Sharif Campaign:

The Sharif government had come to power with solid support in the provinces and a President who seemed subservient to the regime's interests. The foundation for the government started to weaken when ANP defected and MQM also started showing its dissatisfaction with the ruling alliance. MQM finally ended its alliance with the government on August 26th 1998. In order to garner support from the Islamists, the government introduced Islamic law in August 1998. As per the law, Pakistan was to be

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[49] Mustafa, Waqar. 1998. "No Hurry for Agitation: PPP Chief." *Gulf News*, July 28th 1998.

[50] http://www.anp.org.pk/kalabaghdam.shtml

ruled by the provisions of the Shariah. The new legislation, however, failed to impress

the Islamists who blamed the government for trying to mislead the public on the recent

US strikes in Afghanistan[51]. Editorials in major Pakistani newspapers and news

magazines showed that most people could look through Sharif's populist tactics[52].

In 1999 Pakistan had become embroiled in another border dispute in the Kargil

region of Kashmir with India. The lack of international support, especially from the

United States forced Nawaz Sharif to order a pull back of troops and mercenaries from

the disputed territories. The pull back did not bode well with the Islamist parties who

chided the government for giving up on the cause of the Kashmiri people. Once again,

the government began to undertake repressive measured to protect their position. One of

the major targets was the press. The Sharif government tried to muzzle the press by

targeting prominent journalists and trying them under anti-terrorism laws. One of the

journalists arrested was Hussain Haqqani, now a leading analyst of Pakistani politics. The

most prominent news companies in Pakistan, the Jang Group became embroiled in a

major controversy with the government over tax evasion allegations. Jang editors and

journalists cried foul and accused the government of trying to reign in opposition

voices[53]. In May 1999, the government also passed a new anti-terrorism ordinance that

set up military courts to try domestic terrorists. In addition, the new law imposed a seven

year prison sentence for passing hand bills or writing graffiti. The Sharif government was

clearly using extreme repressive measures to keep the opposition quiet. The

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[51] "Sharif is not Capable of Enforcing Shariah Law." 1998. *The Independent*, August 31st 1998.

[52] See editorials published in *Newsline* Sept 1998 and *The Herald* Sept. 1998

[53] Rajour, Zulfikar. 1999. "Some Issues Remain To Be Sorted Out." *Gulf News*, Feb 8th 1999.

embarrassment over Kalabagh dam, combined with the strife in Karachi and lost war with India had weakened the regime. However, the opposition to the Sharif government consisted of several ideologically and regionally divided squabbling groups. Sharif had high hoped that heavy handed repression would prevent the "hotch-potch" of groups from working together[54].

Instead of abating the fire, Nawaz Sharif's draconian measures further fuelled the opposition's rage against the government. An anti-Sharif campaign emerged in early 1999. One of the first issues the parties took on was the new measured curbing press freedom. In February, several parties formed an alliance for press freedom that came to be known as APPFC – All Parties Press Freedom Committee. The Committee included PPP, MQM as well as Jamaat-e-Islami. PPP and MQM represent rival ethnic groups in Sind while JI has always had a relationship of mistrust with PPP. The committee held several meetings to release open letters against the Sharif regime's incursions on freedom of the press in the country. The opposition groups were now addressing value-based concerns by challenging not just a particular law or policy, but the basis of the Sharif regime. While initially APPFC limited its activities to an elite alliance, freedom of press had become a controversial and volatile value-based concern in the country. The journalists community and students had already become very active on the issue. The value-based elite alliance soon expanded to a mobilization alliance. The APPFC committee launched its first rally on February 8th in cooperation with the journalist's union. Opposition party members rallied in front of the parliament and demanded that the

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[54] "Grand Alliance a Hotch-Potch: PML." 1999. *Gulf News*, September 18th 1999.

newly set up information ministry be abolished and state controls over the media be removed[55].

While the PPP had become fully involved in the anti-Sharif campaign, Benazir Bhutto's corruption allegations continued to haunt her political career. In April 1999, Bhutto was found guilty of the charges. She decided to appeal the verdict but was forced to leave the country to await the result. Bhutto's departure left PPP in crisis as there was no leader to take over her position. With PPP taking a back seat for the moment, the Jamaat-e-Islami took on a more prominent position in the opposition campaign, especially on the issue of the Kargil war with India. In July, JI took the lead in organizing an all parties' conference on the situation in Kargil. The conference was held in Islamabad and the opposition parties declared that Sharif's irresponsible foreign policy had led to Pakistan's isolation from the world community. Parties of various viewpoints decided that they would coordinate their strategies on how to depose Sharif. News media reported widely that the parties had decided on an agenda for strikes and rallies all over the country[56].

The government accused the JI, MQM and PPP of creating social instability and retaliated by arresting over 200 activists from all three parties. The arrests, raids and detentions did not deter the opposition in organizing a large-scale "go Nawaz" rally in September in the Punjabi city of Lahore. The opposition parties declared that this was the first of three scheduled events in the country. News media and observers reported that

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[55] ———. Ibid."Some Issues Remain To Be Sorted Out." Feb 8th 1999.

[56] "Traders Strike Call Gets Mixed Response." 1999. *The Nation*, July 7th 1999.

over 40,000 people marched in the rally[57]. The fact that the mobilization was held in a Punjabi city, a traditional strong hold of the PML, showed the extent to which the opposition parties had succeeded in creating an anti-regime alliance. The protesters chanted "go Nawaz go" as they marched through the city before converging in the parliament area. MQM leader Sheikh Aftab warned that this is the beginning of a "big movement" against the regime[58]. The police reportedly fired at the crown and beat protesters in order to disperse them. In the days after the rally, security officials raided opposition headquarters, made arrests and other confiscations. Security officials reported that they had recovered bombs and other weapons at the MQM office and took several members into custody[59].

The next strike came on September 4th 1999 when businesses in all major cities shut down to protest the government's imposition of the general sales tax. Opposition parties cooperated closely with the traders to advertise and carry out the strike[60]. Some observers reported that opposition party members patrolled the streets forcing businesses to shut down to ensure compliance with the strike[61]. The opposition organized another major strike on September 11th despite the fact that the government arrested several prominent members prior to the designated day to prevent the agitation.

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[57] "Opposition Shows Street Power Today." 1999. *The Nation*, September 1st 1999, Raja, Zulfikar. 1999b. "Senate Session Starts Today." *Gulf News*, September 1st 1999, "40,000 Reported at Pakistan Opposition Rally." 1999. *The New York Times*, September 2nd 1999.

[58] Raja, Zulfikar. 1999b. "Senate Session Starts Today." *Gulf News*, September 1st 1999.

[59] Ibid.

[60] ———. 1999a. "First Major Challenge for Nawaz." *Gulf News*, September 4th 1999, "The Strike." 1999. *The Nation*, September 6th 1999.

[61] Umair Aziz, personal interview July 19th 2007.

The Nawaz Sharif government was clearly facing an uncontrollable tide of mobilization against his regime. Sharif referred to the opposition alliance against him as a "hotch-potch" of groups with different ideologies and no real leader or agenda[62]. In another effort to control the surge, Sharif banned demonstrations in Sind. The opposition parties responded by calling for a two day strike in Sind as a way to defy the new law. The strike was successful in spite of government arrests and baton charges in Karachi. Another rally was organized in Karachi on September 25th leading to more arrests and detentions.

The rising tide of opposition mobilization against the Sharif government culminated in the coup organized by General Pervez Musharraf on October 12th 1999. Sharif was taken into protective custody as the army took over the government. Pakistan's fourth military coup did not lead to public outrage, in fact many opposition parties actually welcomed the new development as a means to address the country's growing economic and political problems. The hope was the coup would bring some stability to the country.

How were opposition groups in Pakistan able to form both elite and mobilization alliances despite high levels of regime repression and a history of sharp ideological divides ? Further, how were the groups able to form an alliance against a regime that once seemed more stable than any of its predecessors? I argue that even though opposition groups is Pakistan have many differences with each other, they are able to form alliances because they have divided constituencies. Many have constituencies within a certain ethnic group (for example, MQM) or region (for example PML and PPP).

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[62] "Grand Alliance a Hotch-Potch: PML." 1999. *Gulf News*, September 18th 1999.

The divided nature of the constituencies assures parties that their supporters will not defect and join other groups. I propose that since divided constituencies tend to remain stable over time, groups also realize that their chances of gaining additional popular support are limited and the only way to show their increased might to the regime is to pool resources with other groups[63]. In the case of Pakistan, groups with divided constituencies were able to form an alliance to oppose the Kalabagh dam project through an elite alliance and launch a mass movement against the Sharif government in 1999 despite their ideological differences, internal weaknesses, government repression and regime stability.

Elite Alliances- Why they are formed and how they work:

Elite alliances are often an effective means to express joint opposition to the regime. The allies engage in opposition activity through non-mobilization means such as releasing open statements, symbolic office closings or walkouts from the parliament. These forms of activism are organized by elites in various opposition groups and do not involve constituents. In this chapter I argued that groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances regardless of ideological divisions or regime repression. These alliances are unlikely to lead to mobilization in the future and therefore allow the groups to address a mutual concern while protecting their constituencies from encroachment by others. I examined how diverse opposition groups in Egypt worked together though an elite alliance to oppose the 1995 press law in Egypt. The issue focus of this alliance was central to its success as just a few months later the same groups were

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[63] For a detailed explanation and evidence on the stability of Pakistani constituencies over time see Chapter II

unable to cooperate to protest the flawed 1995 elections which was a value-based concern.

Groups with divided constituencies may also engage in elite alliances. I examined how the ANP and PPP formed an issue-based elite alliance which later expanded to a value-based alliance to express opposition to the Kalabagh dam project. The weak position of the PPP after the 1997 elections and the regionally limited nature of the ANP prevented the two parties from forming a mobilization alliance, although they each held separate protests in their own provinces. The ANP and PPP worked together through joint statements to the press and symbolic walkouts from the parliament. As other parties such as MQM and BNP became dissatisfied with the Sharif regime, a larger mobilization alliance emerged. The opposition parties together launched a massive campaign against the regime that culminated with the October 1999 coup.

Chapter IV: Mobilization Alliances

Opposition groups operate in a dense network of adversaries and allies. Their interaction with each other is central to how they devise strategies in opposing the regime. While explanations stemming from the bridging of ideological differences, government divide and rule policies, and the role of cost benefit analysis make a significant contribution in explaining different aspects of alliance making, I found that they leave questions unanswered in explaining the mechanisms behind how such alliances come to be. I argue that examining the nature of group constituencies and the nature of the alliance provides a new and unique explanations of variance in alliance making and has so far been overlooked in the scholarly literature. In the last chapter, I explained how groups with fluid constituencies form issue-based elite alliances but are unable to engage in value-based elite alliances. I further demonstrated how groups with divided constituencies form value-based as well as issue-based elite alliances. This chapter focuses on the formation of mobilization alliances. Such alliances require the partners to mobilize their constituency jointly by engaging in street politics for example, protests or civil disobedience.

While mobilization alliances are useful in showing the power of the opposition vis-à-vis the regime, they are also more risky as protesters can be easily intimidated through policing and repressive laws restricting freedom of assembly. I will show that in both Egypt and Pakistan, the regime has tried to prevent mobilization alliances among opposition parties through a variety of means: repression, intimidation, enticing some parties and groups into pro-regime agreements, and repressive laws. Despite the threat of

repression being very real in both countries, several mobilization alliances have emerged in Pakistan, while very few such cases have been recorded in Egypt.

In the case of Egypt, I show that even though groups have had the opportunity to work together and have tried to form alliances, very few mobilization alliances have actually materialized. I examine four cases in detail: 1) the referendum/ presidential election boycott campaign; 2) interaction between Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood; 3) the National Alliance for Restoration and Change initiated by the Muslim Brotherhood; and 4) the National Front for Change, initiated by al-Wafd. None of these alliances worked to mobilize constituencies and challenge state power jointly. In most cases, opposition groups did not respond to each others' call for an alliance. In some cases, while groups agreed to form an alliance, one or more of the alliance partners defected preventing the alliance from reaching its mobilization objectives. Even though each opposition group mobilized its constituency against Mubarak regime individually, especially during the 2005 political opening, no joint mobilization emerged during this time period.

In contrast, I explain how mobilization alliances formed in Pakistan despite the ideological and other differences among parties and the regime enticing various groups to defect. Here I examine three cases: 1) the formation of Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, which included arch rivals PPP and PML and Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal in 2000, 2) the anti-Legal Framework Order (LFO) campaign in 2003-2004; and 3) the local bodies' election campaign in 2005. I will show that while alliances were not always easy to achieve and were often difficult to maintain, opposition groups in Pakistan were still able to form mobilization alliances, while groups in Egypt were unable to do so.

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In both Egypt and Pakistan, opposition groups found themselves in similar social and political circumstances. They faced a resolute regime not afraid to use high levels of repression to throttle the opposition, low chances of actually gaining greater access to policy making in the government, and deep-set ideological as well as ethnic differences (in Pakistan) dividing the groups. Further, in Pakistan, Musharraf seemed more entrenched than any of the country's previous military or democratically elected governments. The strength of individual opposition groups was at an all-time low, with the government openly favoring pro-regime parties while repressing all forms of street politics.

Formation of Mobilization Alliances:

I argue that opposition groups may form two kinds of alliances – mobilization or elite. When forming elite alliances, groups need not directly engage their constituencies. For example, they may write a joint petition to the government, close their offices, or organize lobbying in the parliament; none of these activities require the mobilization or even informing of their broader constituencies. In contrast, mobilization alliances form when groups engage their constituents in the form of a joint protest, sit-in, or act of civil disobedience. These kinds of activities require groups to pool their constituencies and are therefore determined by a different dynamic and compared to elite alliances.

Mobilization alliances emerge under conditions of divided constituencies and are less unlikely under conditions of fluid constituencies. Under conditions of divided constituencies, groups receive consistent support from specific sections of the population. The constituencies may be determined by ethnicity, class or region. The chances of

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expanding constituencies by attracting other groups' supporters are very unlikely as the support bases for each group have been consistent over a period of time.

Under divided constituencies, groups are less concerned about their partners using the mobilization event to poach their supporters: since their constituencies are well established and distinct from each other, such attempts are unlikely to be successful. Instead, the mobilization event can be used to show collective might to the regime. Further, groups realize that their chances of increasing their support base beyond their current boundaries are limited, since other groups' supporters are unlikely to defect to other groups. Therefore they can succeed in putting pressure on the government by showing additional street might through pooling their constituencies with other groups without risking losing supporters.

Under conditions of fluid constituencies, groups have no consistent support base among the citizenry. They may be trying to attract supporters who are currently supporting another group by presenting themselves as a better alternative, or may appeal to fence sitters. The chances of expanding constituencies by attracting other groups' supporters are high, as the support bases for each group have not been consistent or fixed over time.

Groups with fluid constituencies are less likely to engage in mobilization alliances because allied partners might use such events to poach their constituents. The mobilization alliance provides other groups with easy access to their support base at a particular venue and time, hence presenting a perfect opportunity to increase their own visibility and show themselves as a better alternative. Instead of launching an effective challenge to the regime, therefore, mobilization alliances can prevent groups from

solidifying their own support base by creating opportunities for poaching by other groups. Groups with divided constituencies, by comparison, may easily form mobilization alliances on both issue-based and value-based concerns.

Instead of forming alliances, groups with fluid constituencies focus their energies on mobilizing alone, thereby increasing their support base without risking their current constituents. The argument is depicted in the following table:

Table III: Formation of Mobilization Alliances

Alliance Type

Constituency Type	Mobilization
Fluid	No
Divided	Yes: Issue-based/Value-based

In now present an analysis of the emergence or non-emergence of specific mobilization alliances in Egypt and Pakistan.

Mobilization Alliances in Egypt:

2005 has probably been the most eventful year in Mubarak's reign as the President of the country. In February 2005, the regime announced the country's first multi-candidate presidential elections to be held in September. Parliamentary elections would be held as scheduled in November. The announcement led to speculations among analysts and citizens alike that the political situation could change in the county's largely stagnant political system. Politics gained new energy as parties were allowed space to campaign and reach out to their constituents. As one analyst explained, "The elections themselves were a small step forward, but also were a part of a trend of political

awakening that seemed to be spreading across Egypt. There was a consensus that this can be a beginning[1]."

The election announcement however came under the shadow of al-Ghad party leader Ayman Nour's arrest in January. As detailed in Chapter II, Nour was arrested on the charge of forging some of the signatures needed to form his al-Ghad party. He denied that any of the signatures were forged, and most members of al-Ghad as well as other groups saw his arrest as the regime's newest attempt to muzzle the opposition. While there was great hope that the political opening could be the beginning of bigger changes in Egypt, most analysts and party members also realized the need to be realistic about what they could achieve in this political opening. Nour was released on bail in March.

In May, the government announced a new law that would put restrictions on the candidates allowed to run for president. According to the new law, the candidate would have to secure support from at least 250 elected officials. The party fielding the candidate must be at least five-years old, and the candidate must have been a member for at least four years[2]. These provisions would be added to Article 76, which lays out the procedure for the selection of the position of the president in the country. The new restrictions came as a major blow to several opposition leaders who had earlier welcomed the proposed amendment to Article 76. The government had planned to hold a referendum to approve the proposed change in May. If the referendum was approved, the elections would be held as planned in September and parliamentary elections in November.

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[1] See Dr. Said quoted in Slackman, Michael. 2005a. "Panel Clears 9 Candidates to Run Against Mubarak in Egypt " The New York Times, August 11th 2005.p. 10

[2] Al-Ahram, May 9th 2005

The political opening and the subsequent restrictions on the candidates sparked a wave of political activity from several groups. The spikes in protests and demonstration led some parties to initiate alliances: different parties tried to form an alliance to boycott the referendum to approve the changes to Article 76 as well as the presidential election in September; the Muslim Brotherhood initiated the National Alliance for Restoration and Change; and al-Wafd tried to bring different groups together through the National United Front for Change. In addition there were opportunities for the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya to form an alliance. As I will show, however, none of these proposed alliances were actually borne out. In the following sections, I examine each of the cases of alliance building and explain why none of them materialized. I show how regime policies and ideological differences or similarities among groups had little influence on the success or failure of these alliances.

Campaign for Referendum/ Election Boycott:

The new restrictions on presidential candidates significantly dampened the hopes of several opposition parties that had initially welcomed the reforms. With the introduction of the new law, the groups began to think of how to best use the political opening to their advantage. The government announced that the proposed amendment to Article 76 would be put to a referendum in May and if the changes were approved, the presidential election would take place in September.

Some parties debated boycotting the referendum. Al-Wafd, al-Tagammu, and the Arab Nasserite Party collectively announced that they had decided to boycott the referendum and would encourage their constituencies to stay home. They declared that

the restrictions imposed on the candidates were unfair and that they would also boycott the presidential election under these circumstances[3]. The alliance cross ideological divides given that al-Wafd is a right-wing party and al-Tagammu and the Arab Nasserites are staunchly left-wing. Despite the differences, al-Wafd's alliance with the leftist parties had actually begun earlier in the year when in January the parties organized a rally at al-Wafd's al-Mansoura headquarters. al-Wafd newspaper published several comments by prominent leaders from al-Tagammu and the Arab Nasserite Party showing that the parties were cooperating closely. However on the day of the rally, al-Tagammu and the Nasserites did not show. Overall, the turnout remained much lower than projected and the rally was deemed unsuccessful[4]. The referendum boycott was an attempt to revive this failed past alliance.

The Muslim Brotherhood had initially welcomed the regime's initiative to amend Article 76. Since the Brotherhood is not a legal party, it would not be allowed to field its own candidate; however, the group declared that it would be open to supporting any competent candidate in the presidential election. The Brotherhood's stance changed after it held a protest at Zaynab and Ramses square in Cairo. Security officials cracked down on the protesters and as many as 50 people were arrested. Among those arrested were prominent leaders such as Mohammed Akif and Isam el-Aryan. The arrests were followed by individual raids of members' offices and homes, leading to several more arrests. The crackdown angered the Brothers and, after the regime's announcement imposing restrictions on the presidential candidates, the Muslim Brotherhood declared

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[3] Al-Ahram, May 17th 2005

[4] Ibrahim, Youssef M. 2005. "Apthy and Opposition Parties do no Good to Arab Nations." *The Gulf News*, January 18th 2005.

that it would boycott the referendum. In a widely regionally televised statement, Muslim Brotherhood head Mohammed Akef announced that the group considered the restrictions outrageous and that it would think about organizing mass action against the regime as a response.

Despite al-Wafd, al-Tagammu, Muslim Brotherhood and Nasserite parties' joint calls for a boycott, the alliance did not proceed further to organize mobilization to actually engage in street politics. Some parties appealed to the courts to cancel the referendum given that the major parties would be asking their constituents to stay away from the polling stations, but the referendum was held as scheduled on May 25th. The turnout at the was low, but the referendum passed and the date for the presidential elections was set as September 7th 1995.

While opposition parties did not succeed in gathering a critical mass to boycott the referendum, they now focused their efforts towards putting pressure on the government to hold the presidential elections in a free and fair manner. al-Wafd declared that the party would be coordinating its strategies significantly with Arab Nasserites and Tagammu[5]. The three parties met at al-Wafd's headquarters and released their demands to the government. They asked for several provisions, reported in al-Wafd newspaper. The demands included lifting the state of emergency, judiciary oversight over the upcoming elections, dipping voter's thumb in ink to prevent repeat voting, and printing electoral lists[6]. Since the parties did not receive a favorable response from the

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[5] Al-Wafd, June 1st 2005

[6] Al-Wafd, June 1st 2005

government, they decided to boycott the elections. By July, Kifaya had also decided to boycott the elections, asking their supporters to stay home.

While the presidential-election boycott consensus seemed to have gained the acquiescence of al-Wafd, al-Tagammu, Muslim Brotherhood and the Nasserite parties an alliance failed to emerge because groups chose to defect from their original stance. Al-Ghad leader Ayman Nour decided that he would submit his papers for candidacy despite the boycott by al-Wafd. When asked about his decision not to cooperate with the emerging alliance, he explained, "It is their right to choose this option – But I believe that boycotting is not the appropriate answer in response to a ruler determined to stay in power no matter what. I believe we need to participate to bring change[7]". In addition to Nour, Talaat Sadat, nephew of Anwar Sadat from al-Ahrar Party, also submitted his papers for candidacy. Given Nour's decision to run for president, al-Wafd decided that it no longer wanted to boycott the elections and would field its leader, Numan Jummah, instead. Jummah and Nour have a long history of a personal rivalry, as Nour broke away from al-Wafd to form al-Ghad party. Even though each party was well aware that they had very little chance of actually winning the presidential elections, my conjecture is that they did not want to lose this opportunity to rally their constituents or run the risk of allowing other candidates to appeal to their constituency. Al-Wafd and al-Ghad appeal to a very similar constituency consisting of the upper middle class and professionals such as doctors and lawyers. Allowing al-Ghad to run for elections uncontested would weaken al-Wafd's constituency.

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[7] See Ayman Nour quoted in, Otterman, Sharon. 2005b. "Interview with Ayman Nour on Egypt's Elections." Washington DC: Council on Foreign Relations.

Despite their initial efforts towards achieving an alliance, opposition parties failed to mobilize their constituents towards a referendum or elections boycott. The lack of a united front showed their inability to form an alliance against the regime. As one observer explained, "The lack of coordination among opposition parties is very problematic as they lose credibility in demanding reforms from the government. The ruling party will be safe from pressure"[8].

Ideologically similar parties, such as al-Wafd and al-Ghad, were unable to work together in an alliance. By contrast, al-Wafd was surprisingly able to achieve some level of alliance building with leftist parties showing that ideological differences or similarity has little influence on alliance making. As explained in Chapter II, al-Wafd's constituency lies mostly among the upper classes, especially the landed elite, while leftist parties receive most of their support from a very different section of the population – the urban lower-middle class and lower class. It appears that, the divided nature of al-Wafd's constituency in relation to the leftists parties eliminated the possibility of member poaching as a major obstacle to forming alliances. One interviewee stated that both al-Tagammu and the Nasserite party were trying to establish an alliance with al-Wafd. The competition between the two parties led to intense rivalry as each tried to exclude the other from the alliance[9]. My conjecture is that, since al-Tagammu and the Nasserites have fluid constituencies in relation to each other but divided constituencies in relation to al-Wafd, they each tried to out-do the other in forming an alliance with al-Wafd.

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[8] Interview with Dr. Ahmad Thabet, al-Jazeera TV, Oct. 4th 2005.

[9] Personal interview, August 23rd 2007

As the presidential elections drew closer, Nour and Jummah began campaigning enthusiastically throughout the country. Al-Wafd surprised citizens and observers alike by selecting a controversial new party slogan, *itkhanana,* "we have been suffocated." The slogan showed the extent to which the opposition was looking upon this election as a means to express their frustration with the current regime. As Slackman explains:

> While the word comes from the root to strangle, it is used in everyday conversation as an expression of exasperation, and its use as a political slogan has resonated here because it has captured the public mood -- tired, angry and fed up.[10].

Nour also rallied constituents with aggressive campaigning. His prison sentence had turned him into a martyr of sorts. Both Jummah and Nour attracted large crowds at their speaking events all around the country.

For the first time in his political career as the president, Mubarak faced political rivals at the polls and launched an election campaign. State run newspapers began releasing articles praising his regime. Al-Ahram, in particular, released several articles extolling his accomplishments. One observer told me that Mubarak had actually been seen talking to people about their daily struggles and what he would do to change things in his next term in office[11].

The charged political atmosphere and increased demands for change created opportunities for the opposition be to form alliances on at least some occasions. While opportunities to form alliances emerged, none actually materialized. In the next section, I examine the interaction between the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya.

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[10] Slackman, Michael. August 23rd 2005. " Opposition Party's Angry Slogan Gets Cairo's Official O.K." *The New York Times*.

[11] Michael Slackman, personal interview, August 6th 2007

<u>Interaction between the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya:</u>

The Muslim Brotherhood is the largest opposition group in Egypt. In its attempt to gain legal recognition, the group has tried to cultivate an organizational culture of working with the existing political structure of the regime. It has therefore made an attempt to engage in only state-sponsored protest activity in which members refrain from directly criticizing the regime. In 2005, the Muslim Brotherhood's earlier stance on only engaging in state-sponsored protest activity changed significantly. The charged political atmosphere, combined with general outrage over the limited extent of the reforms, sparked a wave of protest from the Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood protests occurred in close temporal proximity to demonstrations by a new group – Kifaya. Originally formed as an anti-Iraq war group, Kifaya had gained momentum as a pro-reform, anti-Mubarak alliance of several different political activists ranging from former Brethren to Copts and to leftists. Despite similarities on several issues in their programs, the two groups failed to form an alliance to jointly resist the superficial reforms initiated by the Mubarak regime.

The Muslim Brotherhood organized its first large-scale demonstration on March 27th. Brotherhood members gathered in front of the parliament asking the regime to abolish emergency laws. The protest was unlicensed and several members were arrested. Protesters also gathered at Ramses and Zaynab Square in Cairo, chanting slogans for reform. Hours later, members gathered at al-Fateh mosque and the Press Syndicate. Isam el-Aryan, a Muslim Brotherhood member, told *The New York Times* in a phone interview, "We are now struggling for real reform in Egypt." He continued, "And real reform has an agenda that is entirely different from the formal constitutional change. What we want is

to change the prevailing atmosphere[12]". Kifaya organized its own demonstration on the same day, calling for an end to the Mubarak era. In response to the Brotherhood protest, Kifaya leaders told the press that they had motivated the change in the Muslim Brotherhood. One member remarked, "The Brotherhood is like an enormous body with a very small brain. It takes time to get it moving." He continued, "They don't want to miss out – our pressure forces them to organize their own demonstration[13]".

Kifaya organized another protest on March 30th in front of the People's Assembly building (Majlis al-Shaab al-Misriya). Security officers blocked all streets to the parliament, forcing the protesters to march to the journalists syndicate instead. The protesters declared that they were completely opposed to the Mubarak regime and wanted its immediate end. They expressed hostility towards the United States for propping up Mubarak and emphasized that they would not accept hereditary rule of his son as a solution. The members raised their red and yellow colored flag to make their presence felt. However, the Kifaya protest soon turned violent. Eyewitnesses reported that a band of thugs attacked the protesters, especially targeting women. Police and security officials watched as they were publicly beaten[14]. The attack raised their profile further and called attention to their cause.

Both the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya had become targets of the regime because of their street mobilization, even though the turnout at Kifaya protests was

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[12] El-Naggar, Mona. March 28 2005. "Cairo Police Arrest 100, Blocking Rally by Opposition." *The New York Times*, 6.

[13] Murphy, Dan. 2005b. "Egypt Reins in Democratic Voices." *Christian Science Monitor*, March 28th 2005.

[14] Slackman, Michael, El-Naggar, Mona. 2005b. "Assault on Women at Protest Stirs Anger, Not Fear, in Egypt." *The New York Times*, June 10th 2005., see also, "Beheyya: Egypt Analysis and Whimsy," http://blogspot.com/2005_07_01_archive.html for pictures, video and commentary.

significantly lower than those organized by the Muslim Brotherhood. Even though they had different ideological commitments, the two groups had many similarities in their agenda as both were demanding change in the prevailing political atmosphere of strict government control over political activity. Despite the similarities in their agenda and efforts to work together, the two groups could not engage in a mobilization alliance. The love-hate tussle between the two groups became a popular topic for social and political commentary. One popularly read Egyptian blogger pointed out that the tussle between the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya seemed to be more on the issue of hereditary rule than the religious issue. While Kifaya had expressed complete opposition to Mubarak and his son Gamal, Muslim Brotherhood members had claimed that as long as emergency rule was lifted, they would accept either of the two as the president[15].

On April 27th, Kifaya organized 14 marches under the banner, "no constitution without freedom." Once again, security officials cracked down arresting several protesters. A week later, on May 4th, the Muslim Brotherhood held a large demonstration on the occasion of Mubarak's birthday. In addition to pro-reform slogans, the Muslim Brotherhood members also spoke favorably of Coptic Christians. One member was quoted as chanting, "The Muslim Brotherhood is a part of the nation and Copts are sons of the nation[16]". The sudden appeal to the Coptic Christian community appeared to be aimed at Kifaya, whose leader George Ishak is a Copt. June saw another series of protests coinciding with the Kifaya campaign against the Mubarak regime. Referring to Mubarak, George Ishak, the head of Kafaya said, "You are tired, you need to rest, we will call you

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[15] "Beheyya: Egypt Analysis and Whimsy," http://baheyya.blogspot.com/2005_07_01_archive.html

[16] El-Magd, Nadia Abou. May 4 2005. "Egypt arrests scores of banned Islamic group members as they hold nationwide protests." *The Associated Press*

father of the nation[17]". Ishak told news reporters that the "culture of fear" that had

gripped the country has been broken. People are now not afraid of mass political action[18].

Three weeks later, the Brotherhood launched a civil disobedience campaign to increase

pressure on the Mubarak regime.

After organizing several protests in close proximity to each other, on July 20th, the

Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya finally agreed to organize a joint demonstration.

However, this demonstration showed the divisions among the two groups rather than the

possibility of an alliance. As many as 5,000 Muslim Brotherhood members gathered

along with several hundred Kifaya members. Muslim Brotherhood members shouted

slogans such as "with our blood and soul, we redeem you Islam." Kifaya members

changed, "Down with Mubarak" and "Enough with Mubarak." Muslim Brotherhood

members began leaving the protest halfway though the two hour rally. When asked the

reason for disbanding the protest, Brotherhood leaders replied that their goal was not to

insult the president or state institutions, and they had to leave for this reason[19]. Yet the

Muslim Brotherhood had challenged Mubarak directly on several previous occasions,

especially in the large protest organized on his birthday.

As shown above, the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya held several separate

protests, some within a day of each other. Despite their efforts to cooperate in the July

20th protest, an alliance did not emerge. The Muslim Brotherhood had become

increasingly insecure about Kifaya's need to expand its constituency, especially in the

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[17] Salhani, Calude. 2005a. "Politics & Policies: The Kifaya Factor ": UPI (*www.upi.com*).

[18] Salhani, Claude. 2005b. "Politics and Policies: The Fear Culture." *UPI (www.upi.com)* June 8th 2005.

[19] El-Magd, Nadia Abou. July 20th 2005. "Reform Activism Demands Change in Rally that Highlights Divisions." *The Associated Press*.

liberal minded sections of the Muslim Brotherhood. As discussed in previous chapters,

the Muslim Brotherhood had already lost some of its members to a liberal-minded break

off group, al-Wasat in 1996. Kifaya had taken the Egyptian political scene by storm and

received high levels of regional and international press attention. Even without an

established constituency, the group took several bold steps that challenged not just the

regime, but existing groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood. Despite sharing the Muslim

Brotherhood's opposition to United States' foreign policy, superficial reforms in Egypt,

and the Mubarak regime's use of draconian repressive policies, Kifaya tried to establish

differences with the group by presenting itself as a more dynamic movement willing to

challenge the regime in fearless ways. In this way, Kifaya appeared to be trying to attract

younger and more liberal-minded sections of the Muslim Broterhood's constituency.

Despite having similarities in their agenda and being faced with similar circumstances,

the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya could not form an alliance. It appears that The

Muslim Brotherhood's past experiences with the succession of the younger cadre of

members to al-Wasat had much to do with their need to counter Kifaya's emergence as a

more dynamic opposition movement. Other observers also noted that Kifaya had become

a "threat" to the Muslim Brotherhood. As Murphy explains:

> And in this restless Arab Spring, the 77 year old organization which favors Islamic law
> and says it is committed to democracy has been roused from a public slumber. Worried
> that the proactive steps taken by secular Egyptian reformers like Kifaya (Enough)
> movement could cost the Brotherhood its position as Egypt's leading opposition
> movement has stirred the organization into action[20].

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[20] Murphy, Dan. 2005a. "Egypt Keeps Muslim Brotherhood Boxed In." *The Christian Science Monitor*,
June 7th 2005., p.1

National Alliance for Restoration and Change:

As the largest opposition group in Egyptian politics, the Muslim Brotherhood carries many different political currents under its sway. While held together under the banner, "Islamist," the Brotherhood is actually composed of different groups of members who have various interpretations of what it means to be an "Islamist." In 1996, one such group succeeded and joined with others to form its own political group by the name of "al-Wasat[21]." In March 2005, the Brotherhood experienced another such succession in the form of "Reform, Development and Justice Party." The new group was initiated by Khaled Zafrani, a former Brotherhood activist who had recruited several current members. The new group put in its papers to the CPP as a moderate Islamist party that supports civil liberties. Reform, Justice and Development Party did not spark a furor within the Muslim Brotherhood as was the case with al-Wasat in 1996. However, the secession of two "moderate" groups prompted the Muslim Brotherhood to rethink its role in the polity and its relationships with other parties. Specifically, according to one Muslim Brotherhood member, the group decided that there was a need to engage in meaningful discussions with other parties[22]. In an interview with al-Wafd newspaper, Muhammad Habib, Deputy General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood stated that the group did not maintain any contact with the breakaway groups, the Justice and Development Party or al-Wasat, as each had been formed without consultations with Muslim Brotherhood leaders. He continued that since the opposition parties were in a similar situation after boycotting the referendum, a united front could emerge. The front

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[21] For additional details and analysis, see Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2004. "The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of Egypt's Wasat Party." *Comparative Politics* 36 (2):205-28.

[22] Khalid Zafrani, Personal interview, August 23rd 2007

would be more powerful, Habib argued, if it included all political elements and if the

Muslim Brotherhood would be willing to limit its own role and decision making authority

in the interest of equitable participation by several groups. He stated that the Muslim

Brotherhood had already begun talks with other opposition parties on forming the front

and that more details about the alliance would emerge soon[23].

The Muslim Brotherhood revealed the face of the new alliance in June. The

National Alliance for Restoration and Change (NARC), would begin with a conference of

all political parties on June 30th. The purpose of the conference would be to exercise

peaceful pressure on the regime through legal and constitutional means to make it

responsive to democratic change. The Muslim Brotherhood received mixed responses

from other parties to their invitation. While the SLP responded favorably, the Nasserites

said that they would first need to consider the proposition internally. al-Wafd leader

Mohammed Alwan said that his party had no problem with working with the Muslim

Brotherhood, even though it is a religious group. al-Tagammu on the other hand stated

that were would not be willing to participate in any alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood

because of its religious nature.

The June 30th inaugural conference of NARC was held as planned. 1,000 Muslim

Brotherhood activists attended, but only al-Wafd sent a high-level representative. The

Nasserite Party declined attendance after discussing the matter internally. Despite the

lack of attendance by other parties, the Muslim Brotherhood called for a civil

disobedience campaign against the government. al-Wafd party delegate Mohammed

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[23] al-Wafd, May 27th 2005

Alwan declared that his party supported the call for civil disobedience and that they are honored to be a part of NARC.

When asked why other groups did not attend the June 30th NARC meeting, Muslim Brotherhood General Guide Muhammad Akif explained that they were trying to bring together various groups and parties through seminars and conferences to help coordinate goals and strategies. If other parties did not want to participate, the Muslim Brotherhood could not do anything about it. The group had already declared itself willing to cooperate with others on the principles of mutual equality, but if others did not want to pay the price for a joint struggle, that was their choice[24].

Despite the initial unenthusiastic response to NARC, the Muslim Brotherhood continued its efforts to build the alliance. Habib declared in various interviews with regional and national newspapers that NARC had discussed ideas about launching a civil disobedience movement, including boycott, demonstrations, and protests, but that members had not yet agreed on a final program. NARC had also taken the initiative to form a constitutional studies committee consisting of various political forces to discuss drafting of a new constitution. He explained that the alliance had been set up to address the growing need for unity among parties so that they can exert pressure on the regime for change[25]. He further added that all decisions within NARC would be taken by two-third majority and that the Muslim Brotherhood would only have 25% of the seats in the permanent secretariat. He acknowledged that while every political party has a different agenda, but there are also some common denominators over which they can not differ.

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[24] al-Sharq al-Awsat, June 30th 2005

[25] al-Hayat, July 2nd 2005

For example, they all want to see a democratic system with equality and respect for different ideas and rotation of power[26]. One analyst noted that the Muslim Brotherhood was sending the message, "we want to participate not dominate[27]".

Even though the Muslim Brotherhood made every effort to assure other groups and parties that the alliance would be highly beneficial to all participating members and that it would not impose its own hegemony, NARC failed to gain additional allies. The proposed alliance soon lost momentum and disappeared from public discourse. Once again, Egyptian opposition groups had failed to join forces in their struggle against the regime. The Muslim Brotherhood commands a wide constituency within the country making it Egypt's most powerful and visible opposition group. The 2005 political opening provided other opposition groups with an opportunity to campaign and increase their support bases by attracting Muslim Brotherhood supporters who simply do not see any other option to have their voice heard. Leftists are trying to attract workers and students who currently support the Brotherhood, while liberal groups such as Kifaya want to expand in the liberal minded pockets of the group's constituents. It appeared that forming an alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood would prevent the groups from achieving these aims and would put their existing constituencies at risk. The only group that responded favorably to NARC was al-Wafd. al-Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood have very different constituencies, with al-Wafd receiving most of its support from the upper - class of the population, especially the elite while the Muslim Brotherhood taps into the middle and lower middle class. Further the Muslim Brotherhood receives support

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[26] al-Sharq al-Awsat, July 3rd 2005

[27] Abdel-Fattah, Nabil. 2005. "How the Brotherhood Won." *Al-Ahram Weekly*.

from urban sections of the population while al-Wafd is the only party besides the ruling NDP to receive support from rural areas. My conjecture is that the divided nature of group constituencies has made it possible for the two groups to form mobilization alliances.

In August, a government-run panel approved the candidacy of nine candidates to participate in the elections against Mubarak. The candidates included Nour and Jummah, but Talat Sadat's candidacy was not approved. The presidential election was held as scheduled on September 7th without foreign observers or any of the provisions that opposition members had previously demanded. Courts registered widespread complaints of electoral fraud, but still considered the results valid. Mubarak won by a wide margin, followed by Nour and then Jummah.

The results of the election left citizens outraged. On October 2nd, the Muslim Brotherhood organized student protests in Cairo University, Ain Shams, and al-Azhar, demanding fair elections. Further protests occurred in Cairo on October 11th. On October 25th, the Muslim Brotherhood organized another rally in Cairo in which a large group of women and children participated. The rally was publicized though street posts, t-shirts and even songs. The increased visibility of the Muslim Brotherhood was an indication that members considered it perfectly legitimate to be associated with a banned organization. A regional news source reported that the Muslim Brotherhood was considering fielding as many as 150 candidates in the parliamentary elections[28]. After the presidential elections were held, the opposition groups had one last chance of having their voice heard in the parliamentary elections to be held in November. Once again, al-Wafd

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[28] Al-Sherbani, Ramadan. Nov. 4th 2005. "Muslim Brotherhood Eyes Key Poll Victories." *Gulf News*.

initiated an alliance to try and put pressure on the Mubarak regime by forming a voting bloc.

<u>United National Front for Change:</u>

On November 4th, al-Wafd invited several parties including Nasserites, Kifaya, al-Ghad, and the Muslim Brotherhood, to participate in a new alliance called United National Front for Change (henceforth, the Front). The goal of the alliance was to allow various opposition groups and parties to formulate a joint strategy for participating in the elections and also to serve as a forum for pushing for reform in Egypt. As a part of the coordination effort, the Muslim Brotherhood agreed to withdraw some of their candidates from the parliamentary election in certain districts to allow other groups to field their own candidates.

Not all parties responded favorably to al-Wafd's invitation. Al-Ghad did not join, as the group was hosted by al-Wafd at their headquarters in al-Masoura. Kifaya agree to support the alliance in principle, but owing to its social movement status, did not participate in putting together candidate lists. Al-Wafd, Arab Nasserites and Tagammu decided to field joint candidates which would require campaign alliances, but after much discussion the Front could only agree to one common program: Members decided not to run candidates against each other. The Brotherhood's membership in the alliance also seemed improbable. A governing party member explained that the main reason the alliance did not seem to be working was because the parties are very weak. They could

not coordinate with each other because of internal divisions and dissensions[29]. Yet, as I explain, the reasons for the failure of the alliance lay elsewhere.

After much internal discussion, the Muslim Brotherhood agreed to coordinate its candidate lists with al-Wafd and al-Tagammu so that the groups would no run candidates against each other. Muhammed Akef, the General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, declared that while the group was coordinating with al-Wafd and al-Tagammu, it did not have to agree on ideology[30].

While the groups had formed an alliance to not run candidates against each other, the risk of "member poaching" once again became a major issue as by allowing other candidates to campaign unopposed each group was risking its constituency. The Muslim Brotherhood broke its commitment to the alliance and decided to contest a seat from Kafr Shukr constituency against a very prominent al-Tagammu leader, Khaled Muhyi al-Din. Al-Tagammu members viciously attacked the Muslim Brotherhood for going back on its agreement with the Front. After the elections, Akef defended the group's decision by claiming that it had had concerns about Khaled Muhyi al-Din's failing health and thus whether he would not be able to perform his duties adequately[31]. The Muslim Brotherhood's statements were especially offensive to the al-Tagammu because al-Din is an extremely important figure in Egyptian politics: he was one of the Free Officers who revolted against the Egyptian monarchy in 1952. It appears that the risk of al-Tagammu

[29] See Muhammed Kemal interview in, Otterman, Sharon. 2005a. Egypt's Mohamed Kamal: Islamists Should be Integrated into Egyptian Political Debate. Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC, November 8th 2005

[30] al-Wafd, November 4th 2005

[31] al-Sharq al-Awsat, December 16th 2005

making encroachments on the Muslim Brotherhood's constituency in the district prevented the alliance from succeeding.

The first round of parliamentary elections began on November 9th. In a ruling that surprised many observers, the Egyptian courts upheld a decision to allow civil society and human rights groups to monitor the elections. The court ruling was highly significant as the judiciary had again shown its teeth as a credible source of opposition to the Mubarak regime[32]. In addition to the independent observers, transparent ballot boxes were also a new feature in the elections. While the courts registered some reports of irregularities and frauds, overall analysts noted that these may have been Egypt's "freest elections[33]". The first round of the elections revealed the majority of the seats would go to the ruling NDP. The Muslim Brotherhood gained an impressive 34 seats, while al-Wafd, Tagammu, and al-Ghad only won one seat each. The second round began on November 20th. Wary of the Muslim Brotherhood's excellent performance in the first round, security officers arrested 200 Muslim Brotherhood members ahead of the polls. However, the Muslim Brotherhood did exceedingly well in the second round, gaining additional seats and raising its total representation to 76 seats. After the second round of polling, the Muslim Brotherhood had gained five times more seats than its representation in the parliament before the elections.

The final round of voting was held on December 1st. Again security forces arrested several Muslim Brotherhood members, but the organization gained yet more

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[32] El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2006. "Egypt's Paradoxical Elections." *Middle East Report* 238 (Spring 2006).

[33] See Michele Dunne interview in, Gwertzman, Bernard. 2005. Dunne: 'Very Dramatic' Achievement for Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Parliamentary Elections. Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC, Nov. 30, 2005

seats. The Muslim Brotherhood gained a total of 88 seats, which put its representation at 20% of the parliament. Joint candidates from the United National Front for Change did not win any seats. Isam al-Aryan referred to the formation for the joint electoral list by the front as a "hasty and rushed decision[34]." Another analyst pointed out that the Front had a program that was too ambitious and suffered from a resounding defeat as a result[35].

The failure of the United Front once again shows the inability of the various opposition parties to form an alliance. It appears that, since each group does not have a consistent and exclusive constituency, forming an alliance has raised fears about losing constituents. As one analyst explains, perhaps the opposition parties should not have been working to form the Front in the first place and focused their energies on solidifying their constituencies:

> Operating in a semiauthoritarian political system with a dominant ruling party, Egypt's opposition should have worked to articulate clear electoral profiles and reached out to the public with distinct program. To believe that united opposition fronts can better challenge autocratic rulers than autonomous parties ignores the vital need for each party to develop stable constituencies to find its niche in an opening political space[36].

Analysis: Mobilization Alliances in Egypt:

Egypt's political system is composed of a hegemonic ruling party which controls most of the parliament and a president who has been in power for two decades. While parliamentary elections are held every five years, the opposition remains limited in its voice in the government and on the street. The Muslim Brotherhood is the most powerful

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[34] al-Hayat, December 11th 2005

[35] El-Shobky, Amr. 2005. "Legislative Elections in Egypt: indicators and consequences." Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Strategic and Political Studies

[36] Hamzawy, Amr. 2005b. "Opposition in Egypt: Performance in the Presidential Elections and Prospects for the Parliamentary Elections." In *Policy Outlook: Democracy and Rule of Law Project*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace., p.3

opposition group in the country but remains officially banned from participating as a

political party. Decades of semiauthoritarian rule has not stunted the formation of

opposition parties, but had limited the extent to which they have been able to command

base constituencies. With the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood, most opposition

parties have had difficulty in carving a niche of political support through visibility in the

public sphere. The 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections were an opportunity for

these parties to gain voice in the political system.

  While limited in its scope, the 2005 political opening sparked a rise in political

activity throughout the country. New groups such as Kifaya challenged the Mubarak

regime directly, and long-term parties such as al-Wafd raised a controversial campaign

slogan to express their frustration with the current system. The rise in political activity

led to some expectation that opposition groups in Egypt would find some common

ground and that alliances would emerge. As one scholar argues:

> Secular- religious national alliances for democracy are instrumental in contesting
> authoritarian state power and articulating popular consensus over the need for political
> transformation. Moderate Islamists' pragmatism and the issues they address place them
> within the reform consensus making alliances with liberals and secularists more likely[37].

  The formation of alliances among groups—for example, students, workers and

religious groups—have been instrumental throughout history in inciting revolutions and

brining down unjust and totalitarian governments. But how are these alliances achieved?

As I have shown in the case of Egypt, while opposition groups had several opportunities

to work together, most of the proposed alliances failed to materialize. Opposition groups

did not respond favorably to each others' calls for an alliance. In some cases while groups

agreed to form an alliance they defected before the mobilization could be achieved. Many

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[37] ———. 2005a. "The Key to Arab Reform: Moderate Islamists." In *Policy Brief*. Washington, DC:
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace., p.5

alliances seemed to fail for no obvious reason. For example, during the campaign for the referendum and presidential election boycott, opposition parties seemed to be reaching an agreement making it likely an an alliance would emerge. But not only did the alliance ultimately fail to appeal to additional members, its founding parties also chose not to adhere to the original agreement. The Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya were leading the opposition in anti-regime mobilization, but did not form an alliance to successfully organize any protests or demonstrations. The Muslim Brotherhood initiated National Alliance for Restoration and Change (NARC), inviting diverse members to put pressure on the Mubarak regime for free and fair elections, but only al-Wafd responded favorably. al-Wafd made a final effort to bring the opposition together under the umbrella of United National Front for Change but the alliance failed as groups became concerned about others' mobilizing their constituents.

My research shows that the reason mobilization alliances failed in the case of Egypt was not ideological difference, regime repression or the stability of Mubarak's government. While the regime was using heavy handed repression against the opposition, groups challenged the regime individually through controversial slogans and protests that put them in harm's way, as can be seen in the case of Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood. While Mubarak had been in power for several decades, the 2005 political opening had significantly altered the prevailing political atmosphere in the country and raised hopes for change. Long-standing groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd found new political energy, while new groups such as Kifaya and al-Ghad emerged to raise a challenge to the regime. These efforts show that the opposition was not apathetic about the 2005 political opening, but rather saw it as an opportunity to initiate

change. While the prevailing atmosphere was that change could be achieved, joint mobilization did not emerge during this time period.

The alliance patterns fit within the model I have described. In the case of the campaign for the referendum/ presidential election boycott, some alliances emerged among rightist al-Wafd party and leftist al-Tagammu and the Nasserite Party. However, these parties have very different constituencies. Al-Wafd's constituency lies among the upper classes, especially the elite, while leftists target middle and lower classes. al-Ghad did not cooperate with al-Wafd in the election boycott campaign or in the United National Front for Change despite both parties being liberal, rightist and secular. The leaders of the two groups have a personal rivalry, which they could not bridge because they are aiming at the same constituency.

Based on the interaction between Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood and the commentary provided by observers, the lack of alliance making between Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood appears to be a product of Kifaya's fluid constituency and Muslim Brotherhood's fear of Kifaya's expansion. One analyst commented that Kifaya has taken the form of a "transnational protest movement" that remains elitist and has yet to develop grass-roots support[38]. Kifaya leaders are trying to appeal to those sections of population that want change and are frustrated with the lack of political activism towards this goal. Since many of their potential constituents are the liberal sections of the Muslim Brotherhood, they are trying to establish a clear line of difference between themselves and the Brethren. Kifaya's dynamic nature and sudden forceful appearance on the

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[38] Comments by Emad Shahin at a panel organized by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 2nd 2005, Washington DC, titled "Post Elections Egypt." Transcript available www.carnegieendowment.org/events

Egyptian political scene was intimidating to the Muslim Brotherhood, which had already

lost several younger members to al-Wasat and the Reform, Development and Justice

Party. The fluid nature of group constituencies may have prevented alliances in this case.

While the Muslim Brotherhood initiated NARC failed to gain momentum, it did

succeed in obtaining the support of al-Wafd party. The Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd

had been allied partners in the 1984 elections, although the partnership did not continue

in the 1987 elections. al-Wafd's liberal ideology and support from the Coptic Christian

community make it ideologically very different from the Muslim Brotherhood, but its

support among the elite sections of society makes its constituency distinct from the

Brethren, who have their major constituency among the middle and lower middle classes.

I have shown in the case of Egypt that overall the alliances initiated by various

groups failed to be successful. I now examine the case of Pakistan, where despite a

history of highly volatile differences among opposition parties, several alliances emerged.

Mobilization Alliances in Pakistan:

On October 12th 1999, Nawaz Sharif's unpopular PML government was deposed

in a military coup. General Pervez Musharraf, the Chief of Army Staff under Sharif, took

over as the leader of the country, putting an end to democratic politics for nearly a

decade. The military is one of the most respectable institutions in Pakistan, considered

untainted by the corruption and lack of vision that characterizes democratic politics in the

country. For this reason, the majority of the citizens initially welcomed the Musharraf

government. They had hopes that his policies would not only "clean up" politics, but also

initiate sound economy policy that would benefit the middle class rather than poaching on their tax contributions[39].

After taking over the government, Musharraf began consolidating his rule. The first step was to ban rallies and other forms of collective political activity. He neutralized the PML but putting Sharif in jail and arresting several hundred party activists under charges of defying laws banning rallies and demonstrations. With Sharif's arrest, his wife, Kulsum Sharif, took over the leadership of the party and became its major spokesperson. She addressed PML supporters at several rallies inciting public outrage over the arrest of her husband. Security forces cracked down by putting Kulsum Sharif under house arrest. They also cordoned off her home to prevent her from holding party meetings at the premises. Observers argued that the government was afraid of Kulsum, reflecting paranoia towards any opposition[40].

After his trial in December 2000, Sharif and his family were allowed to go into exile in Saudi Arabia. Two of Pakistan's most important leaders – Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif—had now been exiled from the country. However, both continued to have a major influence on their parties and were instrumental in directing their strategies in the years to come.

Musharraf came to power without the support of any political party. He soon realized that in order to maintain power, especially control over the legislature, he would have to form a party or co-opt an existing group. He enticed both PML and PPP into supporting his rule. A prominent journalist reported that Musharraf was making extensive

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[39] "A New Face of Protest in Pakistan?" 2000. *The Economist*, July 15th 2000.

[40] Zehra, Nasim. 2000. "Cowed by a Woman's Move." *Gulf News*, July 11th, 2000.

use of the Pakistani intelligence agency ISI to contact various parties, create divisions and engineer defections[41]. He was successful in gaining the acquiescence of a faction of the PML. The faction broke away from the PML and called itself PML(q) or Quaid-e-Azam group, also commonly known as the King's Party. PML(q) gained wide electoral and other political victories by virtue of its association with the ruling regime. According to Pakistani news sources, the secretary to Musharraf, Tarq Aziz personally supervised the consolidation of the King's Party in rural Punjab, where the PML was weak[42]. In exchange, Musharraf effectively established control over the parliament, allowing him to pass constitutional amendments with ease. He also approached Islamist parties for their support. Through a series of private associations, MMA agreed to support Musharraf in passing some constitutional amendments. A PPP faction led by Aftab Sherpao also gave its support to the military government. The new group came to be known as PPP(s). In exchange for towing the military's line, Musharraf excused the group's leader, Sherpao, of corruption charges[43].

As a further step to consolidate his support in the country, Musharraf also developed a devolution plan. Through local body elections, he formed patron client relationships with local landlords, feudal and tribal leaders whose future political career depended on Musharraf staying in power. In January 2004, Musharraf succeeded in passing a set of amendments to the constitution collectively known as the Legal Framework Order (LFO). These amendments put the capstone on the consolidation of his

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[41] Hussain, Zahid. 2002c. "No Way Out." *Newsline* May 2002.

[42] Hasan, Akbar. Ibid."The Rise of the King Party."

[43] Hussain, Zahid. Ibid."Of the General, for the General, by the General." July 2002.

rule in the country by allowing him to continue his presidency until 2007, use his discretion to dismiss the parliament at any time, and formalize the role of the military in politics. Musharraf seemed well entrenched in Pakistani politics, more than any of his military or democratically elected predecessors.

Opposition to the Musharraf rule gained momentum after US President Bill Clinton's visit to the country in March 2000. Observers explained that Bill Clinton's insistence on restoration of "real democracy" in Pakistan emboldened the opposition, and demands for restoration of democracy became louder after his visit[44]. Various alliances emerged to put pressure on the government despite ideological differences among groups, state repression, enticements, and other incentives to defect. I discuss the formation of alliances through three case studies: 1) The emergence of Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) and Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal (MMA); 2) The campaign against the Legal Framework Order (LFO) and 3) The campaign against the local bodies' elections. Each of these campaigns engaged in mobilization through an alliance against the Musharraf regime. The alliances were not always easily formed or maintained. Historical enmities and government-offered incentives for defecting often posed insurmountable challenges. As I will show, at times parties did defect from the alliance to support the regime in exchange for certain conditions. Forming an alliance with other parties was the subject of much controversy and internal debate and dissensions in several groups. Yet, despite these pressures the alliances emerged and engaged in widespread mobilization against the regime.

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[44] Zulfikar Raja, Personal interview June 8th 2007

<u>Formation of ARD and MMA:</u>

On March 29th 2000, Pakistani opposition parties met in Lahore to discuss their strategy in opposing the Musharraf regime. The parties decided to revive the alliance many of them had formed in 1999 under the Sharif government – the Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA). The original purpose of GDA had been to oppose the Sharif government, but with Sharif out of power and the political system closed for the time being, GDA members had to decide whether to include PML in the alliance. One the one hand, GDA could not be an effective alliance without the inclusion of a major party that has a well established constituency in Punjab; on the other hand, a leading member of the GDA, the PPP was firmly opposed to PML's membership owing to their history of intense rivalry. While several PML members felt that they should join GDA, factions within the party were of the opinion that since PML has the anti-Bhutto vote bank, if they joined the alliance, their supporters would be disillusioned with the new association with the PPP. As one journalist explains:

> The Pakistan People's Party led by Ms. Benazir Bhutto is a key partner of the GDA and the contention of the rebels in the PML was that how could their party join hands with an archrival like PPP? It sounds logical, but the argument of the Sharif loyalists is a month is a long time in politics and the changes context required a pragmatic response[45].

Bhutto and Sharif had spent a lifetime hating each other, and an alliance between the two would have been unthinkable just a few months ago. GDA debated the issue by forming a special committee to consider the proposal. Individual members were not allowed to negotiate separately with the PML or any other party wanting to join the alliance. After internal deliberations, PML decided not to join GDA as this would create divisions within the party.

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[45] "Alliance Decides to Admit Sharif Party." 2000. *The Hindu*, November 27th 2000.

Although PML did not join GDA, the party did participate in a meeting of the alliance on August 6th. The PPP and PML cooperated for the first time, setting aside their personal rivalries. The inclusion of the PML in the alliance meeting came with consequences. Appalled by the possibility of renegotiations with the PML, Tehreek-e-Insaaf party decided to defect from the alliance. Despite Tehreek-e-Insaaf's party's protests, contacts between PPP and PML increased leading to speculations in the news media that PML might be joining GDA after all[46].

On October 30th, PML formally decided to join GDA and GDA welcomed the proposal. The decision led to the defection of a faction within the PML that was firmly opposed to the PPP and PML's cooperation with other parties through this new alliance. The faction included four top officials of the party. Those that chose to stay with the party changed their name to PML(n) or – Nawaz Sharif group. The three main parties forming the GDA now included PPP, PML(n) and the regional Awami National Party (ANP). The group elected Nawab Nasarullah Khan as their head. GDA changed its name to Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) to disassociate itself from its history of opposition to the Sharif government.

Nasarullah Khan declared that ARD would be a political alliance, meant to put pressure on the current government. The group did not have plans to function as an electoral alliance. ARD's first campaign was to launch an opposition campaign against the government initiated local bodies polls to be held on a non-party basis on December 31st. However, the alliance was still very new at the time, and the elections were held as planned.

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[46] "Three Parties to Unite Against Military Regime." 2000. *Gulf News*, October 17th 2000.

The first set of ARD rallies came in March when the group announced that it would hold a public meeting at the historic Mochi Gate in Lahore. The announcement immediately caught the attention of national and regional media as this would be the first attempt to engage in organized resistance against the Musharraf regime. As one news correspondent explained, "Should it take place, it [the rally] would be the fist step towards politics of defiance by key opposition parties of the country which have so far been keeping a low profile[47]". The rally happened as scheduled. Thousands of protesters demanded that the government lift the ban on political activity, restore the constitution, and create an impartial election commission with a clear schedule for holding elections. Despite the differences among the parties, they had agreed to mobilize on the common points in their agenda unlike the case of the Muslim Brotherhood and Kifaya in Egypt. Security officials arrested several hundred protesters for defying the law. Others were beaten in public. Analysts explained that the regime's heavy handedness in dealing with the ARD rally revealed far more about Musharraf's paranoia than the strength of the opposition. Through its reaction to the rally, the regime managed to imbue the event with an air of importance that would perhaps have been otherwise absent[48].

In April 2001, ARD planned another rally in Karachi to press the government to restore democracy and hold elections. Security officials sealed off the venue for the protest and arrested as many as 800 activists including several top ARD leaders. All roads leading to the rally were blocked and the government deployed policemen to patrol the city for two days. In addition several other ARD leaders were arrested in corruption

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[47] Raja, Zulfikar. 2001. "ARD to Defy Ban on Political Rallies." Ibid., February 10th 2001.

[48] Abbas, Zaffar. 1998. "Controlling Interest." *The Herald Annual* Jan 1998:59.

charges soon after the rally. The government seemed to be sending a clear message that the regime had both the will and the resources to suppress the opposition to its fullest extent. Future ARD protests continued to be met with arrests, baton charges and barb wire fences barricading the protesters.

In 2002, Musharraf announced that he would hold a referendum in May, which would allow him to legitimate his power as the President and continue his rule. This would be the third time a military ruler has tried to legitimize his rule through a popular referendum. International Crisis Group declared the referendum illegal by any interpretation of the Pakistani constitution. The referendum announcement incited public outrage against the regime. As one analyst explains:

> General Musharraf has often emphasized that he is neither another Ayub Khan or Zia-ul-Haq, but appears to be following their script to the letter. Not only is he holding a referendum in an attempt to legitimize his rule, but is also engaged in trying to establish a "King's Party," using local government as his political base[49].

ARD decided to boycott the referendum. In April the alliance announced a series of rallies so express their denouncement. This time ARD found yet another partner – an alliance of Islamist parties under the banner Majlis-e-Muttahida-e-Amal (MMA). The General's decision to hold a referendum brought opposition voices together under a single cause. Regional and national news sources expressed surprise at the possibility of disparate political forces uniting. ARD leader Nawab Nasarallah Khan told a news reporter, "We are thankful to the army dictator that he has united the entire nation against him[50]".

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[49] Hussain, Zahid. 2002b. "The Great Gamble." *Newsline* April 2002.

[50] Ibid.

Formed in April 2002, MMA originally consisted of six Islamist parties led by two of the country's oldest groups – Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islami (JUI). One of the allied partners – Jamaat-Ahl-e-Hadith—broke away from the alliance soon after its formation. The alliance has its roots in the religious parties' reaction to the US-led Afghanistan war. Despite deep ideological divisions between JI and the pro-Taliban JUI, the alliance has been able to stay together. Many of MMA's individual members had been supportive of the Musharraf regime so far. However MMA became opposed to Musharraf on several issues such as his Kashmir policy with India and relations with the United States' war on terror.

MMA joined ARD in boycotting the referendum. The two groups began organizing widespread protests in different parts of the country. ARD organized a protest in Lahore at the Minar-e-Pakistan park. The Musharraf government sanctioned the protest but chided that the opposition would never be able to gather enough people to fill the venue. On April 28th, MMA organized a march in Rawlapindi. MMA and ARD also held a joint demonstration in NWFP on April 26th. Despite deep differences among secular and religious parties, unlike the case of Egypt, in Pakistan they were able to form an alliance to jointly challenge the regime.

The Supreme Court approved the legitimacy of the referendum and it was held as planned. The government claimed a high turnout and declared that the opposition's calls for a boycott had failed. Official figures put the turnout at 58% of which 98% voted "yes." A turnout of 58% is unprecedented in the country as in the 1997 democratic elections, the turnout was 36%. Musharraf used every trick in the book to win the referendum. The voting age was reduced to 18 years for the purposes of the referendum,

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and the requirements of national identity cards and electoral lists were also waived[51].

International sources alleged widespread fraud and reported that polling stations remained deserted for most of the day. The Pakistan Human Rights Commission reported that the extent of the irregularities had surpassed all fears: many people voted several times, while others were barred from even entering the polling stations[52]. Yet, Musharraf gained claimed popular legitimacy to continue his rule until 2007. He announced parliamentary elections under his government's supervision in October.

With the emergence of the pro-Musharraf PML(q) and Musharraf's own success in "winning" the referendum, ARD began feverishly discussing their elections strategy. Even though the alliance was originally formed as a political and not an electoral coalition, Zafar Ali Shah, one of PML(n)'s central leaders said that ARD should convert itself into an electoral alliance and that party would have no trouble contesting elections alongside PPP. Shah told a news reporter, "We have learnt to put our differences behind us[53]."

Alarmed by the possibility of Bhutto and Sharif running for the position of prime minister, Musharraf passed new laws restricting the conditions for prime ministership candidacy. The new law disallowed former prime ministers from running for a third term. Also, anyone under investigation for corruption charges would be disqualified from running for president. The new laws meant that both Bhutto and Sharif were disqualified, as both had served two terms as prime minister and both were under investigation for

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[51] Ansari, Massoud. Ibid."How The Referendum Was Won." May 2002.

[52] See http://www.hrcp-web.org/index.cfm

[53] Iqbal, Abdullah. 2002. "PPP and PML-N Undecided About Strategies." *Gul News*, July 18th 2002.

corruption charges. Nevertheless, Bhutto and Sharif both submitted their papers for candidacy. The news of Bhutto's disqualification came first. In a show of solidarity, Sharif withdrew his papers. While some analysts lauded Sharif's withdrawal, others argued that since he would have been disqualified anyway, he conveniently withdrew his papers in time so that he could offer solidarity with Bhutto[54]. In an effort to further neutralize the PPP, in August the Musharraf government passed a new law that disqualified parties from contesting elections if their leader's candidacy for prime ministership was rejected. Fearing disqualification, PPP registered itself as a new party under the name People's Party of Pakistan Parliamentarians (PPPP). While officially known as PPPP, the party continued its campaign activities under the banner PPP.

Under direct supervision of the Pakistani intelligence agency, the ISI, pro-government parties, including the PML(q) and several smaller parties such as PPP(s) decided that they would contest elections together under the banner, "Grand Alliance." In response, PML(n) and PPP decided to form an electoral alliance to contest the elections. The two parties made seat adjustments and decided not to run candidates against each other by mutually dividing up the constituencies based on their electoral strength. PML(n) and PPP also began talks with MMA to coordinate strategies. While PPP was opposed to forming an electoral alliance with MMA, because of the differences in ideology between the two groups, they realized that a joint electoral strategy would help in putting together all the anti-government voices.

On August 22nd, the Musharraf government passed a new constitutional amendment which have him sweeping powers, such as the right to dismiss the parliament

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[54] Amir, Ayaz 2002. *Dawn,* September 1st 2002

and establish a military controlled National Security Council to oversee the elections and matters of national importance. The amendment solidified his rule and formalized the role of the military in politics. Analysts explained that Musharraf had consolidated his power and would continue to enjoy a dictatorial status even after the elections because he he is able to dismiss the prime minister and dissolve the parliament at any time[55]. One journalist writes:

> If there were any illusions about Pakistan returning to democracy after the October elections, they vanished last month when President Musharraf unveiled his plan to redraft the constitution and acquire sweeping powers. It is quite apparent that he has no intention of transferring power to an elected parliament, but simply plans to establish a shadow state in the garb of democracy[56].

As the elections drew nearer, despite enjoying high levels of street support, opposition parties became more and more disillusioned about their prospects as their rallies continued to be quelled by security forces and arrests and detentions continued. On September 7th, MMA planned a "train march," in which members would board a train in Lahore and take it to Karachi. However, even before members could board the train, several prominent leaders, including Qazi Hussein of the JI, were arrested at the Lahore railway station. Security officials also foiled other campaigning attempts by PPP and PML(n), but the parties continued to cooperate in organizing additional campaigns. After intense deliberations, ARD constituent parties decided to contest elections under separate platforms. Their brand recognition as an alliance was limited, as the government had taken every step to limit their campaign activity. MMA decided to contest the elections as an alliance.

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[55] Dr. Khaled Mahmud, Personal Interview, July 14th 2007

[56] Hussain, Zahid. 2002d. "Of the General, for the General, by the General." *Newsline* July 2002.

The October elections were held as scheduled. Observers from EU, United States and other commonwealth countries arrived to monitor the polls. The results revealed a wide victory for PML(q), followed by PPP and MMA. MMA made vast gains in the NWFP where they formed the provincial government. Analysts explained that MMA had successfully used the prevailing anti-American sentiment after the Afghanistan war to aggregate their constituency in NWFP[57]. After the elections, a new chapter began in the history of opposition politics in Pakistan. With secular parties such as PPP and PML(n) gaining low representation in the parliament, they had very little hope in resisting the Musharraf regime's legislative initiatives. Their fears were soon borne out as Musharraf announced his decision to have the parliament pass several amendments to the 1973 constitution. The amendments together came to be known as Legal Framework Order (LFO).

Anti- Legal Framework Order Campaign:

After the elections had ended, the parliament was all set to discuss the constitutional amendments that came to be known as Legal Framework Order. The Musharraf government had already implemented many of these new laws before the elections, but now he presented the MPs a copy of the 1973 constitution with the changes marked and to be discussed in the parliament. In this section, I describe the pandemonium that resulted and continued for the next several months as the opposition boycotted any session of the parliament meant to discuss the LFO. Ultimately the Musharraf regime did succeed in passing the LFO in the parliament with the support of certain key opposition

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[57] ———. 2002a. "The General's Selection." *Newsline* Oct 2002, Yusufzai, Rahimullah. 2002. "The Real Test." *Newsline* November 2002, Wilder, Andrew. 2002. "Elections 2002: Legitimizing the Status Quo." In *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. C. Baxter. Lanham: Lexington Books.

parties. The anti-LFO campaign shows that opposition alliances were not always easy to form in Pakistan, but despite the disagreements, they continued to challenge the Musharraf government in significant ways.

On March 6th 2003, the parliament held its first LFO session. Even before the matter could be drawn up, the opposition MPs, including MMA, PPP and PML deputies, broke into a chorus of protest chants and demanded that Musharraf quit the presidency. The speaker adjourned the session. The parliament continued to be adjourned on the 7th and 8th as the newly elected MPs held that they would not take the oath of office under the new constitution. As a further expression of their opposition, the MPs also decided to boycott the elections of the senate chairman. The election was still held as scheduled, with the opposition absent from the parliament. The MPs did not allow LFO to be discussed in the parliament in the April 16th session, once again leading to the speaker adjourning the session. The sessions continued to be adjourned on April 17th and 18th.

Soon street protests against the LFO also emerged. PPP asked all opposition parties to participate in a countrywide protest on April 4th. MMA had also taken up the issue of the Iraq war in the parliament and on the streets. PPP did not participate in MMA organized anti-war protests, as it felt that such demonstrations would be too far from its core ideology. However, PPP refrained from condemning the protests.

Finally the government agreed to negotiate with the opposition. Each party would meet with the government separately to discuss the issue. Meeting groups separately was clearly an attempt to break the consensus on LFO within the opposition. Even before the negotiations began, Musharraf stressed that he would not be quitting his position as army chief and taking on a civilian role. One analyst explains that Musharraf's confidence at

this time stemmed from his American backing, which he thought would be a substitute

for domestic support:

> When Musharraf took power he promised to restore democracy within three years, after creating institutional checks and balances and introducing reforms that would forever end the alternation of power between authoritarian military rulers and ineffective elected civilians. Even before he achieved the status of a US ally, Musharraf had started espousing political ideas that rested on his continuation in office rather than on the effectiveness of institutions such as an independent judiciary or a government truly accountable to parliament. now with the international sanctions usually applied to military regimes having being lifted in return for his support in the anti-terrorism effort, his desire to perpetuate his power without real reform has become all too obvious[58].

Mindful of Musharraf's strong position, MMA, PPP and PML(n) met at the residence of

MMA leader Qazi Hussain Ahmed to chalk out a strategy for the upcoming negotiations.

The negotiations seemed fruitful as after the first round of talks, the government and the

opposition parties jointly agreed to form an 11-member committee to review LFO – 5 of

the members would be from pro-Musharraf parties and 6 from the three main opposition

parties. The convener would be a representative of the prime minister. The committee

would draft a report on the contentious parts of the LFO and present their

recommendations to the parliament.

   The committee proved to be unsuccessful in drafting a report by consensus and

instead presented two reports to the parliament – one drafted by the pro-reform parties

and the other by the three opposition parties. The opposition parties had cooperated

closely through the deliberations and had managed to maintain a united front in the face

of the pro-government parties. The secular opposition groups agreed to include some

MMA demands in addition to recommendations on LFO. These demands included

proclaiming Friday a national holiday to observe the Muslim holyday of *Jummah* and

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[58] Haqqani, Hassaun. 2003. "'Controlled Democracy' Seems to be Faltering " *Gulf News*, May 1st 2003.

implementing Islamic ideology in the constitution. The demands revealed that the opposition had found a way to accommodate each other's demands without reconciling tp them in their opposition to the regime. A pro-government member of the parliament exclaimed shock at these demands, he argued, "I think the myth of combined opposition parties with one view on all issues has exploded, and the differences between the opposition parties have become crystal clear[59]".

The opposition remained united on the LFO issue. In June, MMA, PPP and PML(n) organized a seminar entitled, "LFO – a Mutilation of the 1973 Constitution" in Karachi. Several top leaders attended and spoke at the event. The opposition also continued to boycott the national assembly. On June 20th, MMA and PPP MPs walked out of a budget session on the LFO issue after filing a "no confidence" motion against the speaker who was in favor of LFO. The government responded with arrests and searches. Over 180 PPP activists were arrested, many were tortured. PPP observed June 29th as a national condemnation day in response by organizing a protest in Lahore. MMA and PML(n) joined in the protest. The opposition's overall low levels of formal representation in the government meant that they had to form an alliance both in the parliament and on the street.

While the opposition seemed to be firmly united on the LFO issue, cracks began to appear when MMA agreed to another round of negotiations with the government in July. Other parties were also invited, but PML(n) and PPP decided to boycott the talks. MMA's acceptance of the invitation led to widespread speculation in the news media that

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[59] Shaikh, Shakil. 2003. "No Consensus on LFO." *The News*, May 20th 2003.

the opposition was splintering[60]. One ARD leader was quoted saying, "The political forces are fighting for the supremacy of the parliament and restoration of the 1973 constitution but the MMA was busy in deal with the government[61]". The government responded by blaming the ARD for the failure of talks on LFO. As a representative explained, "We intended to have purposeful dialogue, but some elements such as PPP parliamentarians and PML(n) are creating obstacles[62]". MMA engaged in several rounds of talks with the government, many of which failed. But the alliance continued to engage in further negotiations with the regime, much to the chagrin of ARD who accused MMA of taking the country 20 years back by agreeing to Musharraf's terms[63].

After several rounds of negotiations, the government and MMA finally reached a consensus and on January 1st 2004, LFO passed in the assembly. As a part of the agreement, MMA agreed to allow Musharraf to remain in office until 2007; in exchange, he would step down as the army chief of staff in December 2004. Relations between MMA and ARD reached a significant low. The government seemed to have succeeded in splintering the opposition and passing LFO, which changed the nature of politics in Pakistan from a parliamentary to a presidential system and formalized the role of the military in governance.

Even though the opposition seemed to have splintered, their differences did not last long; united they could put more pressure on the government and make more

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[60] Anis, Muhammad, and Asim Yasin. Ibid."ARD Boycotts Talks on LFO."

[61] Riaz, Raja. 2003. "MMA to Withdraw Uniform Offer." *The Nation*, August 18th 2003.

[62] Hussain, Shahid. 2003. "Opposition Walks Out of Assembly." *Gulf News*, August 21st, 2003.

[63] "Other Pakistan Opposition Parties Reject Constitutional Amedments." 2003. *The News*, December 25th 2003.

demands. On March 16th MMA leaders met at the residence of Qazi Hussain Ahmed to discuss whether the group should cooperate with ARD. The members collectively decided that they should continue to seek close relations with other opposition parties. ARD also decided that working together would serve them both. MMA and ARD jointly opposed Musharraf's National Security Council bill, which aimed to set up a more formal role for the military in the government. MMA and ARD members created a furor in the parliament but the bill passed without much debate.

Following the passage of the bill, the police arrested a ARD leader and senior PML(n) member for sedition. Other PML(n) members were also arrested for protesting his incarceration. The regime targeted further repression on the PML(n) when several thousand supporters gathered at the airport to welcome Sharif's brother Shahbaz back from exile. The police arrested over 1,000 members and beat several others in public view. ARD and MMA collectively walked out of the June 24th parliamentary session to protest the arrest of PML(n) members and Shahbaz Sharif's subsequent deportation.

MMA and ARD's alliance was further solidified when in September, when Musharraf announced that he would not be stepping down as army chief as per the agreement. MMA threatened to resign from the parliament over the issue and proclaimed that they would be working actively with ARD to devise a joint strategy; Musharraf remained unfazed. In the absence of a strong opposition voice in the parliament, he succeeded in passing anti-terrorism bills and contempt-of-court bills with little debate. The Pakistani citizens began losing faith in the opposition's ability to oppose Musharraf with any real influence. A prominent columnist Ghazi Salahuddin explained, "There is

little interest at the popular level to join such a call [anti-government campaign] from the opposition. Pakistani's feel completely depoliticized[64]."

MMA and ARD continued to oppose the LFO in protests and rallies, even though the bill had already passed in the parliament. On January 1st 2005, they called for a "black day" as a part of their efforts to resist Musharraf. The parties held protests nationwide, especially in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Karachi. They announced that they would hold a joint meeting within the next few days to chalk out a strategy.

In 2005, the Musharraf government announced local bodies' elections. This was another chance for the opposition parties to regain their voice in official channels. However, with their failure to stop LFO from being passed and implemented raised new challenges in forming a united electoral bloc. In the next section I examine the activism surrounding the local bodies' polls campaign in greater detail.

Local Bodies Election Campaign

With the LFO firmly in place and a parliament composed of his cronies, Musharraf announced that local bodies' elections would be held in July or August 2005. MMA contacted all opposition parties to coordinate strategy. PPP declared that it did not wish to cooperate with MMA because of its status as a staunchly secular party. However, I learned from several party members that the PPP's differences with MMA were not on religion but MMA's betrayal of the united opposition against the LFO[65]. PPP argued that being the largest and strongest political party, it had a large following among the masses

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[64] Bokhari, Farhan. 2004. "Will the Opposition Succeed in Challenging Musharraf?" *Gulf News*, November 16th 2004.

[65] Saleem Javed, Personal Interview May 26th 2007, Aslam Munir, Personal Interview May 27th 2007.

and therefore was in a position to win the elections on its own[66]. However, once the government crony parties began their enthusiastic campaign, PPP decided to participate in local elections in coordination with MMA to ensure their defeat.

MMA, PML(n) and PPP decided that they would consult with each other in fielding candidates and make seat adjustments. Also, the parties decided to field joint candidates all over Punjab. In Sind, MQM and PML(n) decided that they would field candidates where they were strongest. MQM would field candidates in urban areas where most of its constituency lies, while PML(n) would focus on rural areas. The parties agreed not to make any seat adjustments or seek support from the PML(q). Unlike Egypt, it appears that in Pakistan, rather than competing for constituencies, the groups pooled their supporters effectively to oppose the regime.

Even though electoral alliances had emerged, in order to effectively oppose the government, the opposition would still have to launch a mass campaign. ARD- MMA negotiations began on how to form a "grand alliance" on a minimum point agenda. PPP sources revealed that the party leadership had discussed the possibility of forming an alliance with MMA without compromising its stance on certain issues of national and political concern[67]. The government became increasingly concerned about the emerging alliances and began intimidating local bodies' elections candidates, voters and arresting journalists and party members. Security officials raided the office of Jamaat-e-Islami, confiscating computers, documents and harassing its members.

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[66] "MMA Contacts Opposition Parties on LB Polls." 2005. *The Nation*, July 8th 2005.

[67] Hassan, Ahmed. 2005. "Pakistan Opposition Parties to Form Anti-Musharraf Bloc." *Dawn*, July 31st 2005.

The local bodies' polls results revealed an excellent showing for pro-government parties and a poor showing for opposition groups. Soon after the elections, the Musharraf government began a *madrassa* registration campaign in an effort to curb growing extremism in the country. Some 1,400 foreign students studying in Pakistani *madrassas* were asked to leave, and some seminaries were barred from teaching material that promoted hatred of other religious. The *madarassa* reform initiative, along with the massive vote rigging in the local body polls, angered the MMA

On September 9th, MMA along with PPP and PML(n) announced a day of strike to demand that Musharraf step down and hold free and fair elections. The parties alleged that the government had engaged in widespread vote rigging and demanded that parliamentary polls be held under a neutral body.

All opposition parties rallied their constituencies around the country to participate in the September 9th strike. They asked for shops to remain closed and public transport to stay off the streets. To appeal to the transporters union, the rising price of petroleum was also added to the reasons for the strike. Transport associations gave their support by agreeing to keep their busses off the streets. Also, several associations assured that their businesses would remain closed. Political analysts opined that the opposition parties were well aware that their demands would not be met but pursued the strike to show their strength and keep pressure on the government[68].

The government assured transporters and shop owners that they would provide protection to those not willing to participate in the strike. Yet the September 9th strike was widely observed. Traffic remained off the streets and shops remained closed in major

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[68] Dr. Ayesha Jalal, Personal Interview, May 21st 2007

cities. The strike remained peaceful for the most part, but McDonalds and Kentucky

Fried Chicken franchises were attacked in some parts of the country. One news daily

described the strike as a "litmus test" for the opposition parties who have joined hands

against Musharraf[69]. The newspaper added that while the opposition parties had no clear

vision of the future, to their credit, they were working together across ideological divides,

"Apart from the pathos of the tragic comedy that this whole situation has turned into, its

was heartening to see the 'religious' maulana of MMA heeding the call of a trendy

command from the secular PPP[70]."

The opposition's campaign against the government was cut short by a devastating

earthquake that hit the country on October 8th. The quake took thousands of lives while

leaving many others stranded. Opposition activity declined during this time period as the

parties became involved with relief efforts. Although it was clearly a national disaster,

the earthquake could not have come at a better time for President Musharraf. As one

journalist explains:

> These tremors have unfortunately brought huge amount of tragedy with the population
> but these have also shaken the confidence of the opposition which now like millions of
> affectees would be trying to rehabilitate and reconstruct their planned opposition to
> General Pervez Musharraf who at the moment looks more in control of the situation than
> ever before[71].

After the shock and horror of the earthquake subsided, opposition parties once

again regrouped, but they had lost the momentum that they had once gathered. They

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[69] "Strike Call Litmus Test for Opposition Parties." 2005. *The Nation*, September 8th 2005.

[70] "Era of Semi-Democracy." 2005. *The Nation*, September 9th 2005.

[71] "Quake Pours Cold Water on Opposition's Agitation Plans." 2005. *The Nation*, November 7th 2005.

declared that they would organize another anti-Musharraf campaign after Eid. The new

campaign could include several new legislative bills, protests, and other campaigns[72].

Analysis: Mobilization Alliances in Pakistan:

After coming to power, General Musharraf took several steps to consolidate his

rule in the country. He repressed political opposition by putting a moratorium on political

activity, arrested hundreds of opposition party members, and introduced constitutional

amendments, such as the Legal Framework Order (LFO). He also set out to gain the

support of some opposition parties by enticing them with benefits such as wide

representation in the parliament and dropping of corruption charges.

Many of Musharraf's initiatives were successful. A faction of the PML, PML(q)

succeeded to support Musharraf's rule. PPP also experienced internal factionalism with

the formation of PPP(s) under Sherpao. MMA also gave their support to Musharraf on

the LFO issue. LFO was ultimately passed in the parliament and opposition parties were

badly defeated in the parliamentary and local body elections. However, Musharraf met

with a united opposition front at every step. Soon after he took power, secular parties

resolved their differences and formed ARD. Religious parties, though supportive of

Musharraf at first, soon decided to cooperate with ARD to oppose his rule. ARD and

MMA organized several joint protests, parliament walkouts and strikes. They were

successful in taking their campaigns to the national level because of successfully

aggregating their divided constituencies.

Despite the best efforts of the opposition parties, LFO was passed in the

parliament with MMA's support. MMA's betrayal of the united opposition led to bitter

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[72] Hasan, Ahmed. 2005. "Opposition to Mount Pressure." *Dawn*, December 31st 2005.

enmities, especially between MMA and PPP. However no party could ignore MMA's large regional constituency in the NWFP. Therefore it seems that despite their support in getting LFO passed, other parties continued to form alliances with the MMA.

The local bodies' polls once again showed the power of divided constituencies in bringing parties together. Opposition parties made seat adjustments based on the division of constituencies in various regions. Unlike Egypt, they did not defect from these agreements because it appears they were well aware that they could not win in other districts. The most significant aspect of opposition alliances in Pakistan was that they were formed despite high levels of government repression and virtually no hope of actually being successful in challenging the regime.

Mobilization Alliances in Egypt and Pakistan:

Mobilization alliances are formed when groups pool their constituents to engage in street politics such as protests or civil disobedience. In this chapter I argued that groups with divided constituencies form mobilization alliances despite ideological differences, regime repression and policies of divide and rule while groups with fluid constituencies are unable to do so.

Under divided constituencies, groups receive consistent support from certain specific sections of the population. The chances that their supports will defect and change their loyalties to other groups are limited, as is the possibility of attracting other group's supporters. Therefore, groups are less concerned about other groups using the mobilization alliance to poach their constituents. Further, in order to show increased

street strength to the regime, the groups must pool their constituents. For these reasons, mobilization alliances emerge under conditions of divided constituencies.

I explained how in the case of Pakistan, opposition groups were able to form an alliance to exert pressure on the Musharraf government. The alliances were formed despite high levels of regime repression and the government's attempts to divide the opposition by offering incentives to defect from the alliances.

I showed how in Pakistan, the alliances were not always easy to form. PPP and PML faced internal dissensions and factionalism when deciding to form an alliance under the GDA banner. PPP had its own ideological differences with MMA. Further, MMA decided to defect from the united opposition front against LFO to allow the Musharraf government to pass the bill in the parliament. Despite these difficulties, the Musahrraf government faced a united opposition at every step. Opposition parties were able to put aside their rivalries and differences to launch a united anti-regime campaign.

I argue that such alliances were possible because groups were able to successfully pool their constituents. Each groups receives support from a specific section of the population which has remained stable over time. Many constituencies are located in a particular ethnic group or class giving rise to intense rivalries among the parties but also creating opportunities for them to take advantage of their divided constituencies to form alliances.

In Egypt, despite the fact that many opposition groups mobilized individually against the Mubarak government, no joint mobilization occurred. Similar to Pakistan, the government used repression to keep the opposition at bay and engaged in divide and rule policies by providing institutional access to moderate groups and severely punishing

those that crossed the line in their opposition to the regime. While opposition groups tried to form alliances with each other, they achieved limited success. I examined the case of the referendum/ elections boycott, interaction between Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood, the Brotherhood initiated NARC and United National Front for Change, initiated by al-Wafd. In each of these cases, I showed that unlike Pakistan, the opposition groups were not able to form an alliance based on a common agenda despite several similarities in their individual programs. I also showed that ideological similarities or differences had little impact on the successful formation of an alliance.

I argue that the nature of constituencies in Egypt provides additional theoretical leverage in explaining the lack of alliance building in Egypt as compared to other explanations such as regime repression or divide and rule policies which were prevalent in Pakistan also. Egyptian opposition groups receive no consistent basis of support within the population. Many new groups are still trying to establish their constituencies by attracting supporters of other groups or appealing to "fence sitters." The fluid nature of constituencies prevents mobilization alliances as each group fears that its allied partners will use the mobilization event to appeal to its constituents. The mobilization event provides each ally easy access to other groups' constituency at a particular time and place. The fear of poaching prevents the groups from forming mobilization alliances.

I showed how groups with divided constituencies in Egypt were able to form mobilization alliances despite their ideological differences, for example the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd and al-Wafd and leftists parties. Groups with fluid constituencies, for example the Brotherhood and Kifaya and the Brotherhood and leftists parties were unable to form alliances with each other.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Why are opposition groups able to form alliances in their activism against the regime in some cases but not in others? Specifically, why did opposition movements in Pakistan engage in high levels of alliance building while similar alliance patterns did not emerge in Egypt?

Not only does this research make a substantive contribution to the study of alliance politics, it also highlights the importance of widening the field of social movements and opposition politics beyond regime-movement dyads to how groups interact with each other. As Rucht explains:

> It is time to abandon the simplified image of a two-party struggle between a (unified) movement and its (unified) opponent acting in some kind of a social vacuum. Unlike two individuals who may engage in personal struggles without spectators, social movements are internally differentiated actors operating within complex social settings that, in part, consist of public arenas. These settings are not just a kind of neutral background but include different kinds of actors with whom a given social movement engages[1].

Groups compete with each other for popular support, voice in the government, as well as access to resources. Lust-Okar argues that understanding the dynamic nature of the interaction among opposition groups is an important predictor of how they engage in claim making against the regime[2]. The formation of alliances among opposition groups is a particularly intriguing phenomenon because not only must the groups resolve their own collective action problems, but as Lichbach argues, they must also engage other actors in a "coalition game[3]." Opposition groups' interaction with each other is therefore critical to their identity, strategies and indeed long-term survival.

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[1] Rucht, Dieter. 2005. "Movement Allies, Adversaries and Third Parties." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. D. Snow, S. Soule and H. Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Pub. p.197

[2] Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

[3] Lichbach, Mark I. 1998. *The Rebel's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

This study examines two cases where opposition groups operating under seemingly similar circumstances show very different alliance outcomes. In Pakistan, various groups formed alliances to engage in protest, civil disobedience as well as parliament walkouts and public statements. In Egypt, while diverse groups tried to engage each other in alliances, very few materialized. The differences in alliance outcomes became amply clear during the state-initiated political opening in both countries.

In 2005, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak announced presidential elections in addition to parliamentary elections. In Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf held parliamentary elections in 2002, followed by provincial elections in 2005. The state initiated political openings sparked a "wave of contention" in each country. In Egypt, new and existing opposition groups took to the streets and challenged Mubarak, asking him to step down. In Pakistan, opposition groups raised their voices to protest the suspension of democracy, superficial elections, and other mounting social and economic problems. The rising discontent provided several opportunities for opposition groups to form alliances. In Pakistan, groups worked together through electoral alliances, campaigning against the Legal Framework Order and post-local bodies' elections protest. In Egypt, opposition groups failed to form an alliance to boycott the May referendum to approve the amendment to Article 76, could not engage in joint protest and did not form any significant electoral alliances despite their efforts to engage each other. How can we explain the differences in the alliance outcomes when incentives to cooperate were clearly present in both cases?

In this study I argue that understanding the nature of group constituencies and the nature of the alliance provides additional theoretical leverage in explaining the differences in the cases. Groups may operate under fluid or divided constituencies. Under fluid constituencies, groups have no consistent support base. They may receive support from different sections of the population at different times. The boundaries of the constituency are not well defined and the chances that supporters may defect and give their loyalties to another group are high. Under divided constituencies, groups receive consistent support from a specific section of the population that remains stable over time. The constituency base may be located in a particular geographic area, ethnic group, race or class. The boundaries of the constituency are well defined and the chances that supports may defect and give their loyalty to another group are low.

Alliances may be of two kinds: mobilization or elite. Mobilization alliances are formed when different groups bring their constituents together to engage in a protest, civil disobedience or sit-in. The goal is to pool constituents to engage in collective action. Elite alliances are agreements among leaders of various groups to work together without engaging their constituents. The alliance may involve a joint statement, symbolic office closing or writing an article critical of the regime. The goal of the alliance is to engage in opposition activity without pooling constituents.

I argue that groups operating under divided constituencies may form mobilization alliances while groups operating under fluid constituencies are unable to do so. However, groups operating under fluid constituencies may form elite alliances. Specifically, such groups may form issue-based elite alliances. These are focused on a specific policy concern and are often technical in nature, for example targeting a policy holding

newspapers liable for printing false information. Value-based alliances address a larger concern that targets the social and political fabric of the society, for example, freedom of speech and expression in the country, free market economy or women's rights. Such concerns are not only controversial, but also volatile. Groups with divided constituencies may form both value-based and issue-based elite alliances. The argument is depicted in the following table:

Table IV: Formation of Alliances

<u>Constituency Type</u>	**Mobilization**	**Elite**
Fluid	No	Yes: Issue-based
Divided	Yes: Issue-based/Value based	Yes: Issue based/ Value-based

I have shown that Pakistan is a case of divided constituencies, while in Egypt, by comparison, opposition groups have less well-defined bases of support, and thus may be characterized as fluid constituencies. Pakistan's regional and ethnic diversity coupled with experiences with democracy in the past have led to the formation of a number of political opposition groups each based within a certain region, ethnic group or class in the country. Egypt's relatively high levels of restrictions on political dissent coupled with ethnic and regional homogeneity have prevented opposition groups from commanding base constituencies. Many groups are too recent to have a solid support base, while other long standing groups have experienced shifting support bases over time.

I examine how opposition groups in Pakistan formed an issue-based elite alliance to protest the Kalabagh dam project in 1998, but this campaign later expanded to a large-scale anti-government mobilization alliance that culminated in the 2002 coup headed by Musharraf. I contrast this case with Egypt, where groups formed an issue-based elite

alliance to pressure the Mubarak regime to repeal Law 93, which significantly repressed freedom of press in the country. The elite alliance launched a campaign and successfully convinced the regime to retract the law. The same groups, however, were unable to form a value-based elite alliance to protest the results of the 1995 elections held a few months later.

I go on to explain how groups in Pakistan formed various mobilization alliances against the Musharraf regime during the 2002- 2005 time period. Even though the regime tried to repress the opposition and use divide-and-rule policies by offering certain groups incentives for defecting from the alliance, several mobilization campaigns did emerge. In Egypt, despite the fact that various groups tried to form alliances to take full advantage of the 2005 political opening, no significant alliances emerged.

In this chapter, I summarize the results of the study and explain areas for future research. I begin by presenting a detailed explanation of the main argument explaining the formation of alliances. I go on to summarize the case studies, explaining how the model applies to the empirical data. Finally I discuss how the study of alliances in contentious politics can be taken further and the areas that are yet under explored.

Explaining Alliances:

I argue that while explanations based on the role of cost/benefit analysis, regime policies of divide and rule, and those that stress the role of bridging ideological divides among groups contribute to understanding some aspects of alliance making, they leave many questions regarding the actual circumstances that make alliance making possible unanswered. While structural theories provide a powerful explanation of alliance making, there are other factors besides regime policies that groups consider when forming

alliances that have remained underexplored in the literature and are important variables in the cases I examine. In this section I provide a detailed explanation of the model, defining key terms and elaborating the hypotheses.

Defining the Model:

In this study I examined alliance formation among a broad set of opposition actors, including legally recognized political parties, political groups operating like parties but without formal recognition, and loosely structured social movements. By keeping the definition broad, I was able to capture the different avenues through which dissent is expressed in countries where there are high levels of restrictions on forming and operating a formally organized political party. Specifically, In Egypt, the most important voices of dissent have come from non-legally recognized political groups, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood and more recently from Kifaya, which operates like a social movement rather than a political party. Keeping the definition sufficiently broad allowed me to study alliance making among these diverse groups that form an important part of the Egyptian political landscape.

I define an alliance broadly as a partnership among two or more political groups. Alliances are formed with a purpose and operate within a time frame. While alliances suggest that groups are frequently able to find commonality with each other, they also emphasize that differences prevent the two actors from merging into one[4]. Specifically, I identify two kinds of alliances: mobilization alliances, formed to engage in street politics by involving the constituents in a protest, sit-in, or act of civil disobedience, and elite

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[4] Rucht, Dieter. 2005. "Movement Allies, Adversaries and Third Parties." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. D. Snow, S. Soule and H. Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Pub.

alliances, formed among movement leaders to cooperate on a particular issue without engaging constituents. The alliance may be issue-based, that is, focused on a specific and often technical policy concern, for example a law that holds newspaper's liable for publishing false information, textile mills quotas or the construction of a dam , or value-based, that is focused on a broader concern for example, freedom of speech and expression, free market economy and women's rights. Value-based concerns have a much broader focus and are often highly politically charged and sensitive as they address the core principles of the polity and society. Issue-based concerns are focused and technical as they ask for specific policy changes.

We can say that an alliance has been successfully formed when the actors agree on a plan of action and carry it through, for example, by mobilizing constituents, informing members, signing the petition, or making public statements as agreed upon. Constituencies are defined as the popular support base of the group – its voters, members, or those that offer moral, financial or other support to the group. While opposition groups may have many different goals and objectives, their identity, strategy and indeed long-term survival depends on their ability to attract and keep constituencies. A constituent is broadly defined as an individual who supports the groups by providing membership dues and/or other financial support, participating in the group's activities when called upon and/or voting for the group. Constituencies may be divided – where different opposition groups receive support from specific sections of the population and the constituency base remains stable over time, or fluid, where opposition groups receive support from several different sections of the population and the there is no clear basis for support over time.

<u>Explaining the Model:</u>

Opposition groups may form alliances with their contemporaries for many different purposes: through an alliance they may be able to show greater might to the regime, portray themselves as moderate actors who work in the political mainstream, destabilize the regime, or address a mutual concern. As Rucht explains:

> Indeed, seeking allies can become critical for a movement's survival, particularly when it is in an outsider position. Only by broadening their support can most movements hope to make an impact. Hence, challenging an opponent and appealing to potential constituents and allies are both elementary tasks for social movements[5].

The primary facet that determines the power, influence and survival over time for any opposition group or social movement are its supporters. A bigger constituency base means greater visibility and attention to their causes. Further, constituents provide financial support through membership dues and donations. Therefore, every group wants to protect its constituency while also expanding and gaining additional supporters. Groups may increase their support base over time through campaigns, networking and public service. They may target another group's constituency by presenting themselves as a better or more dynamic alternative or appeal to fence sitters. Groups may also establish their constituency by appealing to a particular ethnic group, geographical area, race or class with which the leaders have some affinity. While the purpose of forming an alliance with another opposition group is often to address an area of mutual concern by showing collective might to the regime, groups are also concerned about protecting their supporters from poaching by their partners.

I have argued that the formation of alliances is influenced by the nature of constituencies and the nature of the alliance. Opposition groups may have fluid or divided

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[5] Ibid. p.197

constituencies. Under fluid constituencies, groups receive support from several sections of the population and have no clear or consistent basis for support over time. Under divided constituencies, each group commands an identifiable, specific constituency base that may be located in a geographical area, ethic group, or class and remains stable over time. A country can be said to have fluid or divided constituencies overall when the majority of the opposition groups have no clear basis of support or receive support from specific sections of the population respectively. Yet even in countries where the overall nature of constituencies is divided or fluid, specific groups may have fluid or divided constituencies in relation to each other. Alliances may be mobilization or elite based by nature. Mobilization alliances pool the constituents of the partners through a protest, sit in, or civil disobedience, while elite alliances are agreements among groups leaders to work together without engaging their constituents.

I explain the specific arguments in hypotheses H1 through H6. I first explain the formation of mobilization alliances in H1 and H2:

H1: Opposition groups form mobilization alliances when their constituencies are divided.

H2: Opposition groups are unable to form mobilization alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

While mobilization alliances are useful in showing the collective might of the opposition to the regime, they also expose group constituencies to poaching by their allied partners. Through the mobilization alliance, each group has easy access to the other group's constituency at a particular venue and time. Each group can therefore use the mobilization event to present itself as a better alternative and make itself visible to members of the other group. Supporters of other groups can therefore be easily enticed

into changing their loyalties. While some groups are in a better position to engage in such "member poaching" as compared with others, alliances often fall apart as one or more groups become concerned about their potential partner's intentions.

Lichbach has explained that groups are continuously involved in the process of "product differentiation," whereby they present themselves as a unique and better solution as compared to other groups. Product differentiation is often more prevalent among smaller and newer groups that seek to establish an identity separate from already established actors[6]. An alliance through which one group has easy access to another group's supporters may present a perfect opportunity to engage in such product differentiation in order to attract more constituents.

Since divided constituencies are located in a specific section of the population and are stable over time, groups are assured that their supporters are unlikely to change their loyalties to other groups even when participating in a protest jointly. Also, groups realize that their chances of gaining additional support and expanding their constituency are limited, since supporters of other groups are unlikely to change their loyalties. This situation is particularly true when constituencies are divided by ethnicity or race. For example, Punjabis in Pakistan are less likely to support a Baluchi based opposition group even if they agree with its ideology or politics. The party membership is based on a primordial identity or kinship and social network.

When constituencies are divided, the mobilization event is unlikely to be used as a staging ground for each group to present itself as a better alternative, since the chances of gaining support from another group's constituents is very low. Instead, the alliance

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[6] Lichbach, Mark I. 1987. "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31 (2):266-97.

partners can safely pool their constituents and show greater might to the regime, call attention to themselves and in some cases, successfully destabilize the regime

Fluid constituencies are not located in a specific base and may overlap in sections with other groups. Such constituencies are therefore likely to vary considerably over time as many supports defect to new or existing groups. Under such circumstances, each group is concerned about protecting its own constituency. Current supporters may become convinced to change their loyalties when new groups emerge or when existing groups present a new face and become increasingly visible on the political scene.

Mobilization alliances require groups to pool their constituents through a protest, sit-in or other forms of street politics. When the constituency base is not defined, forming a mobilization alliance with another group will expose existing supporters to poaching by the other group, who will use the event to make themselves visible or present themselves as a better alternative. Mobilization alliances are therefore risky for groups with fluid constituencies. Mobilizing constituents alone presents a better opportunity to increase group visibility and gain additional supporters while also protecting existing supporters from poaching by other groups.

Even though groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form mobilization alliances, they may form issue-based elite alliances. This argument is presented in the hypotheses H3 and H4:

H3: Opposition groups form issue-based elite alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

H4: Opposition groups are unable to form value-based elite alliances when their constituencies are fluid.

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Elite alliances are formed among leaders of different groups when they agree to work together without engaging their constituencies. An elite alliance may involve joint statements, symbolic office closings or writing an article critical of the regime. Elite alliances only involve group leaders or specific members or officers. These alliances do not put group constituents at risk by providing other groups with opportunities to poach by presenting themselves as a better alternative. Group leaders already have established careers in a particular group and are therefore not likely to change their loyalties to their allied partners. The non-engagement of constituents allows the group leaders to form alliances even though there may be ideological or other differences among them.

Groups with fluid constituencies are able to form elite alliances as these allow them to form alliances without putting their constituents at risk. Specific individuals can participate in the alliance without exposing their constituency base. However, an elite alliance may lead to a mobilization alliance in the future, especially when the nature of the concern is very sensitive. If the concern appeals to the constituents, they may start mobilizing spontaneously, creating opportunities for poaching by other groups. For this reason, groups with fluid constituencies may form an elite alliance only when it is issue-based. The alliance must be formed focused on a specific policy of concern, for example, opposing the building of a dam. Such specific, technical and focused concerns are unlikely to draw the attention of the masses, and therefore will not lead to mobilization in the future, assuring the groups that their constituencies will not be at risk. An issue-based elite alliance is therefore likely to emerge.

Groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form value-based elite alliances, as these have a broad agenda and focus, for example, women's rights. Forming an elite

alliance on such a broad focus does not assure the groups that the elite alliance will not lead to mobilization in the future. Such broad concerns may instigate constituents to engage in collective action spontaneously exposing them to poaching by the alliance partners. Further, constituents may put pressure on the group to mobilize. Since groups with fluid constituencies want to prevent the emergence of a mobilization alliance, they are unable to form value-based elite alliances.

Even though groups with divided constituencies may form mobilization alliances, they may also engage in elite alliances. They may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. I explain in the hypotheses H5 and H6:

H5: Opposition groups form issue-based elite alliances when their constituencies are divided.

H6: Opposition groups form value-based elite alliances when their constituencies are divided.

While mobilization alliances receive greater attention and visibility on the political landscape, elite alliances may be useful under certain circumstances. Groups may engage in elite alliances when there are logistical issues associated with organizing a mobilization event together. Mobilization alliances are also more taxing on group resources. Even if groups have the resources to mobilize together, the nature of the issue may be too technical to draw the attention of their constituents. For these reasons, groups with divided constituencies may sometimes prefer to form elite alliances, even if they are able to form mobilization alliances.

Groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances. Group leaders cooperate with each other without mobilizing their constituencies by publishing an article critical of the regime, issuing a public statement or

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symbolic office closing. Issue-based alliances allow groups to focus on a specific area of mutual concern without engaging their constituents. The alliances can sometimes be a useful starting point for more extensive cooperation in the future, especially when groups are unable to engage in street politics at the time because of material or other limitations.

Forming value-based elite alliances requires groups to work together on a more general and often sensitive issue. These elite alliances can often lead to mobilization as the nature of the concern is likely to touch a nerve among constituents. Yet, groups with divided constituencies are able to form value-based elite alliances, because they are not as concerned about engaging in a mobilization alliance in the future. Since their constituencies have been stable over time, they do not fear that other groups will use the mobilization alliance to poach their constituents. Therefore, they may also form value-based elite alliances which have the prospect of drawing in constituents.

Applying the Theory to the Cases:

In this study I argue that while groups consider many factors when forming alliances with each other, examining the nature of constituencies and the nature of the alliance provides additional leverage in explaining alliances as compared with existing explanations, such as the role of cost/benefit analysis, bridging ideological divides and regime repression or divide and rule polices. In the previous section I explained the theoretical model of alliances building. In this section, I review how I applied the model to the empirical data. While I provide extensive data on alliance making in both countries through party documents, government documents, interviews, news coverage and secondary research and illustrate a pattern in alliance formation based on constituencies and the nature of the alliance, there are areas where the theory requires additional

substantiation through more evidence – these areas include the thoughts and perceptions of groups leaders when forming alliances and how fears of "member poaching" actually played out. I discuss this shortcoming as an area of future research later in this chapter.

While both Egypt and Pakistan lack national-level viable political parties, there are important differences in the distribution of constituencies in the two countries. In Pakistan, national level parties such as PPP and PML are actually more regional in character and have failed to expand their constituencies to other parts of the country. PPP's constituency is located in Sind, with most of its important leaders coming from the same ethnicity. PML's constituency is located in Punjab, with most of its leadership being Punjabi.

While Pakistan was founded as a homeland for South Asian Muslims, Islamist parties have generally not been successful in national elections. Yet, Islamists have succeeded in carving out regional and sect-based constituencies. After the 2002 elections, it became clear that Islamists had formed a regional base in NWFP. Every region in Pakistan has its own political party that represents the dominant ethnicity of the geographic area. Some regions are ethnically homogenous and are therefore represented by one political party; other sub-regional tribal and other groupings have their own political parties.

Politics in Pakistan is characterized by the presence of a number of political parties commanding various sized constituencies located in specific sections of the population. Most parties have ethnic, regional or sect-based constituencies. Not only are the parties political rivals, they are also separated by their ethnic identity. It is therefore ironical that opposition parties in Pakistan have been so successful in forming alliances

with each other. I argue that the parties' ethnic and other divisions are accompanied by their constituency divisions, making the formation of alliances possible.

Egypt's political landscape consists of a number of opposition groups, some that are an important part of the country's history and others have emerged recently. Two of Egypt's long-standing groups, the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd, have been successful in carving out core constituencies. The Muslim Brotherhood receives support from students and trade unions, especially in urban areas. al-Wafd receives a much smaller pocket of support from wealthy sections of the population, especially the lawyer's professional association and has support in rural areas.

Over the last few years, several new opposition groups have emerged in the country. These groups include the legal political party al-Ghad, headed by Ayman Nour and the social movement Kifaya. While these groups have received high levels of national and international publicity owing to controversies surrounding their leadership and protest activities, neither has a strong core constituency.

While leftist parties are an integral part of the country's history, no leftist party has yet been able to establish a base constituency. The leftist parties remain fragmented and have variable popularity among various sections of the population including students and workers. Overall, opposition parties in Egypt compete to gain supporters in urban areas while the ruling NDP party is stronger in the rural areas. While the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd have divided constituencies in relation to each other, most other groups compete among themselves and with the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Wafd to gain supporters. Pakistan is clearly a case of divided constituencies, while in

comparison, Egypt appears to have fluid constituencies. This important difference is highly relevant when groups try to form alliances.

Understanding the nature of constituencies in Egypt remains a challenging and elusive task, largely because most analysts, observers and indeed party members find it difficult to pin point areas of support for each group. While these difficulties point to fluid constituencies, more research is need to understand how and where different parties are establishing bases of support. I discuss this as an avenue of future research later in the chapter.

Formation of Elite Alliances:

While protests, rebellions, and mass campaigns effectively draw the attention of bystanders, the media, and indeed the regime, opposition movements may also engage in campaigns through non-mobilization means. They may publish an article critical of the regime, close their offices as a symbolic gesture, or make a public statement. While such campaigns do not draw widespread attention, they are important forms of opposition activity as they provide additional avenues for conflict and cooperation among groups.

In this study, I argued that groups with fluid constituencies may form issue-based elite alliances, as these have a clear non-mobilization agenda. Value-based elite alliances are unlikely among such groups as the sensitive nature of such concerns can lead to mobilization. Groups with divided constituencies may form both issue-based and value-based elite alliances.

I applied the model to the case of the 1995 Press Law in Egypt and the Kalabagh dam project activism in Pakistan in 1999. In both cases, I showed how groups with divided and fluid constituencies were able to form issue-based elite alliances despite their

ideological, ethnic or other differences, high levels of regime repressions and the stability of the government. In Egypt, despite being successful in their Press Law activism, the same groups were unable to form a value-based elite alliance to campaign against the results of the 1995 elections, held a few months later. In Pakistan the anti-Kalabagh issue-based elite alliances soon expanded to a more value-based alliance attacking the legitimacy of the regime. Soon the alliance attracted more members and culminated in a mass mobilization alliances leading to the 2002 military coup.

While Egyptian opposition politics is well known for ideological differences, personal rivalries, and differences in strategies among the various actors, the groups were able to form an effective alliance to protest the 1995 Press Law in Egypt. The alliance succeeded in convincing the Mubarak regime to repeal the law surviving a volatile elections year political climate, high levels of regime repression and the Mubarak government being firmly in power with no opposition representation in the parliament. The 1995 Press Law remains one of the only repressive measures of the 1990s to be repealed in Egypt.

The data fits my argument that groups with fluid constituencies form issue-based elite alliances but are unable to form value-based elite alliances. An elite alliance allowed groups to work together without mobilizing their constituencies and putting their supporters at risk. The nature of the alliance was very focused on a particular area of policy concern – Law Number 93. The alliance did not address issues of freedom of speech and expression or democracy and civil liberties in the country. My conjecture is that, the issue focused nature of the activism assured the groups that the alliance would

not lead to mobilization in the future. Therefore the groups were able to form an alliance to address an area of mutual concern.

The success of the anti-Press Law alliance should have laid the groundwork for opposition groups to form an alliance once again to protest the results of the 1995 elections. The charged political atmosphere created another opportunity for the opposition groups to work together, but no elite alliance materialized. The lack of alliance formation to protest the results of the 1995 election shows that groups with fluid constituencies are unable to form elite alliances on a value-based issue. Campaigning against the results of the elections is a much more broad and sensitive concern than Law Number 93. The focus of the alliance would therefore be much more diffuse and sensitive, creating fears that the alliance could lead to mobilization in the future. My conjecture is that fears of losing their constituency base kept parties from cooperating with each other, even though they had successfully challenged the Mubarak regime together just a few months ago.

In Pakistan, by comparison, the anti-Kalabagh dam activism showed that groups with divided constituencies can engage in issue-based and value-based elite alliances. The issue-based elite alliance between the regional ANP and PPP soon expanded to include more members, address additional issues and ultimately resulted in a widespread anti-Sharif campaign in 1998-1999. The divided nature of constituencies assures groups that their supporters will not defect and join other groups. A value-based elite alliance can easily lead to mobilization in the future as they deal with sensitive and volatile concerns, but when groups have divided constituencies fears of future mobilization are placated.

Formation of Mobilization Alliances:

Opposition groups have long favored protests, sit- ins, and civil disobedience as strategies for expressing dissent against an unjust and tyrannical regime. Such strategies disrupt daily life, therefore making it difficult for the regime to govern, call attention to street strength of the opposition and in some cases, can successfully destabilize the regime. When forming mobilization alliances, opposition groups pool their constituencies to show greater street strength to the regime. Through a joint protest, sit-in or civil disobedience, the opposition can succeed in showing the regime its ability to unite and thereby posing a greater challenge to the regime.

While mobilization alliances seem like an obvious solution to the problem of opposing an unjust regime, pooling constituencies poses large challenges to opposition groups as they compete for constituents. In this study, I argued that groups with divided constituencies are able to engage in mobilization alliances, while those with fluid constituencies are unable to do so. Groups with divided constituencies are less concerned about their partners using the mobilization event as an opportunity to poach their constituencies. Therefore, they are able to engage in such alliances. Groups with fluid constituencies have an inconsistent support base; therefore, engaging in mobilization alliances exposes their existing constituencies to poaching by their partners. Their partners may use the protest event to present themselves as a better alternative and therefore attract additional supporters.

I closely examined how opposition groups in Egypt had several opportunities to form alliances during the 2005 state-initiated political opening. Yet the alliances did not materialize. I explained how the campaign to boycott the May referendum and the

subsequent presidential campaign failed, the Muslim Brotherhood could not work with Kifaya and the inability of National Alliance for Restoration and Change, initiated by the Muslim Brotherhood and the National Front for Change, initiated by al-Wafd, to gather momentum among the opposition.

By contrast, in Pakistan, I explained how despite ethnic and other divisions among groups and high levels of regime repression, the opposition used the 2002 state initiated political opening to show their collective might to the regime. I explained the formation of the ARD alliance, the emergence of the anti-Legal Framework Order Campaign and the local bodies campaign with the local elections in 2005.

I sum up the cases, but applying the empirical evidence to the theoretical argument using the following chart:

Table V: Formation of Alliances

Constituency Type	Mobilization	Elite
Fluid Egypt	**No:** Failure of the 2005 elections campaign, no alliance formation among MB and Kifaya, failure of NARC and UNFC	**Yes:** Press Law activism alliance (1995)
Divided Pakistan	**Yes:** Anti-Sharif mobilization (1997), the 2002 anti-referendum and local bodies elections campaign, anti-LFO campaign (2005), formation of ARD and MMA (2005)	**Yes:** Anti-Kalabagh dam project alliance

Areas of Future Research:

Politics makes for strange bedfellows. Opposition groups that clash at certain times, work together flawlessly at other times. By examining the processes that are at play when groups form alliances with each other, I begin to explain why certain groups are able to form alliances and other groups are unable to do so. I explain how despite their ideological and other differences and regime policies, groups may form alliances based on the nature of their constituencies and the nature of the alliance.

Not only does this study make a contribution in understanding the formation of alliances, it also provides further insight into how groups interact with each other. Contentious politics is replete with studies of opposition regime dyads, but few studies have examined how opposition groups interact with their contemporaries. "The opposition" actually consists of a number of squabbling groups. Their dealings with each other are an important determinant of their future history and may hold important answers when explaining group behavior.

The study of alliances among opposition groups warrants further research to gain a more nuanced understanding of the processes at play when groups decide to work together or are unable to do so. In this section, I acknowledge areas of weakness in this research and point to ways through which these gaps can be addressed in future work:

Divided and Fluid Constituencies: In this study I drew an important distinction between divided and fluid constituencies. While Pakistan is a case of divided constituencies, constituencies in Egypt remain more elusive. Through my research, I found that most analysts, observers and group members found it difficult to point to areas of support for

different groups. While this difficulty points to fluid constituencies, more work is needed to understand how consistencies are structured in Egypt. Specifically, for future research, it will be important to know exactly what sections of the population remain loyal to particular groups and what sections form the "fence sitters." A more nuanced understand of constituencies in Egypt will require extensive field research including more detailed interviews with party members, attending group events such as protests and meetings to assess the kinds of people attending, examining internal and external party documents, and speaking with constituents.

With further research, it may also be possible to understand divided and fluid constituencies as a scale rather than as absolute categories. Levels of divided or fluid constituencies may have different effects on the nature of alliances. Comparing alliance making across societies with seemingly divided constituencies may reveal that some constituencies are more divided than others. Similarly, fluid constituencies may exist at several different levels.

Understanding how constituencies influence the success or failure of alliances requires attending events where groups are working together. How did the group leaders and their constituents interact? Were their attempts at member poaching? How were these carried out? Specifically, did group leaders try to actively seek members of other groups or were constituents "poached" through exposure to another group? Non-participant observations combined with interviews may reveal important insights in this regard.

Understanding the Role of Elites in Alliances Making: Ultimately all alliance making decisions are taken and directed by group/ party elites. How do personal rivalries or

cooperation among group leaders affect alliances? Under what circumstances are elites able to put aside personal rivalries and cooperate? Understanding the role of structural factors in elite decision making is an important area of research and may reveal importance insights into alliances

In order to understand the influence of constituencies on alliance making, it is important to know how elites evaluated certain situations and the factors that influenced their decision-making. Specifically, were the elites concerned about losing members to other groups? How did they weigh the risk of losing members as compared with the benefits of the alliance, including the possibility of gaining additional members? Field research will require extensive interviews with elites and government officials to understand why elites make certain decisions to form mobilization or elite alliances.

Role of International/Regional/Domestic Media: The high level of coverage given to opposition groups during election times by international, domestic and regional media may affect their alliances with each other. Alliances are highly public events and tend to receive national and international media attention. The nature of such publicity may influence how groups form alliances and/or with whom they choose to cooperate. Examining media coverage of various alliances and understanding how such coverage influenced the working of the alliance may reveal important insight into a different facet of opposition politics.

Pakistan and Egypt since 2005 – Food Riots, Ruling Coalitions and the Formation of

Alliances

While 2005 was an eventful year in both Egypt and Pakistan, the years to come

brought further political developments that once again showed the inability of Egyptian

opposition groups to form alliances. In this section I explain some of the major events

that have taken place since the end of the relevant time period for this study that are

relevant to the project. In Pakistan, the Musharraf regime and his pro-government parties

took a back seat after the February 2008 elections. Former opposition alliances pooled

their constituencies to win the elections and became ruling coalitions. PPP formed a new

government with the close cooperation of PML(n). Provincial governments also saw

former opposition alliances taking over the reigns of power.

In 2008 Egypt, along with several other African, Middle Eastern and Asian

countries experiences massive food shortages. The price of consumer commodities rose

as much as 30%. The food shortages led to riots in several countries including Egypt.

One of the most dramatic protests took place on April 6th in Mahalla al-Korba when an

angry group of students, union workers and other activists tore down a Mubarak bill

board into the crowd. The protest was advertised primarily through the internet. A 27

year old civil engineer Ahmed Maher Ibrahim used a social networking website

Facebook to register others for the protest. Within weeks, over 70,000 people had

registered through the Facebook group site, openly revealing their identity and opposition

to the economic crisis engulfing the country. The Facebook site asked members to further

advertise the protest by spray painting signs, hanging posters and passing bills, so that those without access to the internet could be reached[7].

While Kifaya participated in this protest, the event was largely organized by activists with no party or political group association. The Muslim Brotherhood supported the protest event morally but did not make a public statement declaring that it would organize or participate in the event. Other parties also refrained from publicly participating.

The Muslim Brotherhood's non-participation raised rumors that the group was appeasing the government or trying to protect its public image before the upcoming municipal elections[8]. This is not the first time that the Brotherhood has held back on participating in a food related protest. Sadat's regime also experienced food riots in 1977 where the Muslim Brotherhood honored their secret agreement with the regime (the details of which were released later) and withheld participation. Brotherhood General Guide Afik later explained that the Brotherhood did not participate in the April 6th protest because it had no leadership or public agenda. Under such circumstances, protests are likely to turn disorderly[9]. The Brotherhood faced much public criticism for not supporting the April 6th protest.

On May 4th 2008, the Muslim Brotherhood did organize its own protest against the rising prices of food. It advertised the protest through its website and asked members to remain peaceful and orderly in their demonstrations. The protest was held as

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[7] Slackman, Michael, and Mona el-Naggar. April 7th 2008. "In Egypt, Technology Helps Spread Discontent of Workers." *The New York Times*.

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[9] Al-Hayat, May 11th 2008

scheduled, but in comparison to the drama of the April 6th protest, it drew smaller crowds

and was largely quiet and uneventful. In explaining its lack of success, Akif argued that

real civil disobedience can only emerge when all political forces join hands and

participate. Since this option is not available in Egypt, the best the group can do is voice

its concerns through such protests. Akif further explained that opposition groups in Egypt

do not agree on anything, and while the Brotherhood had tried to form a united coalition

with other groups, they have failed[10]. While more extensive research is needed to

understand the circumstances behind the lack of alliances in the April 6th and May 4th

protests, Akif's statement clearly reveals that even in the face of economic crises

affecting all citizens, opposition groups in Egypt are unable to form alliances with each

other.

In Pakistan, 2008 proved to be an eventful year with Benazir Bhutto's public

assassination and the February general elections. Bhutto's husband, Asif Zardari took

over the leadership of the PPP. Musharraf's pro-government parties were defeated in the

elections and with growing pressure to withdraw from politics, he decided to take a step

back from the functioning of the government, but remain on the sidelines as a "father

figure[11]." PPP won the elections and Asif Zaradi became the new prime minister.

However PPP faced a major obstacle in forming the government. While, PPP had

done well in Sind, PML(n) had done exceedingly well in its constituency in Punjab. With

PML(n)'s high levels of support, Zaradi became concerned that the party could become a

formidable opposition voice threatening his government in the future. To avoid working

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[10] Al-Hayat, May 11th 2008

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with PML(n) as the opposition, PPP decided to continue its alliance with its arch rival and formed and invited the party to form a coalition government[12]. PML(n) accepted the offer creating a first ever PPP-PML(n) ruling government in the history of the country.

MMA won only 6 seats in the elections, which was a dismal performance compared with its 57 seats in 2002. They were ousted from the provincial government in NWFP. ANP formed the new provincial government in coalition with its ARD partner PPP. MMA decided to disband as an alliance after the elections. The full details of the reasons for MMA's break up are yet unknown.

While many opposition groups had worked very effectively in alliances, it remains to be seen how well they will perform as a ruling coalitions. PPP and PML(n) have already experiences differences over reinstating supreme court judges that were dismissed under Musharraf. Now that they face no common enemy, the dynamics of the alliance have changed. More research is needed to understand the nature of ruling coalitions and why they are able to work together under certain circumstances, but not under others

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