

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

Name: Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan

Year of Origin: 1945

Founder(s):

- Abdul Majid Thuneibat (Muslim Brotherhood Society)¹
- Ruheil Gharaibeh (Muslim Brotherhood Society)²

Place(s) of Operation: Jordan

Key Leaders:

- [Hamman Saeed](#) (credit: Associated Press) – MBG secretary-general
- Muath Khawaldeh – MBG spokesperson³
- [Zaki Bani Rushaid](#) (center) (credit: Jordan Times) – MBG senior leader and former deputy secretary-general⁴
- [Sharaf Qudah](#) (credit: Ammon News) – MBS overall leader⁵
- [Abdul Majid Thuneibat](#) – former overall leader of MBS⁶
- Ruheil Gharaibeh – Zamzam founder; MBS co-founder⁷

Associated Organization(s):

- Islamic Action Front⁸
- Muslim Brotherhood Group⁹

¹ Khetam Malkaw, “Muslim Brotherhood Society elects Thneibat as overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), January 10, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/muslim-brotherhood-society-elects-thneibat-overall-leader>.

² Osama Al Sharif, “Unprecedented rift splits Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al-Monitor*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

³ Khetam Malkawi, “Old Brotherhood cries foul as internal elections banned,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 29, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/old-brotherhood-cries-foul-internal-elections-banned>.

⁴ Rana F. Sweis, “Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook,” *New York Times*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html>.

⁵ “Qudah elected Muslim Brotherhood overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 26, 2018, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/qudah-elected-muslim-brotherhood-overall-leader>.

⁶ “Qudah elected Muslim Brotherhood overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 26, 2018, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/qudah-elected-muslim-brotherhood-overall-leader>; Khetam Malkaw, “Muslim Brotherhood Society elects Thneibat as overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), January 10, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/muslim-brotherhood-society-elects-thneibat-overall-leader>.

⁷ Aida Alami, “Rift deepens within Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al Jazeera*, August 17, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/rift-deepens-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-150810121308733.html>.

⁸ Osama Al Sharif, “Unprecedented rift splits Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al-Monitor*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

⁹ Osama Al Sharif, “Will Jordan Ban the Muslim Brotherhood?” *Al-Monitor*, April 6, 2016, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/muslim-brotherhood-group-jordan-government-tension.html?utm_source=USNews%26utm_medium=syndication%26utm_campaign=USNews.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

- Muslim Brotherhood Society¹⁰

The [Muslim Brotherhood](#) (i.e., the Brotherhood) is [Jordan](#)'s oldest and largest Islamist organization, with more than 10,000 members in the country. In 2015, the group splintered between a reformist contingent—the Muslim Brotherhood Society (MBS)—and the older Muslim Brotherhood Group (MBG). The two factions are today vying for government recognition and popular support. In September 2016, the MBG's Islamic Action Front (IAF) party won 10 of 130 parliamentary seats. The MBS candidates that ran with a separate party, the National Congress Party, did not secure any seats.¹¹

The Jordanian Brotherhood was founded in 1945 as the Muslim Brotherhood Society, and was licensed by the government the following year as a charity affiliated with the Egyptian Brotherhood.¹² The organization changed its name to the MBG in 1953 after the government issued the group a second license to operate as an Islamic religious organization.¹³ Since then, the MBG has disavowed violence in favor of a strategy of political participation and grassroots demonstration. This strategy led to a decades-long period in which the group operated freely in Jordan with government approval.¹⁴

At a January 2013 Brotherhood rally in Jordan MBG Secretary-General [Hamman Saeed](#) promised that Jordan would become a “state in the Muslim Caliphate.”¹⁵ The MBG's oppositional and Islamist positions have led the Jordanian government to increasingly view the group with suspicion. In a 2013 interview with the *Atlantic*, Jordan's King Abdullah II publicly accused MBG leaders of being “wolves in sheep's clothing.”¹⁶

Despite its pledge of non-violence, MBG rallies have at times descended into violence as protesters have clashed with police. In March 2014 Jordanian riot police held back MBG-led protesters attempting to attack the Israeli embassy in Amman. Several protesters were reportedly arrested.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Palestinians from the West Bank have been accused of fomenting

¹⁰ Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” *Al-Monitor*, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>.

¹¹ Osama Al Sharif, “Who are the winners and losers in Jordan's latest election?” *Al-Monitor*, September 28, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/09/jordan-legislative-elections-winners-losers.html>.

¹² Khetam Malkawi, “New leaders of Brotherhood demand control over assets,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 7, 2015, <http://jordantimes.com/new-leaders-of-brotherhood-demand-control-over-assets>.

¹³ Osama Al Sharif, “Unprecedented rift splits Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al-Monitor*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

¹⁴ Jamal Halaby, “Pushing for change, some in Jordan point to king,” *Associated Press*, November 20, 2012, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/pushing-change-some-jordan-point-king>.

¹⁵ Jamal Halaby, “Jordan's Islamists rally for elections boycott,” *Associated Press*, October 5, 2012, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/jordans-islamists-rally-against-elections>.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Modern King in the Arab Spring,” *Atlantic*, April 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/04/monarch-in-the-middle/309270/>.

¹⁷ Omar Akour, “Thousands protest Israel in Jordan over killing,” *Associated Press*, March 14, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/thousands-protest-israel-jordan-over-killing>; “Jordan: Not in our interest to cut ties with Israel,” *Times of Israel*, March 14, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/jordan-not-in-our-interest-to-cut-ties-with-israel/>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

violence in Jordan on behalf of the Brotherhood movement. In November 2014, Jordanian authorities arrested 31 people accused of being part of a Brotherhood cell passing weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank. The suspects were further accused of setting up a secret armed wing of the Brotherhood in Jordan.¹⁸

MBG leaders have at times also employed extremist rhetoric and endorsed terrorist violence. During the 2014 war between Israel and Hamas, Saeed and the MBG praised Hamas's "heroic resistance" against Israel.¹⁹ In line with its parent group in Egypt, the MBG has also protested Jordan's relationship with Israel. At a March 2014 protest outside the Israeli embassy in Amman, Saeed called on Jordan to expel the Israeli ambassador, annul the peace treaty with Israel, and declare Jews the "enemies for our nation."²⁰

The MBG's relationship with Jordan continued to deteriorate in late 2014, after the United Arab Emirates designated the international Brotherhood movement as a terrorist organization.²¹ Then-MBG Deputy Secretary-General Zaki Bani Rushaid accused the UAE of acting as "the American cop in the region" and being "a cancer in the body of the Arab world."²² Jordanian authorities arrested Rushaid under the country's anti-terrorism law for carrying out "acts harmful to the country's relationship with a friendly nation" and sentenced him in February 2015 to 18 months in prison.²³

The MBG's ties to the Brotherhood have also opened a rift within the group's rank and file. MBG reformists have condemned the group's focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other regional issues over domestic concerns,²⁴ as well as MBG loyalty to the Egyptian Brotherhood and support for Hamas.²⁵ In 2012, a group of reformists within the MBG created the Zamzam

¹⁸ Jack Moore, "Israel: Muslim Brotherhood cell in Jordan 'smuggling weapons to West Bank Palestinians,'" *International Business Times*, December 8, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/israel-muslim-brotherhood-cell-jordan-smuggling-weapons-west-bank-palestinians-1478561>; Roi Kais, "Report: Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan smuggled weapons for attacks in West Bank," YNet News, December 2, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4598485,00.html>.

¹⁹ Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Jordanian stage pro-Gaza rally near Israeli embassy," Reuters, July 20, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/20/us-palestinian-israel-jordan-idUSKBN0FP0UY20140720>.

²⁰ Omar Akour, "Thousands protest Israel in Jordan over killing," Associated Press, March 14, 2014 <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/thousands-protest-israel-jordan-over-killing>.

²¹ Taylor Luck, "Opportunistic move against Muslim Brotherhood exposes Jordan to risk," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 19, 2015, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2015/0319/Opportunistic-move-against-Muslim-Brotherhood-exposes-Jordan-to-risks>.

²² Rana F. Sweis, "Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook," *New York Times*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html>.

²³ Rana F. Sweis, "Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook," *New York Times*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html>.

²⁴ Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Modern King in the Arab Spring," *Atlantic*, April 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/04/monarch-in-the-middle/309270/>.

²⁵ Osama Al Sharif, "Defections threaten Jordan's Brotherhood," *Al-Monitor*, January 14, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-resignations.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

(National Building Initiative) movement to pressure the MBG to sever ties with the Brotherhood and focus primarily on a domestic—though still Islamist—platform.²⁶ In June 2014, the Zamzam called for the removal of Saeed as the MBG’s secretary-general.²⁷ The MBG responded forcefully to the protests in February 2015 by expelling 10 Zamzam leaders, including former MBG leader [Abdul Majid Thuneibat](#).²⁸

After his expulsion, Thuneibat said that the Brotherhood “must become Jordanian and fall under Jordanian law.”²⁹ In March 2015, Thuneibat and several other former MBG members created the MBS, a separate Brotherhood organization disassociated from the Egyptian Brotherhood.³⁰ The Jordanian government subsequently licensed the MBS to operate in the country as the only recognized Brotherhood affiliate, in a move that effectively revoked government recognition from the MBG. The move also restricted the MBG from holding public events, prompting the group to cancel a May 2015 rally that would have marked its 70th anniversary.³¹ That July, the Jordanian Department of Land and Survey seized seven MBG properties and transferred them to the MBS.³²

In a bid to enhance its position with the Jordanian government, the MBG cut formal ties with the Egyptian Brotherhood in February 2016.³³ Nonetheless, Jordan sustained the ban on the MBG, preventing the group from holding internal elections the following month because it lacked official recognition. That April, the government shut down the MBG’s headquarters.³⁴ In

²⁶ Aida Alami, “Rift deepens within Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, August 17, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/rift-deepens-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-150810121308733.html>; Khetam Malkaw, “Muslim Brotherhood Society elects Thneibat as overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), January 10, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/muslim-brotherhood-society-elects-thneibat-overall-leader>.

²⁷ Taylor Luck, “Former Brotherhood leader faces disciplinary measures,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), June 7, 2014, <http://jordantimes.com/former-brotherhood-leader-faces-disciplinary-measures>.

²⁸ Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” Al-Monitor, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>.

²⁹ Osama Al Sharif, “Unprecedented rift splits Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al-Monitor, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

³⁰ Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” Al-Monitor, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>; Aaron Magid, “The King and the Islamists,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/jordan/2016-05-03/king-and-islamists>.

³¹ Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” Al-Monitor, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>; Osama Al Sharif, “Will Jordan ban the Muslim Brotherhood?” Al-Monitor, April 6, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/muslim-brotherhood-group-jordan-government-tension.html>.

³² Osama Al Sharif, “Will Jordan ban the Muslim Brotherhood?” Al-Monitor, April 6, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/muslim-brotherhood-group-jordan-government-tension.html>.

³³ “Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood cuts ties to parent group,” Associated Press, February 15, 2016, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/45f7d55fe3b44b449aaaa463ebdbc340/jordans-muslim-brotherhood-cuts-ties-parent-group>.

³⁴ Khetam Malkawi, “Old Brotherhood cries foul as internal elections banned,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 29, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/old-brotherhood-cries-foul-internal-elections-banned>; Rana F. Sweis, “Jordan Shuts Down Muslim Brotherhood Headquarters,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/14/world/middleeast/jordan-shuts-down-muslim-brotherhood-headquarters.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

response, former MBG leader Salem Fallaht has accused the Jordanian government of “legally dismantling” the MBG and questioned whether the government might soon ban the group altogether.³⁵

Citing health reasons, Thuneibat resigned as leader of the MBS in March 2018. Sharaf Qudah was elected overall leader of the MBS later that month. Qudah is a member of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, a Qatar-based organization previously led by Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi until 2018.³⁶

The government’s disavowal of the MBG notwithstanding, the MBG’s political arm, the Islamic Action Front (IAF), has retained its legal status as a political party. The IAF won 10 of Jordan’s 130 parliament seats in September 2016 elections.³⁷ Though the party has retained its core Islamist platform, the IAF abandoned its “Islam is the solution” slogan in favor of “renaissance for the homeland, dignity for the citizens” and refocused much of its platform on economics, education, and human rights. In another first, the party included women and Christians in its candidate list in order to demonstrate that the IAF is a national movement, party officials told media.³⁸ Competing MBS members also ran in the elections alongside the National Congress Party, formed by Zamzam in early 2016. The National Congress Party’s own candidates won five seats, while MBS members running under the party’s ticket did not secure any.³⁹ The IAF also won several seats in Jordan’s August 2017 local and municipal elections. Although the party did not gain much political power, Oraib Rantawi, the head of the Al Quds Center for Political States, stated that “this [was] a big win for them and indicates that they remain popular and that the policies that were adopted against them did not succeed.”⁴⁰

³⁵ Taylor Luck, “Opportunistic move against Muslim Brotherhood exposes Jordan to risk,” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 19, 2015, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2015/0319/Opportunistic-move-against-Muslim-Brotherhood-exposes-Jordan-to-risks>.

³⁶ “Qudah elected Muslim Brotherhood overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 26, 2018, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/qudah-elected-muslim-brotherhood-overall-leader>.

³⁷ Rana F. Sweis, “Muslim Brotherhood’s Political Arm Wins Seats in Jordan’s Parliament,” *New York Times*, September 22, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/23/world/middleeast/jordan-elections-parliament-muslim-brotherhood.html?_r=0.

³⁸ Taylor Luck, “In a first for Middle East politics, Christians and Islamists stump together,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 19, 2016, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2016/0919/In-a-first-for-Middle-East-politics-Christians-and-Islamists-stump-together>; Peter Baker and Rana F. Sweis, “In Appeal to Voters, Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan Soft-Pedals Religion,” *New York Times*, September 20, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/world/middleeast/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-islamists.html>.

³⁹ Osama Al Sharif, “Who are the winners and losers in Jordan’s latest election?” *Al-Monitor*, September 28, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/09/jordan-legislative-elections-winners-losers.html>; Omar Obeidat, “Members of new Muslim Brotherhood society to join ‘planned Zamzam political party,’” *Jordan Times* (Amman), November 4, 2015, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/members-new-muslim-brotherhood-society-join-planned-zamzam-political-party%E2%80%99>; “National Congress Party (Zamzam),” *Guide to Jordanian Politics Life*, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/parties-view/63/national-congress-party-zamzam/1>.

⁴⁰ Suha Maayeh, “Jordan local elections provide testing ground for Muslim Brotherhood,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), August 16, 2017, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/jordan-local-elections-provide-testing-ground-for-muslim-brotherhood-1.620384>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

Since its split with the MBS, the MBG has continued to face internal dissent and opposition from former members. A wave of more than 400 MBG and IAF members resigned in December 2015. On October 31, 2016, they filed paperwork to register as a political party called the Elders Group. According to party leaders, the Elders Group is predicated on secular principles and does not share any of the Brotherhood's ideologies.⁴¹ Following the wave of December 2015 resignations, MBG leaders told media that the group recognizes it is "going through a crisis" but that moderate forces within the MBG are working to heal the divide by promoting "reconciliation, unity and reforms."⁴²

The future of the Brotherhood in Jordan remains uncertain as the MBG and the MBS compete for primacy. The MBS has called on the Jordanian government to dissolve the MBG altogether,⁴³ while the MBG has accused the MBS of being a government puppet.⁴⁴ As the two Brotherhood factions remain in conflict, observers have questioned the viability of the Brotherhood in Jordan, as well as whether the division could push conservative Jordanian Islamists toward violent Islamist groups such as [ISIS](#).⁴⁵

History:

- **November 1945:** The founding of Jordan's Brotherhood branch, then known as the Muslim Brotherhood Society.⁴⁶
- **1946:** Jordan licenses the Muslim Brotherhood Society as a charity affiliated with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.⁴⁷
- **1953:** Jordan recognizes the Muslim Brotherhood Society as an Islamic organization and the group changes its name to the Muslim Brotherhood Group (MBG).⁴⁸

⁴¹ Khetam Malkawi, "Brotherhood defectors apply to register political party," *Jordan Times* (Amman), October 31, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/brotherhood-defectors-apply-register-political-party>.

⁴² Osama Al Sharif, "Defections threaten Jordan's Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, January 14, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-resignations.html>.

⁴³ Osama Al Sharif, "Will Jordan ban the Muslim Brotherhood?" Al-Monitor, April 6, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/muslim-brotherhood-group-jordan-government-tension.html>.

⁴⁴ Aida Alami, "Rift deepens within Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, August 17, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/rift-deepens-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-150810121308733.html>.

⁴⁵ Taylor Luck, "Opportunistic move against Muslim Brotherhood exposes Jordan to risk," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 19, 2015, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2015/0319/Opportunistic-move-against-Muslim-Brotherhood-exposes-Jordan-to-risks>.

⁴⁶ Osama Al Sharif, "Unprecedented rift splits Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>; David Schenker and Gavi Bernhard, "The Implosion of Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 11, 2015, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-implosion-of-jordans-muslim-brotherhood>.

⁴⁷ Khetam Malkawi, "New leaders of Brotherhood demand control over assets," *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 7, 2015, <http://jordantimes.com/new-leaders-of-brotherhood-demand-control-over-assets>.

⁴⁸ Osama Al Sharif, "Unprecedented rift splits Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

- **1957:** King Hussein bans all political parties except the Brotherhood.⁴⁹
- **1989:** MBG candidates win 30 of 80 seats in Jordan's first parliamentary elections since 1967.⁵⁰
- **1992:** The Jordanian government bans political groups with foreign political ties. In response, the MBG creates a new political wing, the Islamic Action Front (IAF).⁵¹
- **November 2010:** The IAF boycotts Jordanian parliamentary elections, alleging election-rigging in the 2007 elections.⁵²
- **2011-2012:** The MBG joins protests for political reform in the kingdom, though it stops short of calling for the removal of King Abdullah II.⁵³
- **2012:** Reformists within the MBG form the Zamzam initiative, a reformist contingent within the MBG that urges the group to sever ties with the Egyptian Brotherhood.⁵⁴
- **January 2013:** The IAF continues to boycott Jordanian parliamentary elections.⁵⁵
- **June 2014:** Zamzam members call for an overhaul of the Brotherhood's leadership and Saeed's removal. The MBG pledges to take disciplinary action against reformist leader Abdul Majid Thuneibat.⁵⁶
- **November 2014:** Jordanian authorities arrest 31 people after receiving intelligence from Israel that they are part of a Brotherhood cell. The suspects are accused of passing weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank, and of setting up a secret armed wing of the Jordanian Brotherhood.⁵⁷ Separately, Jordanian authorities arrest MBG

⁴⁹ Tareq Al Naimat, "The Gradual Weakening of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, June 16, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-gradual-weakening-the-muslim-brotherhood-jordan>.

⁵⁰ "Jordan profile – Timeline," BBC News, December 20, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14636713>; David Schenker, "Jordan Goes to the Polls: A Comeback for the Muslim Brotherhood?" Washington Institute for Near East Policy, September 19, 2016, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/jordan-goes-to-the-polls-a-comeback-for-the-muslim-brotherhood>.

⁵¹ Osama Al Sharif, "Unprecedented rift splits Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

⁵² Curtis R. Ryan, "Déjà vu all over again?: Jordan's 2010 elections," *Foreign Policy*, November 15, 2010, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/11/15/deja-vu-all-over-again-jordans-2010-elections/>; Elizabeth Arrott, "Muslim Brotherhood Boycotts Jordan Elections," Voice of America, January 23, 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/a/muslim-brotherhood-boycotts-jordan-elections/1589337.html>.

⁵³ "Jordan's king dismisses governments, appoints new PM," CNN, February 1, 2011, http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/02/01/jordan.government/index.html?_s=PM:WORLD; Jamal Halaby, "Pushing for change, some in Jordan point to king," Associated Press, November 20, 2012, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/pushing-change-some-jordan-point-king>.

⁵⁴ Aida Alami, "Rift deepens within Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, August 17, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/rift-deepens-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-150810121308733.html>.

⁵⁵ Osama Al Sharif, "Defections threaten Jordan's Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, January 14, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-resignations.html>; Elizabeth Arrott, "Muslim Brotherhood Boycotts Jordan Elections," Voice of America, January 23, 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/a/muslim-brotherhood-boycotts-jordan-elections/1589337.html>.

⁵⁶ Taylor Luck, "Former Brotherhood leader faces disciplinary measures," *Jordan Times* (Amman), June 7, 2014, <http://jordantimes.com/former-brotherhood-leader-faces-disciplinary-measures>.

⁵⁷ Jack Moore, "Israel: Muslim Brotherhood cell in Jordan 'smuggling weapons to West Bank Palestinians,'" *International Business Times*, December 8, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/israel-muslim-brotherhood-cell-jordan-smuggling-weapons-west-bank-palestinians-1478561>; Roi Kais, "Report: Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan smuggled

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

deputy secretary-general Zaki Bani Rushaid after he writes a Facebook post calling the United Arab Emirates “a cancer in the body of the Arab world.”⁵⁸

- **January 16, 2015:** Following the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks in Paris, the MBG joins a protest in Amman against the magazine and its cartoons of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. Saeed calls for the French government to outlaw such “assaults” against the prophet and calls for a boycott of French goods.⁵⁹
- **February 2015:** Jordan’s state security court sentences Rushaid to 18 months in prison for “acts harmful to the country’s relations with a friendly nation.”⁶⁰
- **February 14, 2015:** The MBG votes to terminate the memberships of 10 high-ranking reformists.⁶¹
- **March 3, 2015:** Expelled MBG reformists launch the Muslim Brotherhood Society (MBS). The Jordanian government licenses the MBS to operate as the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, effectively revoking recognition of the MBG.⁶²
- **March 6, 2015:** The MBS elects Thuneibat as its provisional leader.⁶³
- **April 30, 2015:** The government says it will enforce a ban on the MBG public events. In response, the MBG cancels plans for a May 1 rally marking its 70th anniversary.⁶⁴
- **July 2015:** Jordan seizes seven properties worth millions of dollars from the MBG and transfers them to the MBS.⁶⁵
- **December 2015:** Around 400 members of the MBG and IAF resign en masse. The former members later begin to form a new political party called the Elders Group.⁶⁶

weapons for attacks in West Bank,” YNet News, December 2, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4598485,00.html>.

⁵⁸ Rana F. Sweis, “Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook,” *New York Times*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html>.

⁵⁹ Muath Freij, “Over 1,000 people march in solidarity with Prophet Mohammed,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), January 17, 2015, <http://jordantimes.com/over-1000-people-march-in-solidarity-with-prophet-mohammad>.

⁶⁰ Rana F. Sweis, “Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook,” *New York Times*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html>.

⁶¹ Osama Al Sharif, “Unprecedented rift splits Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al-Monitor*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-revoke-membership-crisis.html>.

⁶² Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” *Al-Monitor*, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>.

⁶³ Khetam Malkawi, “New leaders of Brotherhood demand control over assets,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 7, 2015, <http://jordantimes.com/new-leaders-of-brotherhood-demand-control-over-assets>.

⁶⁴ Osama Al Sharif, “Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift,” *Al-Monitor*, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html>.

⁶⁵ Aida Alami, “Rift deepens within Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Al Jazeera*, August 17, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/rift-deepens-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-150810121308733.html>.

⁶⁶ Osama Al Sharif, “Defections threaten Jordan’s Brotherhood,” *Al-Monitor*, January 14, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-resignations.html>; Khetam Malkawi, “Brotherhood defectors apply to register political party,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), October 31, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/brotherhood-defectors-apply-register-political-party>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

- **January 8, 2016:** The MBS elects Thuneibat to a four-year term as its leader.⁶⁷
- **February 15, 2016:** The MBG announces that it has cut ties with the Brotherhood movement in Egypt ahead of internal elections in March.⁶⁸
- **March 29, 2016:** Jordan bars the MBG from holding internal elections.⁶⁹
- **April 13, 2016:** Jordan shuts down the MBG’s national headquarters.⁷⁰
- **September 20, 2016:** The IAF wins 10 seats in Jordanian parliamentary elections. MBS candidates run alongside the Zamzam’s National Congress Party but do not secure any seats.⁷¹
- **October 31, 2016:** Led by former IAF members who resigned in December 2015, the Elders Group files paperwork to register as a political party. The group’s founders claim the new party does not share any of the Brotherhood’s ideologies.⁷²
- **August 15, 2017:** The IAF wins several seats in local and municipal elections. Although the party does not gain much political power, Oraib Rantawi, the head of the Al Quds Center for Political Studies, states that “this is a big win for them and indicates that they remain popular and that the policies that were adopted against them did not succeed.”⁷³
- **March 2018:** On March 22, Thuneibat announces his resignation as MBS leader for health reasons. On March 24, Sharaf Qudah is elected overall leader of the MBS.⁷⁴

Violent Activities: The Jordanian Brotherhood has publicly eschewed violence as a means to establishing a caliphate. Nonetheless, some Brotherhood members have been arrested and charged with violent crimes. In November 2014, Jordanian authorities arrested 31 people after receiving intelligence from Israel that they are part of a Brotherhood cell passing weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank. The suspects—primarily Palestinian students

⁶⁷ Khetam Malkaw, “Muslim Brotherhood Society elects Thneibat as overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), January 10, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/muslim-brotherhood-society-elects-thneibat-overall-leader>.

⁶⁸ “Jordan’s Muslim Brotherhood cuts ties to parent group,” Associated Press, February 15, 2016, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/45f7d55fe3b44b449aaaa463ebbd340/jordans-muslim-brotherhood-cuts-ties-parent-group>.

⁶⁹ Khetam Malkawi, “Old Brotherhood cries foul as internal elections banned,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 29, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/old-brotherhood-cries-foul-internal-elections-banned>.

⁷⁰ Rana F. Sweis, “Jordan Shuts Down Muslim Brotherhood Headquarters,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/14/world/middleeast/jordan-shuts-down-muslim-brotherhood-headquarters.html>.

⁷¹ Osama Al Sharif, “Who are the winners and losers in Jordan’s latest election?” *Al-Monitor*, September 28, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/09/jordan-legislative-elections-winners-losers.html>.

⁷² Khetam Malkawi, “Brotherhood defectors apply to register political party,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), October 31, 2016, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/brotherhood-defectors-apply-register-political-party>.

⁷³ Suha Maayeh, “Jordan local elections provide testing ground for Muslim Brotherhood,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), August 16, 2017, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/jordan-local-elections-provide-testing-ground-for-muslim-brotherhood-1.620384>.

⁷⁴ “Qudah elected Muslim Brotherhood overall leader,” *Jordan Times* (Amman), March 26, 2018, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/qudah-elected-muslim-brotherhood-overall-leader>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

from the West Bank—were also charged with setting up a secret armed wing of the Jordanian Brotherhood.⁷⁵

Brotherhood protests in Jordan have at times turned violent as well. For example, MBG members clashed with Jordanian police during March 2014 protests outside of the Israeli embassy in Amman. MBG members also reportedly attempted to violently break through police lines in order to attack the embassy.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, MBG leaders have routinely insisted that their protests are peaceful.⁷⁷ During the 2011-2012 protests, the MBG blamed violence on police brutality.⁷⁸

- **November 2012:** Protests erupt across Jordan in response to rising fuel prices. Some protesters armed with torches and guns clash with police, resulting in the injury of 14 people. Security officials accuse the Brotherhood of exploiting the issue of fuel costs to drive anti-government protests.⁷⁹
- **March 14, 2014:** MBG organizes a protest outside of Israel's embassy in Amman. The demonstration turns violent as protesters clash with police. Several protesters are arrested.⁸⁰
- **July 2014:** The MBG leads pro-Hamas demonstrations. Protesters chant “death to Israel” and other pro-Hamas slogans, encouraging rocket attacks against Israel.⁸¹
- **November 2014:** Jordanian authorities arrest 31 people after receiving intelligence from Israel that they are part of a Brotherhood cell. The suspects are accused of passing

⁷⁵ Jack Moore, “Israel: Muslim Brotherhood cell in Jordan 'smuggling weapons to West Bank Palestinians,’” *International Business Times*, December 8, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/israel-muslim-brotherhood-cell-jordan-smuggling-weapons-west-bank-palestinians-1478561>; Roi Kais, “Report: Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan smuggled weapons for attacks in West Bank,” YNet News, December 2, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4598485.00.html>.

⁷⁶ Omar Akour, “Thousands protest Israel in Jordan over killing,” Associated Press, March 14, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/thousands-protest-israel-jordan-over-killing>.

⁷⁷ Associated Press, “Jordan police stations attacked by gunmen during protest,” *Guardian* (London), November 14, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/15/jordan-police-station-attack-protests>.

⁷⁸ Suha Philip Ma'ayeh, “Muslim Brotherhood calls for Jordan's PM Marouf Bakhit to quit,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), March 27, 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/muslim-brotherhood-calls-for-jordans-pm-marouf-bakhit-to-quit>.

⁷⁹ Joby Warrick and Taylor Luck, “Jordan hit with more protests, work stoppages over fuel price hikes,” *Washington Post*, November 14, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/jordan-hit-with-more-protests-work-stoppages-over-fuel-price-hikes/2012/11/14/7adc28ce-2e63-11e2-beb2-4b4cf5087636_story.html?utm_term=.122673474f37.

⁸⁰ Omar Akour, “Thousands protest Israel in Jordan over killing,” Associated Press, March 14, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/thousands-protest-israel-jordan-over-killing>; “Jordan: Not in our interest to cut ties with Israel,” *Times of Israel*, March 14, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/jordan-not-in-our-interest-to-cut-ties-with-israel/>.

⁸¹ Suleiman Al-Khalidi, “Jordanian stage pro-Gaza rally near Israeli embassy,” *Reuters*, July 20, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/20/us-palestinian-israel-jordan-idUSKBN0FP0UY20140720>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN JORDAN

weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank, and of setting up a secret armed wing of the Jordanian Brotherhood.⁸²

Ties to Extremist Groups: Not Determined.

Designations by Governments and Organizations: Jordan has not designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. For a full list countries that have designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, please see the [Designations](#) section of CEP's [Muslim Brotherhood](#) report.

In Their Own Words:

Hamman Saeed, MBG Secretary-General, March 14, 2014

“We will not accept less than the annulment of the peace treaty and deportation the Israeli ambassador and to announce that Jews are enemies for our nation.”⁸³

Hamman Saeed, MBG Secretary-General, July 20, 2014

“These Arab regimes have made us accustomed to taste the bitterness of defeat and now the day has come that someone (Hamas) has ended this humiliation and weakness by their heroic resistance.”⁸⁴

Hamman Saeed, MBG Secretary-General, January 18, 2013

Jordan will become a “state in the Muslim Caliphate.”⁸⁵

⁸² Jack Moore, “Israel: Muslim Brotherhood cell in Jordan 'smuggling weapons to West Bank Palestinians,’” *International Business Times*, December 8, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/israel-muslim-brotherhood-cell-jordan-smuggling-weapons-west-bank-palestinians-1478561>; Roi Kais, “Report: Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan smuggled weapons for attacks in West Bank,” YNet News, December 2, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4598485.00.html>.

⁸³ Omar Akour, “Thousands protest Israel in Jordan over killing,” Associated Press, March 14, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/thousands-protest-israel-jordan-over-killing>.

⁸⁴ Suleiman Al-Khalidi, “Jordanian stage pro-Gaza rally near Israeli embassy,” Reuters, July 20, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/20/us-palestinian-israel-jordan-idUSKBN0FP0UY20140720>.

⁸⁵ Jamal Halaby, “Jordan election touted as start of democratization,” Associated Press, January 22, 2013, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/jordan-election-touted-start-democratization>.