

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

Name: Muslim Brotherhood in Morocco

Year of Origin: 1967¹

Founder(s): Dr. Abdelkrim Al Khatib²

Place(s) of Operation: Morocco

Key Leaders:

- Saad Eddine El Othmani: Prime minister of Morocco, PJD secretary-general³
- Abdelilah Benkirane: Former PJD secretary-general, former prime minister of Morocco⁴

Associated Organization(s):

- Justice and Development Party (PJD)⁵
- Islamic Party of Justice and Development⁶

The Justice and Development Party (PJD)—also known as the Islamic Party of Justice and Development—is the ruling party in Morocco.⁷ Until 2013, the PJD was the Moroccan branch of the [Muslim Brotherhood](#) (i.e., the Brotherhood), though the party has formally disavowed the Brotherhood following the ouster of former Egyptian President and Brotherhood leader [Mohammed Morsi](#).⁸ Despite distancing the PJD from the Brotherhood, former PJD leader and

¹ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

² Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

³ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>; “Morocco’s Justice and Development party elects new head,” Middle East Monitor, December 11, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171211-moroccos-justice-and-development-party-elects-new-head/>.

⁴ Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, “The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses,” Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, <http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle-east-north-africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/>.

⁵ Idriss al-Kanboury, “Morocco’s Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

⁶ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

⁷ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>; Associated Press, “Moroccans favor conservative party instead of ushering in Islamic party,” *International Herald Tribune*, September 9, 2007,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20081014084028/http://www.ihf.com/articles/ap/2007/09/10/africa/AF-GEN-Morocco-Elections.php>; “Youth Perceptions in Morocco: Political Parties in the Wake of Legislative Elections,” National Democratic Institute, April 2012, p. 2, <https://www.ndi.org/files/Morocco-Youth-FG-Report-070212.pdf>.

⁸ Idriss al-Kanboury, “Morocco’s Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

former Moroccan Prime Minister Abdelilah Benkirane has shown support for Morsi.⁹ The PJD has also reportedly participated in at least one global Brotherhood meeting.¹⁰

Led by Morocco's Saad Eddine El Othmani, the PJD has been Morocco's ruling party since November of 2011, when the party gained a plurality of seats in Morocco's parliament. The PJD is an Islamist political party that reportedly seeks to erect an Islamist democratic government,¹¹ and largely focuses on improving the national economy and maintaining political stability.¹²

Originally named the Popular Democratic and Constitutional Movement (MPDC), the PJD was formed in 1967 by political activist and surgeon Abdelkrim Al Khatib. For years, the MPDC reportedly struggled to establish itself as a political entity until the Chabib Islamia (Islamic Youth) joined the party. The Islamic Youth later formed the Unification and Reform Movement (URM), and, in 1988, the groups officially began operating as the Justice and Development Party (PJD).¹³

The PJD first gained support in Morocco during the September 2002 parliamentary elections. That year, the PJD was only represented in a few districts, but in each district that the party was represented, it secured a majority of the available seats.¹⁴

In 2004, Saad Eddine El Othmani replaced Khatib as the PJD's secretary-general. In contrast to other Islamist parties at the time, the PJD under Othman's leadership formally recognized the Moroccan monarchy. This was a significant policy shift as the PJD—once in staunch opposition to the throne—now publicly supported it. In response, the PJD reportedly gained popularity

⁹ Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

¹⁰ Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>

¹¹ "Islamist PJD party wins Morocco poll," BBC News, November 27, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15902703>; Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, "The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses," Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/; "Morocco's Justice and Development party elects new head," Middle East Monitor, December 11, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171211-moroccos-justice-and-development-party-elects-new-head/>.

¹² Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>; Mohammed Hirichi, "Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>; Mohammed Masbah, "His Majesty's Islamists: The Moroccan Experience," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 23, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/03/23/his-majesty-s-islamists-moroccan-experience>.

¹³ Mohammed Hirichi, "Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

¹⁴ Mohammed Hirichi, "Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

throughout the country. In the next elections in September of 2007, the PJD won 46 out of 325 seats, narrowly losing the plurality of seats to the country's leading Istiqlal Party.¹⁵

In 2008, former political activist Benkirane assumed leadership over the PJD. By the 2011 elections, the PJD's popularity had surged. In the wake of the Arab Spring uprisings, pro-democratic protests accused the Moroccan government of "lack of freedoms and widespread corruption," according to Al Arabiya.¹⁶ In response, the PJD reoriented its platform, focusing on addressing social issues such as legalizing public music festivals and the sale of alcohol, and ran on a campaign that promised to limit corruption, create jobs, and increase the minimum wage. From the 2007 to 2011 elections, voter turnout increased by nearly 10 percent, and the PJD won a plurality of 107 parliamentary seats. The former ruling Istiqlal party lost by 47 parliamentary seats.¹⁷ With the PJD as the new ruling party, King Mohammed VI appointed PJD party leader Benkirane as Morocco's first Islamist prime minister.¹⁸

Though the Moroccan monarchy has supported members of the PJD, in recent years it has consistently condemned the global Brotherhood movement. Following Morsi's 2013 ouster in [Egypt](#), King Mohammed VI of Morocco became the first North African leader to express his support for Morsi's "quick" and "decisive" removal.¹⁹ It was around this time that the PJD began to publicly renounce any affiliation to the Egyptian Brotherhood.²⁰

¹⁵ "Morocco's moderate Islamist PJD party wins 107 seats," Al Arabiya, November 27, 2011, <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/11/27/179546.html>; Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, "The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses," Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, <http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle-east-north-africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/>; Mohammed Hirichi, "Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

¹⁶ "Morocco's moderate Islamist PJD party wins 107 seats," Al Arabiya, November 27, 2011, <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/11/27/179546.html>.

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¹⁸ Mohammed Hirichi, "Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>; Associated Press, "Moroccans favor conservative party instead of ushering in Islamic party," *International Herald Tribune*, September 9, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20081014084028/http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/09/10/africa/AF-GEN-Morocco-Elections.php>; "Youth Perceptions in Morocco: Political Parties in the Wake of Legislative Elections," National Democratic Institute, April 2012, p. 2, <https://www.ndi.org/files/Morocco-Youth-FG-Report-070212.pdf>.

¹⁹ Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, "The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses," Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, <http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle-east-north-africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/>.

²⁰ Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

In February 2013, Benkirane stated that the PJD is an Islamist party that shares some of the same ideologies as the Brotherhood, but operates “with different principles.”²¹ Benkirane reportedly denied that the PJD belongs to the global Brotherhood movement, instead claiming that each Islamist movement has “its own political thought.”²²

The PJD again denied affiliation with the Brotherhood in January 2015 when, at a National Council meeting, the PJD was publicly accused of attempting to “Islami[z]e Moroccan society.”²³ Benkirane reaffirmed the PJD’s Islamist agenda, but claimed that its philosophy differed from that of the Brotherhood. “The political reform model set by the [the PJD],”²⁴ he told the crowd, “has nothing to do with unknown parties either inside or outside Morocco....There is no organizational relationship between [us].”²⁵

Despite Benkirane’s claims to the contrary, there are ongoing reports of PJD associations with the Egyptian Brotherhood. When Morsi took office as Egypt’s president in 2012, the PJD produced a written statement of approval for the Egyptian Brotherhood leader. Benkirane also congratulated Morsi’s win saying, “any other news [would be] deception to the democratic pathway in the region.”²⁶ Following the 2013 coup in Egypt that toppled Morsi’s government, a group of Moroccan Islamist politicians—including several PJD members—attempted to sign a petition denouncing the coup. The petition fell short of 525 signatures to pass into law.²⁷

Since then, the PJD has continued to have associations with the global Brotherhood movement. Also in 2013, the PJD composed a letter to a number of international bodies—including the U.N. secretary-general, the U.N. Security Council, the European Union, and the European Parliament—calling for the organizations to condemn the Egyptian coup leaders. In September

²¹ Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, “The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses,” Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/.

²² Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, “The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses,” Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/.

²³ “Morocco ruling party says independent of Brotherhood,” Middle East Monitor, January 11, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150111-morocco-ruling-party-says-independent-of-brotherhood/>.

²⁴ “Morocco ruling party says independent of Brotherhood,” Middle East Monitor, January 11, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150111-morocco-ruling-party-says-independent-of-brotherhood/>.

²⁵ “Morocco ruling party says independent of Brotherhood,” Middle East Monitor, January 11, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150111-morocco-ruling-party-says-independent-of-brotherhood/>.

²⁶ Idriss al-Kanboury, “Morocco’s Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

²⁷ Idriss al-Kanboury, “Morocco’s Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

2013, PJD members reportedly attended a global Brotherhood meeting in Lahore, Pakistan, to discuss the correct response to the situation in Egypt.²⁸

The PJD has since continued to openly support the Moroccan monarchy, publicly distance itself from the Brotherhood, and sustain its domestic popularity. In September 2015, the PJD continued to experience popular support, winning the majority of urban municipal seats in the country's local elections.²⁹

On September 26, 2016, nearly 10,000 supporters took part in the PJD's opening rally in Rabat, Morocco, ahead of that year's parliamentary elections. A total of 30 political parties took part in the October 6, 2016, parliamentary elections³⁰ in which the PJD won the plurality, 125 out of 395 seats.³¹ Benkirane was appointed to another term as the country's prime minister on October 10, 2016, but Benkirane could not form a governing coalition.³² On March 17, 2017, Morocco's king appointed the PJD's Saad Eddine El Othmani, a former foreign minister, as the country's prime minister.³³ El Othmani was appointed the new secretary-general of the PJD that December.³⁴ In April 2019, however, reports surfaced that conservative members of the PJD senior leadership were seeking to remove El Othmani from his position because his positions contradicted the PJD's Islamist values.³⁵ Benkirane has called for El Othmani to resign as he has reportedly sought to stage a political comeback, leading to a public feud with El Othmani over the future of the PJD. Conservative PJD members unhappy with El Othmani have voiced support

²⁸ Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>.

²⁹ Mohamed Daadaoui, "Morocco's Islamist party has just made another major breakthrough," *Washington Post*, September 16, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/09/16/moroccos-islamist-party-has-just-made-another-major-breakthrough/>.

³⁰ Victor Muisyo, "Morocco: Islamist PJD party kicks off campaigns for legislative polls," Africanews, September 26, 2016, <http://www.africanews.com/2016/09/26/morocco-islamist-pjd-party-kicks-off-campaigns-for-legislative-polls/>.

³¹ Edward Yeranian, "Morocco's PJD Wins Most Seats in Parliamentary Election," Voice of America, October 8, 2016, <http://www.voanews.com/a/morocco-justice-development-party-wins-most-seats-parliamentary-election/3542370.html>.

³² "Moroccan king reappoints Abdelilah Benkirane as PM," Al Jazeera, October 10, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/moroccan-king-reappoints-abdelilah-bekirane-pm-161010182453418.html>; Aziz El Yaakoubi, "Morocco political deadlock deepens as premier ends coalition talks," Reuters, January 9, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-politics-idUSKBN14T1IG>.

³³ "Morocco's king names PJD's Othmani as new prime minister," Reuters, March 17, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-politics-idUSKBN16O1WU?il=0>.

³⁴ "Morocco's Justice and Development party elects new head," Middle East Monitor, December 11, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171211-moroccos-justice-and-development-party-elects-new-head/>.

³⁵ Tamba François Koundounom, "Crisis in Morocco's PJD Deepens as Leadership 'Plots' to Oust El Othmani," Morocco World News, April 12, 2019, <https://www.morocroworldnews.com/2019/04/270432/crisis-in-moroccos-pjd-deepens-as-leadership-plots-to-oust-el-othmani/>; Tamba François Koundounom, "El Othmani Hits Back at Benkirane Amid Morocco's PJD Leadership Crisis," Morocco World News, April 10, 2019, <https://www.morocroworldnews.com/2019/04/270298/el-othmani-benkirane-morocco-pjd-leadership-crisis/>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

for Benkirane to regain the party leadership while El Othmani has rejected calls for his resignation.³⁶

History:

- **1967:** Abdelkrim Al Khatib founds the Popular Democratic and Constitutional Movement (MPDC), an Islamist party that seeks to establish a sharia-based government in Morocco. The MPDC is a precursor to the Justice and Development Party (PJD), also known as the Islamic Party of Justice and Development.³⁷
- **1988:** The MPDC and the Unification and Reform Movement (URM) unite to form the Justice and Development Party (PJD), also known as the Islamic Party of Justice and Development.³⁸
- **September 27, 2002:** The PJD wins 42 of 325 legislative seats.³⁹
- **2004:** Saad Eddine El Othmani replaces Khatib as secretary-general of the PJD.⁴⁰
- **September 7, 2007:** The PJD wins 46 of 325 legislative seats.⁴¹
- **2008:** Abdelilah Benkirane is elected secretary-general of the PJD.⁴²
- **November 2011:** The PJD wins control of parliament with 107 legislative seats. Abdelilah Benkirane is appointed prime minister of Morocco.⁴³
- **February 2013:** Benkirane publicly denies any ties between the PJD and the Brotherhood.⁴⁴
- **July 3, 2013:** A military coup topples the government of Egyptian President and Brotherhood leader Mohammed Morsi.⁴⁵

³⁶ Tamba François Koundounom, “El Othmani Hits Back at Benkirane Amid Morocco’s PJD Leadership Crisis,” Morocco World News, April 10, 2019, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/04/270298/el-othmani-benkirane-morocco-pjd-leadership-crisis/>.

³⁷ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

³⁸ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

³⁹ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

⁴⁰ Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

⁴¹ Associated Press, “Moroccans favor conservative party instead of ushering in Islamic party,” *International Herald Tribune*, September 9, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20081014084028/http://www.ihf.com/articles/ap/2007/09/10/africa/AF-GEN-Morocco-Elections.php>.

⁴² Mohammed Hirichi, “Political Islam in Morocco: The Case of the Party of Justice and Development (PJD),” Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, August 2007, <http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue77/hirchi/>.

⁴³ “Youth Perceptions in Morocco: Political Parties in the Wake of Legislative Elections,” National Democratic Institute, April 2012, p. 2, <https://www.ndi.org/files/Morocco-Youth-FG-Report-070212.pdf>.

⁴⁴ Betty Chemier, Eduardo Zachary Albrecht, “The PJD in Morocco: Strengths and Weaknesses,” Fair Observer, September 5, 2014, http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/the-pjd-in-morocco-strengths-and-weaknesses-57321/.

⁴⁵ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Army Ousts Egypt’s President; Morsi is Taken Into Military Custody,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

- **September 2013:** The PJD joins a global Brotherhood meeting in Lahore, Pakistan, to discuss responses to Morsi's removal.⁴⁶
- **January 10, 2015:** In a National Council meeting, Benkirane reasserts that the PJD has no ties to the Egyptian Brotherhood.⁴⁷
- **September 2015:** The PJD wins the majority of urban municipal seats during local elections.⁴⁸
- **September 26, 2016:** Nearly 10,000 supporters take part in PJD's opening rally for the 2016 parliamentary elections.⁴⁹
- **October 8, 2016:** The PJD acquires the largest number of parliamentary seats, winning 125 of 395.⁵⁰
- **October 10, 2016:** Benkirane is reappointed as prime minister for another term.⁵¹
- **March 17, 2017:** Morocco's king appoints the PJD's Saad Eddine El Othmani as the country's prime minister after Benkirane fails to form a governing coalition.⁵²
- **December 2017:** El Othmani is elected secretary-general of the PJD after the party's senior leadership forbids Benkirane from running for a third term in line with the party's rules.⁵³
- **April 2019:** Reports surface that members of PJD's senior leadership believe El Othmani's positions to be contradictory to the party's Islamist values. There is reportedly a growing movement among PJD's more conservative members for El Othmani to step down. Benkirane calls for El Othmani to resign, leading to a public feud with El Othmani over the future of the PJD. Conservative PJD members unhappy with El Othmani have voiced support for Benkirane to regain the party leadership while El Othmani has rejected calls for his resignation.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Idriss al-Kanboury, "Morocco's Islamists and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 30, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/30/Morocco-s-Islamists-and-the-Egyptian-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>

⁴⁷ "Morocco ruling party says independent of Brotherhood," Middle East Monitor, January 11, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150111-morocco-ruling-party-says-independent-of-brotherhood/>.

⁴⁸ Mohamed Daadaoui, "Morocco's Islamist party has just made another major breakthrough," *Washington Post*, September 16, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/09/16/moroccos-islamist-party-has-just-made-another-major-breakthrough/>.

⁴⁹ Victor Muisyo, "Morocco: Islamist PJD party kicks off campaigns for legislative polls," Africanews, September 26, 2016, <http://www.africanews.com/2016/09/26/morocco-islamist-pjd-party-kicks-off-campaigns-for-legislative-polls/>.

⁵⁰ Edward Yeranian, "Morocco's PJD Wins Most Seats in Parliamentary Election," Voice of America, October 8, 2016, <http://www.voanews.com/a/morocco-justice-development-party-wins-most-seats-parliamentary-election/3542370.html>.

⁵¹ "Moroccan king reappoints Abdelilah Benkirane as PM," Al Jazeera, October 10, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/moroccan-king-reappoints-abdelilah-bekirane-pm-161010182453418.html>.

⁵² "Morocco's king names PJD's Othmani as new prime minister," Reuters, March 17, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-politics-idUSKBN16O1WU?il=0>.

⁵³ "Morocco's Justice and Development party elects new head," Middle East Monitor, December 11, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171211-moroccos-justice-and-development-party-elects-new-head/>.

⁵⁴ Tamba François Koundounom, "El Othmani Hits Back at Benkirane Amid Morocco's PJD Leadership Crisis," Morocco World News, April 10, 2019, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/04/270298/el-othmani>

**COUNTER
EXTREMISM
PROJECT**

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN MOROCCO

Violent Activities: Not determined.

Ties to Extremist Groups: Not determined.

Designations by Governments and Organizations: Not determined.

In Their Own Words: Not determined.

[benkirane-morocco-pjd-leadership-crisis/](https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/04/270432/crisis-in-moroccos-pjd-deepens-as-leadership-plots-to-oust-el-othmani/); Tamba François Koundounom, “Crisis in Morocco’s PJD Deepens as Leadership ‘Plots’ to Oust El Othmani,” Morocco World News, April 12, 2019, <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/04/270432/crisis-in-moroccos-pjd-deepens-as-leadership-plots-to-oust-el-othmani/>; Tamba François Koundounom, “El Othmani Hits Back at Benkirane Amid Morocco’s PJD Leadership Crisis,” Morocco World News, April 10, 2019, <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/04/270298/el-othmani-benkirane-morocco-pjd-leadership-crisis/>.