

# Transcript

00:00:00 Speaker 1

Good evening everyone and welcome to the Middle East Centre seminar for Michaelmas term.

00:00:06 Speaker 1

This is the seminar for the 5th week and I'm very pleased to welcome our speaker for this evening.

00:00:13 Speaker 1

Mr.

00:00:13 Speaker 1

Mustafa El-Khalthi is a former member of Ministry of Communications in Morocco.

00:00:18 Speaker 1

Now, Mr.

00:00:20 Speaker 1

Khalthi

00:00:22 Speaker 1

There are many, Morocco has had many ministerial communications over the years, but Mr.

00:00:27 Speaker 1

Khalifi stands, I think, in at least two particular ways, certainly the length of his tenure, seven years as minister.

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And perhaps secondly and more substantially, he was a minister in the first ever government of Morocco that was led by an Islamist political party, the Party of Justice and Development, usually often known by its acronym, PJD.

00:00:50 Speaker 1

of which Mustafa Al-Khelfi was and is a major member.

00:00:56 Speaker 1

Now, without wishing to trespass too much on what Mr Al-Khelfi is going to say this evening, I think it might be useful for those of you who are less familiar with Morocco's recent politics and history to give you a little bit of background to the Party of Justice Development and its time in government.

00:01:13 Speaker 1

The PJD first entered formal Moroccan politics in the 1990s.

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and from very modest beginnings, I think it was 9 in the first election, nine members of parliament, steadily increased its vote share and presence at successive elections, eventually becoming the largest party in the parliament following parliamentary elections in 2011 in the wake of regional protests in 2011 across the region of which Morocco had its share.

00:01:44 Speaker 1

A reform of the Moroccan constitution earlier in 2011

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had stipulated that the country's Prime Minister had now to be appointed by the King from the largest political party.

00:01:56 Speaker 1

Previously, the King had a completely free choice on who to be appointed as Prime Minister.

00:02:04 Speaker 1

And as a result of this change, the King, the leader of the PJD, Mr.

00:02:10 Speaker 1

Abdelila Ben-Kiran, was appointed Prime Minister by the King to lead the new government.

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The first government-led

00:02:17 Speaker 1

by not only an Islamist political party, but an Islamist Prime Minister.

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Abdalilah ben Kiran appointed a cabinet dominated by members of the PJD, which included Mr.

00:02:27 Speaker 1

Al-Khafi as Minister of Communications and also the government spokesman.

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At the end of its first term in government, the PJD received, to the surprise of many, an increased share of the votes and representation in the national parliament.

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So it improved on its initial score when it came to government.

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in the elections of 2016.

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However, Abdulilah Ben-Kiran was not able to continue as Prime Minister despite being a popular and charismatic figure who many had credited for the popularity and electoral success of the PJD, particularly in the 2016 elections.

00:03:06 Speaker 1

Mr Ben-Kiran was forced to stand down as Prime Minister because no other parties agreed to serve in the coalition government alongside him.

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and he was replaced with a lower profile figure from the party as Prime Minister.

00:03:19 Speaker 1

The PDT's second term in government proved to be extremely stormy, and the party was forced to accept the implementation of a series of policies they had long been ideologically opposed to, most prominently and culminating notoriously in Morocco's normalisation of relations with the State of Israel in December 2020.

00:03:40 Speaker 1

She had a situation of an Islamist movement in government

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during which the normalisation of Israel occurred.

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As A substantial result of this, support for the party collapsed in the next parliamentary elections in 2021, which saw the party lose 90% of its MPs in the parliament.

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Since then, the party has sought to regroup by re-electing Abdullah Ben-Kiran as its leader and distancing itself from the policies that had been imposed upon it whilst in government.

00:04:10 Speaker 1

Mustafa Al-Khathi was right at the heart of this whole series of events,

00:04:14 Speaker 1

both as a ministry in the government and its formal spokesman for its first seven years.

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He is still very much involved and he's chairing the commission but is putting together PJD's policy platform for the next set of parliamentary elections that are due next year in 2026, I think September they do, aren't they?

00:04:33 Speaker 1

Yes.

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And at which the party hopes to make a significant return.

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Now, Mustafa's involvement stretches beyond

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this into other areas.

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He edited the PJD's newspaper for many years, headed the party's youth wing, and is now heading a think tank that he founded.

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Now, not being content with careers in both politics and journalism, Mustafa, I'm pleased to say, from an Oxford perspective, has also had an academic career.

00:05:04 Speaker 1

Having worked on a PJD, sorry, PJD, PhD, I knew I was going to make that mistake at some stage.

00:05:11 Speaker 1

I knew I was going to make that mistake at some stage.

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looking at his PhD focused on Anglo-Saxon analyses and perceptions of the Islamist movement in Morocco.

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Now this explains how the two of us met, me being an Anglo-Saxon, researching and writing on the Moroccan Islamist movement in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

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And I understand that you're still planning to complete it, which is wonderful.

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Certainly at the university we would encourage you to do that.

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We are therefore

00:05:42 Speaker 1

Mustafa has an enormous exposure at the heart of all of the events we've talked about, and we're very privileged and pleased that he has agreed to come here and talk about the PJD's experience in government, his role in that, and where, for example, where the PJD now plans to go now that it is in opposition.

00:06:01 Speaker 1

Mustafa al-Shelfi, thank you.

00:06:02 Speaker 2

Thank you so much, our friend Michael.

00:06:13 Speaker 2

First of all, I would like to thank you

00:06:16 Speaker 2

for inviting me to the Center for Middle East here at St.

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Antony College at Oxford University.

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And also, I would like to thank my friend, Michael Willis.

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I first met him just 25 years ago in Morocco.

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He used to be searching and examining the evolution of the Islamic movement in Morocco.

00:06:46 Speaker 2

And we met.

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And since then, we kept our exchange, intellectual exchange, on issues related to the political dynamics, political reforms, the role of the Islamic movement, the duality, extremists, and moderate, all these questions.

00:07:06 Speaker 2

So thank you so much for inviting me and giving me this opportunity to share

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with some ideas, reflections related to this, to my experience, and to this experience, the PGD experience in government, and the challenges related to democratization, related to the stability, prosperity, related to the regional stability also.

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And I think this opportunity for me will help me in

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examining and continuing my work on my PhD.

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So this reflections stem from my personal involvement.

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So to be clear, objective way, but I am a practitioner, actor from within.

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So my insights, my reflection emerge from my experience.

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I, at the beginning,

00:08:12 Speaker 2

In 1993, I used to be a student, I was a member of the local bureau of the party in 1993.

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In 1996, so three years after, I was a member of the extraordinary congress of the party, delegates to the congress, 1996.

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1998, I was elected

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as a member of the National Council of the Party, 1998.

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In 2002, I was a member of the commission who drafted the electoral platform of the party in 2002.

00:08:59 Speaker 2

This commission I chaired in the election of 2007.

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the commission who drafted the electoral program of the party in the 2007.

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2011, I became a minister of communication in the government.

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And at the same time, spokesperson of the government.

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In 2016, I was elected as a member of the parliament, the name of the party.

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2017, became also another time minister.

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as the minister of the relationship with the parliament, civil society, and also spokesperson of the government.

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I quit in 2019, and now I am a member of the general secretary of the party and the chair of the commission on charge in drafting the electoral program of the coming election 2026.

00:10:04 Speaker 2

So almost, how much?

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Almost more than 30 years, yes.

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So, based on my experience, examining this experience from inside, when I started working on the subject and I met, well, only a few people or scholars

00:10:34 Speaker 2

Willis, John Intellis from Fordham University, Aymed Din Shahin from John Hopkins University, Henry Manson from Austin University, Texas, has published a book about power and religion in Morocco.

00:10:55 Speaker 2

Aymed Din Shahin worked on the political essence of the contemporary science movement in Morocco, the first

00:11:03 Speaker 2

on making a comparison between Morocco and Tunisia.

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I think Willis, Intelis, Henri Manson, and Emmeddine Shahin, and generally from the contemporary studies in Georgetown.

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So the focus on the Moroccan experience

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The focus is on the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, on Hamas, on Hezbollah in Jordan, on Turkey.

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But this is the Moroccan exception.

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And my thesis, the framework of this lecture,

00:11:57 Speaker 2

methodological framework.

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It's what we can call the inclusion moderation paradigm.

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When we integrate the Islamic party, Islamic movement, political parties with an Islamic reference, we accelerate the process of moderation.

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and having them as the key actor in the process of political, economic, social reforms.

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This is the framework of this lecture.

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But the solution in dealing with this issue is to enhance the opportunities of inclusion, and to deal with them as

00:12:56 Speaker 2

Political parties working within the system, if they succeed, they could guide or run or work in the government, to join the government.

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If they fail, they will quit, they will exist by ballots.

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So, in order to examine these issues,

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My lecture is in five points.

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The first about the historical roots of this experience.

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The phases and the factors that govern the evolution and emergence of this experience.

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The second is about the achievements.

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What's the results?

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What's the outcomes?

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What they did when they were in the government?

00:14:01 Speaker 2

What's the results?

00:14:04 Speaker 2

In the political level, in the economic level, in the social level, the question related to the reforms.

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And after this examining the results,

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We examine also the decline after 2021 elections.

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So, the emergence, the rise, and the decline.

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And after, what's the lessons from this experience?

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Are we going to notice or to see

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a collapse of this experience or a new re-emergence, a rewire.

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These are the main elements and final and the fifth point is about the conclusion, the

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the limits of this experience and the future, the prospects of this experience based on these four components of this lecture.

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So for decades, Morocco has been portrayed as an exception in its approach to the Islamist question.

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What's the Moroccan exceptions?

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It rejected the logic of eradication and instead accepted the presence of a political party with an Islamic reference, initiating a gradual process of integration that spanned more than two decades, 90s and the first decade of the current year.

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This process ultimately allows the government experience of the PGD to reach its whole term without interruption or top-down intervention.

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The only case in the Arab world when the political party with an Islamic reference in the government succeeded in having the whole term five years and the second term

00:16:42 Speaker 2

Five or 10 years in Tunisia, in Egypt, in all countries.

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Arab, I'm speaking about the, within the Arab context.

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Turkey is another story before the Arab Spring.

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But for us, it's the only experience when and where

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we noticed that a political party with an Islamic reference reached its full chair without interruption or top-down intervention.

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This approach was grounded in the conviction that such movement should not be eradicated but rather integrated into the political sphere.

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If they were to win election, they should be allowed to assume responsibility and their effectiveness

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tested, tested in governance.

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And when Morocco defended these ideas in the '90s, we were a small political party with nine seats in the parliament.

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We didn't expect that after 10 years, we would be in the government.

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But the idea of allowing to end

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the idea of allowing a political party with an Islamic reference to be in the government emerged in the 90s.

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And there was a criticism in Morocco about Algeria, why they didn't allow them to practice their ideas in government.

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So,

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Their continuation or departure, it was argued, should depend solely on the ballot box, without disregarding the normal dynamic of political and partisan competition.

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So, this paragraph about Moroccan exception, I use it to explain the development of the movement.

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from the beginning until now.

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And I defend the idea of Moroccan exception.

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I spoke with Professor Willis about this 25 years, and I am still defending these ideas.

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The origin of and the development of our party, the modern roots of the Justice and Development Party

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The GD can be traced to a reformist current within Morocco's Islamic movement.

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The Morocco's Islamic movement emerged at the beginning of the 70s.

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The main group was the Shariba Islam, the Islamic youth.

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they embraced the revolutionary political thought, not a reformist crime or reformist thought.

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But our movement emerged as a split

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Within the Islamic youth, it was the results and the outcome of a review and internal criticism and self-criticism of the political behavior of the movement during the 70s.

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jihadist ideologies that dominated much of the Islamic movement at that time.

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It was a review based on what?

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On examining the specificities of the Moroccan situation.

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Who leads the group who joined after the Justice and Development Party and worked to revive it is

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the self-criticism of the experience of the Islamic youth based on the specificities of the Moroccan experience and the Moroccan context.

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Namely, three issues.

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The existence of a monarchy based on the commandery of the faith.

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That we have a monarchy.

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not a political system that has no historical roots.

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Second, a political and cultural pluralism.

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And third, a long-standing tradition of political openness since independence in 1956.

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This true element, the nature of the political system.

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The existence of political pluralism, this trend of political openness in the country, all these four elements push a part of the leadership of the movement to rethink the political platform of the part of the movement.

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And this leads in 1981 to the establishment and to the emergence of what we call Jama'a Islamiyah, Islamic Association.

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And after, in 1992, we changed our name to the movement of reform and renewal.

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And in 1996, there was

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a unification process with another movement, the Islamic league, the Rabatat Musaqib al-Islami, the League of Islamic Future.

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It was a measure that gave the movements for unity and before.

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So, this movement, at the beginning, embraced the idea of

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rejecting violence, participating in the political process, and working with others to develop our countries.

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And we decided in 1992 to have a political party, but the government refused.

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we decided to join an existing political party called the Movement of the Constitutional Popular Democratic Movement Party in late 1992, beginning of 1993.

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We worked with the leadership of this party.

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They presented the conditions, constitutional monarchy,

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rejecting violence, and respecting defending Islam.

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So there was no disagreement or problem between the two leaders of the movement and the party.

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Our first political participation, electoral participation, was in 1997.

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We have only nine seats.

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And the second was in 2002.

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We had 42 seats from 9 to 42.

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And in 2007, we had 46 seats.

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In 2011,

00:26:01 Speaker 2

107 seats in the parliament.

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So in almost 14 years, we increased our position in the Moroccan parliament from 9 seats to 107 seats.

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Three months during this 14 years, because after this, within the new constitution, with the new constitution,

00:26:32 Speaker 2

His Majesty, the King nominated the chief of the government from our party.

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But what happened during these 14 years?

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I am not going to present to your auditors, but three months has defined the evolution of the party.

00:27:00 Speaker 2

and also helps us to understand and to explain why we succeed in the 2011 election.

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The first moment was the debate over the reform of the Family Code in 2004.

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This debate started in late 1999.

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And we succeeded in mobilizing a very big march in Kazarlanga.

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There is another march in Rabat, the two main cities.

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And the party initially strongly opposed the government's proposed reform.

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But after His Majesty, the King Mohammed VI,

00:28:01 Speaker 2

in his capacity as a commander of the faith, has established a royal commission composed of religious scholars and representatives from various segments of society.

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Our party contributed to this process, and we presented our proposals to new drafts and ultimately

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Lately, we supported the reform, the second version, not the first.

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But this has helped the party to start examining political issues, not from ideological stand, but

00:28:58 Speaker 2

based on the problems that Moroccan families suffered from it in the ground.

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There was for me, when we examined the first, not a coup, but the first time when we have this change, that a political party

00:29:27 Speaker 2

It's not a social movement or religious movement, but there is a difference between these two kind of actors.

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The movement mainly puts a lot of time.

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The religious actions in the society, but political parties should present a policy

00:29:57 Speaker 2

ideas, measures, actions, but not as the work of revolutionizing, like the, I accept this, but should be the way to buy a moment, not a political policy.

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So this is the first moment.

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the debate about the family code.

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It was tough for almost four years.

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The second moment is the terrorist attacks in Casablanca in May 2003.

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For us, we sent with our country against these terrorist attacks.

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It was clear for us that as

00:30:55 Speaker 2

as movements, our origin, and as a party working within the political system that we need to defend the reformists and the peaceful orientation in action.

00:31:14 Speaker 2

So, but at the same time, other political parties try to exploit this event

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to ban our party.

00:31:26 Speaker 2

And they tried to make a confusion between moderate and the extremists.

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Now there is no debate about moderate and the extremists.

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Everybody understands the differences between these two trends.

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The third moment is the Arab Spring.

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In 2011,

00:31:52 Speaker 2

the movement February 20 movement, the emergence of this movement within what we can call the fourth wave of democratization in the world, in the Arab world, the end of the Arabic exception.

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During this time, we defended the idea of

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what we call a third way, a third pass between the revolution and the status quo.

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We need reforms, but we need to preserve the stability of

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of our country.

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So we need to resolve social and economic problems.

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We need to fight corruption.

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We need to listen to the youth.

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But at the same time, without losing the unity, the stability of the country.

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At this time, this is the slogan that's reforming within stability, what we call the third

00:33:05 Speaker 2

Third wave.

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This position gained momentum after the speech of His Majesty King Mahmud VI on March 9, 2011.

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March 9, a historic speech that presented outlined a roadmap for constitutional and political reforms.

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So, these three moments, in my view, helped a lot of the party in defining themselves as reformist political actors within the party.

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political system with these three events.

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Because in politics, what counts by the end, it's not words, but actions.

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The actions define your characteristics.

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So

00:34:34 Speaker 2

To understand what happened in 2011 elections, November election, when we won the election and won the first political party by having 107 seats for the first time, a political party passed this limit of 100 seats in the history of Morocco.

00:35:01 Speaker 2

We think many factors helped the prior process of democratic opening, a strong internal democracy, and transparent governance within the party.

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We asked and we demand to have democracy in the country should be a model.

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Significant youth participation also held to the party.

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Maybe the party is, at this time, a party of youth.

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A positive popular image rooted in its parliamentary opposition on key moral and social issues.

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family law reform, anti-corruption, social justice, and also the emergence of the PJD as a credible alternative to the ruling coalition parties.

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Because in 2007 election, we were the second in the parliament, and we lead the opposition.

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We didn't participate.

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the major political parties participating in the government.

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So the credible alternative to the ruling coalition parties was absent.

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So all these factors, based on these three moments, has led to this new phase in the history of the party, being in the government and leading the government.

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not only being a member of the government, but also within the government.

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So these elements, I think, there is two other elements.

00:37:18 Speaker 2

It's external factors, not internal factors.

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You know, during the 90s, it started in the 90s.

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And

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during the first decade.

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How many the numbers of the students in university in Morocco in the 80s, late beginning of the 90s, 100,000 students.

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In 2011, 500,000.

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Huge demographic

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In the '90s, only newspapers, public television, public radio, but only public in terms of broadcasting audiovisual television or radio, only public.

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Late 2011, almost

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10 private radio, the spread of internet, social networks.

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So new chimes of communication helped a lot.

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The private televisions, the role of satellites, Al Jazeera al Arab, all of this.

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a profound social transformation led by these two phenomena, the spread of internet, social movements, social networks, and a demographic transformation related to the changes related to the number of the students in universities.

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So

00:39:24 Speaker 2

In the 90s, I used to be general secretary of the student union in the university.

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So to understand how changes happened and emerged.

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I think, so two things.

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First, this social profound transformation as an external factor.

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is the failure of the eradication policies that has been implemented in many countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt.

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And we in Morocco take advantage from this.

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In Algeria, it was the black decade.

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The results are so, so, so catastrophic.

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So these two elements, beside the first related to the specificities of the political system in Morocco, related also to the pluralism, social and political pluralism in Morocco, but

00:40:49 Speaker 2

two elements emerge in late 90s and the beginning of the 2000s.

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So, based on this, when we won the election in 2011, it was the

00:41:20 Speaker 2

the outcome of a long process of integration that started in the beginning of the 90s.

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First as a political party working within the society, second as a political party working within the parliament, and third as a political party running the government.

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So it's a normal

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evolution.

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Not like Tunisia.

00:41:57 Speaker 2

Not like Egypt.

00:42:00 Speaker 2

Egypt is top down.

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But if we'd like to understand why the PGD and the government stay for two terms, totally different from the others,

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because it's the outcome of a normal process of integration for almost two decades.

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So it's normal to be in the government.

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So, but what's the result of being in the government?

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Ten years.

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Ten years in the government, I think there are multiple angles from which to assess.

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to evaluate the prejudice decayed in government.

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It's difficult in terms of methodology.

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Until now, there is no thesis, no paradigm, concerning Islamists in government.

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There is some ideas, for example, the recent book has been edited by Mark Lynch about political science in the Middle East.

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try to examine some elements, some papers from Brookings rethinking political Islam, some books from Carnegie's endowment.

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But as now, examining Islamic movement in politics, political parties within Islamic reference in politics, I think political science

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needs to do more to develop a new framework or a new paradigm to examine this issue.

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So, beside or however, when we try to present the achievements

00:44:14 Speaker 2

My idea, and this is why I said that there is no strong, effective paradigm to understand what happened.

00:44:27 Speaker 2

My idea that we need to lead members talk, examining, addressing the achievements that is connected, right?

00:44:44 Speaker 2

Not 2 slogans, that's our intention.

00:44:48 Speaker 2

What are we going to do?

00:44:49 Speaker 2

We try to do.

00:44:52 Speaker 2

Let members talk in a comparative framework.

00:45:02 Speaker 2

So I examined this issue in.

00:45:13 Speaker 2

in four components.

00:45:15 Speaker 2

The first is the political and democratic achievements.

00:45:21 Speaker 2

The most significant political achievements emerge within a context marked by the adoption of a new constitution and strong social demand for reform.

00:45:33 Speaker 2

So the demand was so high.

00:45:39 Speaker 2

The expectation was so high after

00:45:44 Speaker 2

the social youth protests during 2011, during the Arab Spring.

00:45:50 Speaker 2

The expectations so high.

00:45:54 Speaker 2

Fighting corruption, more political reforms, more economic and social reforms and so on.

00:46:05 Speaker 2

So it's a challenge, but for me it's a positive element.

00:46:12 Speaker 2

that you have the legitimacy to wage the necessary reforms can cement these issues.

00:46:21 Speaker 2

So I think the first thing is securing the stability.

00:46:35 Speaker 2

You know the number of the strike

00:46:42 Speaker 2

in private sector in 2011 was 38,000 strike in 2011 by 2015 it decreased to 16 16,000 from 38,000 to 16,000

00:47:11 Speaker 2

So it's a huge achievement, a considerable achievement.

00:47:19 Speaker 2

But the main idea is developing a new kind of politics grounded in close communication with citizens, bringing politics closer to the people, involving them actively in public life.

00:47:36 Speaker 2

With the new constitution established that the chief of the government should

00:47:41 Speaker 2

came each month to vote chamber in the parliament to speak about public policies and this session is going to be broadcast with Mr.

00:48:00 Speaker 2

Benkira is a very very good communicator so he

00:48:11 Speaker 2

exploited this opportunity to present politics to the whole society.

00:48:21 Speaker 2

And this helps in reconciliating citizens with politics.

00:48:28 Speaker 2

And people in Kofi, for example, during this broadcasting time, they are waiting to follow these presentations.

00:48:41 Speaker 2

But the most important thing also beside this is the need to implement the new constitution.

00:48:50 Speaker 2

So we presented a comprehensive roadmap to implement almost 40 organic and regulatory laws.

00:49:06 Speaker 2

One of them is

00:49:10 Speaker 2

the law that separates the Attorney General from the Justice Ministry to limit the intervention of the executive branch on judiciary matters and issues and cases.

00:49:29 Speaker 2

We passed this law in order to defend the independency of the

00:49:39 Speaker 2

judiciary authority.

00:49:42 Speaker 2

Also, concerning the freedom of press, I used to be a minister of communication.

00:49:47 Speaker 2

I presented the law to decriminalize defamation.

00:49:55 Speaker 2

And it passed in 2016.

00:49:59 Speaker 2

Also, I presented to the parliamentary law against discrimination in 2015.

00:50:08 Speaker 2

to prohibit and to reinforce legal measures against discrimination based on religion, sex, ethnicity, language, color.

00:50:20 Speaker 2

Also, there was an organic law on petition, public petition, citizens, draft petitions, and motions.

00:50:33 Speaker 2

Also, and this one is, it was one of the

00:50:37 Speaker 2

question that there were a tough debate on it is adopting a law concerning prohibiting violence against women.

00:50:54 Speaker 2

And the law has been adopted in 2016.

00:51:02 Speaker 2

Also, we ratified civil international convention, mainly

00:51:07 Speaker 2

the Convention Against Torture.

00:51:13 Speaker 2

And one of the elements that has been adopted is a mandatory opening, an obligation to open an investigation into allegation of torture in 2014.

00:51:29 Speaker 2

On issues related to anti-corruption,

00:51:37 Speaker 2

We had a lot of measures.

00:51:38 Speaker 2

One of them is the adoption of the law protecting the people who report on bribery.

00:51:51 Speaker 2

We should protect them.

00:51:53 Speaker 2

We adopt a law to protect them.

00:51:57 Speaker 2

We adopted the law concerning the access to information that we failed to adopt.

00:52:04 Speaker 2

We presented, we drafted.

00:52:06 Speaker 2

presented to the parliament, but we didn't succeed in passing.

00:52:11 Speaker 2

It's a law to criminalize the illicit in rations for the people who are working in the administration.

00:52:27 Speaker 2

If we notice the change in their wealth, we should question and ask them and ask them.

00:52:35 Speaker 2

you should make the necessary measures against them.

00:52:40 Speaker 2

There, and the results, the results of this was 31,000 cases of anti-corruption has submitted to justice.

00:52:53 Speaker 2

31,000.

00:52:55 Speaker 2

The results that Morocco in 2011 was in the rank of 99, the rank of Morocco, 99 of

00:53:05 Speaker 2

transparency, perception, corruption index.

00:53:11 Speaker 2

In 2018, we were in 73.

00:53:20 Speaker 2

We gained almost 26 positions.

00:53:26 Speaker 2

Based on what?

00:53:27 Speaker 2

On these measures.

00:53:28 Speaker 2

A lot of measures have been adopted, but I just pick up the establishment of green line and

00:53:37 Speaker 2

So these are the main achievements in the democratic level.

00:53:41 Speaker 2

They pick up justice, freedom of expression, women's rights, anti-corruption strategy, and reconciling people and citizens with politics.

00:53:58 Speaker 2

But in my thinking,

00:54:03 Speaker 2

the main achievement in the economic and social life.

00:54:07 Speaker 2

What happened in the economy?

00:54:10 Speaker 2

I think 2011-2021 witnessed this decade, witnessed a profound structural transformation that strengthened the resilience and the stability of the Moroccan economy despite international crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic.

00:54:31 Speaker 2

the main measures.

00:54:34 Speaker 2

For example, when we arrived, the deficit, the budget deficit was 7.23.

00:54:48 Speaker 2

It's very difficult because the rate of what we call annual growth rate, it's about 3% and you have 7.2.

00:55:01 Speaker 2

percent of budget deficit.

00:55:05 Speaker 2

So, we are heading towards a deep economic crisis that will give the opportunity to the World Bank to govern our economy, and we are going to lose our economic sovereignty.

00:55:21 Speaker 2

We make a tough decision, and we shall succeed in reducing the budget deficit to

00:55:31 Speaker 2

3.5% in five years, 2016, gradually.

00:55:43 Speaker 2

So reducing the budget deficit from 7.2% in 2011 to 3.5% in 2016, despite the exceptional and negative global

00:56:00 Speaker 2

situation.

00:56:02 Speaker 2

Also, what we call the current accounts deficits, this indicator, bring together all elements related to the position of the Moroccan economy within the international economic system, for example, imports versus exports.

00:56:28 Speaker 2

tourism, foreign direct investments, the reminiscence of the Moroccan's working growth, all these elements.

00:56:43 Speaker 2

The balance we, in 2011 the deficit was 9.5 percent.

00:56:58 Speaker 2

2020 were 1.9%.

00:57:06 Speaker 2

This number you compounded in World Bank database to follow the evolution.

00:57:17 Speaker 2

A significant increase in the public investment budget to stimulate employment

00:57:24 Speaker 2

entrepreneurship and infrastructure that attracts foreign investments.

00:57:31 Speaker 2

You know, in 2011, it's only \$17 billion.

00:57:36 Speaker 2

In 2021, it's \$24 billion, an increase by 50%.

00:57:53 Speaker 2

public investment.

00:57:55 Speaker 2

Foreign direct investment, if they are, increased by nearly 30%, reaching a total approximately 34 billion dirhams, 34 billion dollars.

00:58:13 Speaker 2

It's 334.

00:58:17 Speaker 2

That's bid for 10 years.

00:58:21 Speaker 2

For the first five years, it's about \$20 billion.

00:58:29 Speaker 2

Compared to the past five, four, it's about 16.

00:58:35 Speaker 2

So from 16 to 20.

00:58:38 Speaker 2

So before, in the past, the people who criticized the scholars, the political actors,

00:58:51 Speaker 2

who tried to prevent government and systems to allow political parties with Islamic reference to be in the government.

00:59:03 Speaker 2

What they said, that the investors, they will quit.

00:59:10 Speaker 2

In our experience, we increase the amount.

00:59:16 Speaker 2

And we have an office in Morocco, beside World Bank's data,

00:59:20 Speaker 2

have an office of we call the office this office note we based on the statistics we notice this increase so this element helps us in tackling the most important issues in

00:59:50 Speaker 2

economy, job creations.

00:59:54 Speaker 2

What happened at this level?

00:59:59 Speaker 2

We achieved a substantial progress in job creation with around 342,000 in public sectors and 1.1 million in private sectors.

01:00:19 Speaker 2

It's about how much?

01:00:22 Speaker 2

1.5 million job has been created during this 10 years, both in private and public sectors.

01:00:34 Speaker 2

And mainly for public sectors, mainly this 340,000

01:00:55 Speaker 2

jobs in the public sectors it's mainly in education in education mainly and also in education and health and I will give you after the

01:01:23 Speaker 2

detailed on this.

01:01:24 Speaker 2

So in so we have this 340,000 and we have also this in private sector the first five years 500,000 and the second five years 660,000.

01:01:50 Speaker 2

This as I mentioned

01:01:54 Speaker 2

the new jobs that has been created almost 1.5 million and this has contributed to a decline in the employment rate to 9.5%.

01:02:08 Speaker 2

Now it's about 13.

01:02:17 Speaker 2

9.5%.

01:02:21 Speaker 2

So

01:02:24 Speaker 2

one of the elements that created a pressure on us.

01:02:31 Speaker 2

It's, and this I will outline in the social level, but it's the number of the students who are graduated each year.

01:02:49 Speaker 2

During this decade, it's about one

01:02:54 Speaker 2

by the end of the experience.

01:02:57 Speaker 2

So the pressure usually meant for jobs.

01:03:04 Speaker 2

So one of the elements that helps is when we developed a system we called a self-entrepreneur.

01:03:22 Speaker 2

be one self-entrepreneur.

01:03:25 Speaker 2

We launched this program in 2014, 2014-15.

01:03:32 Speaker 2

The number, so we encourage people to register as a self-entrepreneur and to pay only 1% of its income under the limit of 500 to 500,000.

01:03:51 Speaker 2

yes so it's 50 50,000 under this you pay one or 1.5% not 20% or 30% in tax so we encourage youth young people to register and to work you know it was zero entrepreneur

01:04:20 Speaker 2

in 2014 2021 329,000 self entrepreneurs has been registered and this is how we stimulate the jobs creation the number of newly created enterprises enterprises

01:04:47 Speaker 2

In 2011, it was about 60,000.

01:04:51 Speaker 2

In 2021, it's about 90,000.

01:04:53 Speaker 2

So we encourage people to create their own campaigns.

01:05:02 Speaker 2

One of the elements also will reduce the

01:05:07 Speaker 2

corporate stocks, you have 30% of the results, the income of the company.

01:05:18 Speaker 2

To pay 30%, we developed a lot for small businesses, only pay 10%.

01:05:25 Speaker 2

With the new government, they increased it to 20%.

01:05:31 Speaker 2

And they reshaped the

01:05:37 Speaker 2

the measures related to self-entrepreneurship.

01:05:41 Speaker 2

Also, we paid the overdue debts to private companies, about 40 billion.

01:05:52 Speaker 2

It's \$4 billion.

01:05:56 Speaker 2

And all these measures helped in increasing the foreign exchange reserve in Morocco.

01:06:07 Speaker 2

your capacity to pay, for example, the gas importer, it is related to your foreign exchange reserve.

01:06:21 Speaker 1

So I understand we're beginning to run a little bit short of time.

01:06:24 Speaker 1

Would it be possible to move on to some of the...

01:06:27 Speaker 1

Sorry about the detail, but basically the time.

01:06:29 Speaker 1

I'd like to think the questions, which would be a great time.

01:06:31 Speaker 1

Thank you.

01:06:31 Speaker 2

So we have the economic level and we have the political, we have the social level.

01:06:37 Speaker 2

The social level, I will pick up two or three.

01:06:40 Speaker 2

The health coverage system expanded from 35% to 70%.

01:06:43 Speaker 2

We add almost 11 million to secure to them the health coverage.

01:06:56 Speaker 2

We increased the education budget by 50%.

01:07:01 Speaker 2

We increased the health budget by 100%.

01:07:08 Speaker 2

One of the results is the number of the students who received the scholarship from the government before it's less than 200,000 after 400,000.

01:07:28 Speaker 2

And we establish for the first time a financial direct cash transfer

01:07:35 Speaker 2

to poor families, mainly to widows and orphans, more than almost 200,000.

01:07:49 Speaker 2

There is other measures that has been developed in, for example, rising the minimum retirement pension.

01:08:00 Speaker 2

to 1,500 dirhams, 90,000 beneficiaries.

01:08:06 Speaker 2

We rise the minimum wage by 20%.

01:08:11 Speaker 2

We develop a program related to fight social disparities between rural and urban areas.

01:08:23 Speaker 2

Before, it's only 500 million dirhams.

01:08:27 Speaker 2

Within this program,

01:08:29 Speaker 2

it's about 8 billion.

01:08:34 Speaker 2

The money comes from the reform of the subsidy system, the reform of the pension system, and also the reform of the electricity public service to secure providing the service to the

01:08:58 Speaker 2

Moroccan families.

01:09:00 Speaker 2

But despite this, in 2016 election, we succeeded in won in this election by having 125 seats.

01:09:21 Speaker 2

So from 107 to 125, it was a vote

01:09:27 Speaker 2

related to our achievements in the government.

01:09:32 Speaker 2

But what happened in the second, in the last election, 2021, it was a decline, only 13 seats.

01:09:47 Speaker 2

So to examine the decline in the 2021 election, we need to make

01:09:56 Speaker 2

distinction between these two phases.

01:10:00 Speaker 2

The first phase led under the leadership of Sara Bin Kiran, an incident after what we call the blockage following a six month of a political deadlock.

01:10:17 Speaker 2

Political party refused to work with Mr.

01:10:22 Speaker 2

Bin Kiran, who won the election.

01:10:26 Speaker 2

It was difficult, so six months.

01:10:29 Speaker 2

So despite this crisis, the constitutional principle that the head of the government must come from the leading party was preserved and said that many was appointed to form and lead the new cabinet.

01:10:51 Speaker 2

So

01:10:55 Speaker 2

To explain the decline in the second phase, I think many external and internal factors explain what happened.

01:11:11 Speaker 2

Let me start by the internal factors.

01:11:16 Speaker 2

The first, what we call the work of incumbency.

01:11:24 Speaker 2

After a decade in power, the party inevitably suffers from the erosion that affects long royal parties.

01:11:34 Speaker 2

We say 10 years until the people start looking for alternatives.

01:11:42 Speaker 2

This is a phenomena that we saw it in many countries, many experience.

01:11:48 Speaker 2

So, and especially in a period

01:11:52 Speaker 2

marked by the COVID-19 crisis.

01:11:55 Speaker 2

So this is the second.

01:11:58 Speaker 2

I think internal division after the deadlock in 2017 within the party.

01:12:08 Speaker 2

And this, the tension surrounding this political deadlock coupled with the necessity of forming a broad yet ideologically incoherent coalition.

01:12:23 Speaker 2

has weakened the party's capacities to implement its electoral platform.

01:12:34 Speaker 2

This dynamic also undermined its communicative fatality and eroded its public appeal.

01:12:44 Speaker 2

In the past, even though we faced some external crisis,

01:12:50 Speaker 2

but we kept our unity and our communications challenge with the society.

01:13:00 Speaker 2

This time, the party failed to do so.

01:13:05 Speaker 2

And the third is the adoption of policies that contract dedicated the party's platform on four

01:13:20 Speaker 2

The issue of normalization with Israel happened during our time in government.

01:13:41 Speaker 2

The facilitation of French as a language of instruction and study.

01:13:46 Speaker 2

The political party will defend Arabic language.

01:13:55 Speaker 2

and the adoption of a law authorizing the medical use of cannabis.

01:14:04 Speaker 2

Given that the party in the parliament vote against this law, but in the public perception, a party with an Islamic reference facilitate the legalization of the cannabis

01:14:24 Speaker 2

has an impact.

01:14:26 Speaker 2

And electoral law amendments seen as measures as anti-democratic measures.

01:14:36 Speaker 2

I think there is another element, but this element, the this erosion later to stay in ten years in government.

01:14:52 Speaker 2

in general division, policies that were against our electoral platform and political program.

01:15:05 Speaker 2

All this has a negative impact.

01:15:15 Speaker 2

And not.

01:15:16 Speaker 2

So,

01:15:20 Speaker 2

negative impact on our social base.

01:15:24 Speaker 2

And we noticed this in the vote turnout in urban area, in cities like Kazakhstan.

01:15:34 Speaker 2

The rates, the vote turnout, it's less than, in some area, 20%.

01:15:44 Speaker 2

The whole, it's 50%.

01:15:50 Speaker 2

30%, yes.

01:15:52 Speaker 2

But in Europe, because the nature of the party is European political party, middle class.

01:16:00 Speaker 2

So the people didn't go to vote.

01:16:07 Speaker 2

There is other external, like the prejudice experience unfolded within

01:16:15 Speaker 2

broader adverse regional environments marked by shrinking political space for Islamist-oriented parties.

01:16:24 Speaker 2

Negative regional environment.

01:16:27 Speaker 2

What we call the entire democratic wave that started in Egypt and

01:16:46 Speaker 2

has been and influenced many countries as the recent is Tunisia in 2021.

01:16:56 Speaker 2

This regional climate also gave rise to digital media campaign in discrediting and demonizing the Justice and Development Party.

01:17:05 Speaker 2

We noticed this within this regional framework to discredit all political parties.

01:17:15 Speaker 2

despite that they did well in government or didn't, but create negative perceptions, negative stereotypes that push people to vote against them.

01:17:40 Speaker 2

So this social media campaigns we noticed usually.

01:17:45 Speaker 2

So, also the impact of the post-COVID-19 context, because many measures, negative measures, has been taken during this crisis.

01:17:59 Speaker 2

But I think the internal factors explain parts and give justification to the other part, to the external factors.

01:18:16 Speaker 2

So, what's the future?

01:18:20 Speaker 2

We explain, we understand that there is an internal factors.

01:18:25 Speaker 2

There is external factors.

01:18:28 Speaker 2

Other factors, it is related to the administrations.

01:18:33 Speaker 2

The new electoral law, we change the day of election.

01:18:38 Speaker 2

we put together the legislative election, parameter election, with the local elections.

01:18:45 Speaker 2

Local elections is the work of the notable candidates.

01:18:53 Speaker 2

So they did well in this, at this level.

01:18:57 Speaker 2

So what's the future?

01:18:59 Speaker 2

I think after the election, 2021, two scenarios emerged.

01:19:09 Speaker 2

the collapse scenario and the renewal revival scenario.

01:19:18 Speaker 2

I think now, four years after the election, I think we are in the second scenario, the renewal scenarios.

01:19:32 Speaker 2

Why?

01:19:34 Speaker 2

Because we did a tough internal

01:19:39 Speaker 2

self-criticism.

01:19:41 Speaker 2

We didn't try to justify this by external and the others.

01:19:46 Speaker 2

No, the problem is within us.

01:19:48 Speaker 2

If we resolve it, we are going to have a new life for the party.

01:19:57 Speaker 2

If we didn't resolve it, we are not going.

01:20:01 Speaker 2

So during this five, four years, we

01:20:07 Speaker 2

We can notice that the political and organizational developments within the party reveal a slow, slow but tangible process of recovery.

01:20:25 Speaker 2

The period immediately following the 2021 electoral defeat was marked by shock.

01:20:36 Speaker 2

the General Secretariat collectively resigned, acknowledging the need for accountability and renewal.

01:20:45 Speaker 2

Subsequently, the party elected the new General Secretary-General at 11 Kiran, whose return to leadership symbolizes both a moral reawakening and an attempt to reconnect with the party's founding spirits.

01:21:02 Speaker 2

And during these four years,

01:21:05 Speaker 2

we focus the work of the party on policy issues, economic and social issues.

01:21:14 Speaker 2

The PGD understood a comprehensive review of its governmental experience, and we published a document about this.

01:21:22 Speaker 2

And also, in opposition, in opposition, the party mentioned a series of significant initiatives at boosting its role as a responsible

01:21:35 Speaker 2

constructive political actors.

01:21:37 Speaker 2

So, what's the lessons?

01:21:42 Speaker 2

What's gone?

01:21:45 Speaker 2

When we assess this experience, what's the lessons and the conclusion?

01:21:56 Speaker 2

So, we are in the process of revival, of recovering.

01:22:02 Speaker 2

But I think the Moroccan experience with justice and development party offers several notable lessons for both democratic transition and the management of political pluralism in societies with Islamic reference movements and societies under the process of democratization.

01:22:25 Speaker 2

First, the experiments did not destabilize the country.

01:22:30 Speaker 2

There was no flight of capitalism.

01:22:32 Speaker 2

no collapse of investment, and no single incident of political violence during this.

01:22:40 Speaker 2

Second, the party never imposed a religious agenda.

01:22:45 Speaker 2

Political actions remain strictly within the constitutional and institutional framework.

01:22:52 Speaker 2

Third, the period was marked by a pragmatic openness to national coalition politics, including

01:23:01 Speaker 2

collaboration with left-wing and secular parties.

01:23:04 Speaker 2

So we developed coalition with them during our work in the government.

01:23:12 Speaker 2

Fourth, rather than restricting freedom, democracy and human rights were consolidated during the decade with some incidents, but the main trend, the main trend has been characterized

01:23:29 Speaker 2

by the emergence of the social, conscious, liberal democratic model.

01:23:35 Speaker 2

Fifth, the legacy and the impact of the PGD parliamentary experience played a decisive role in shaping the party's behavior and conduct in government, particularly its approach to institutional engagement, negotiations, and gradual

01:23:58 Speaker 2

approach in implementing reforms.

01:24:02 Speaker 2

But the fundamental dilemma of Morocco's democratic transition remains.

01:24:11 Speaker 2

What's the dilemma?

01:24:13 Speaker 2

The dilemma for me is we have a political parties that has social roots, popular segments.

01:24:28 Speaker 2

within the society.

01:24:30 Speaker 2

But the others, there is no competition.

01:24:39 Speaker 2

This, in my view, is the problem of the democratic position.

01:24:48 Speaker 2

The normal standard of electoral competition.

01:24:53 Speaker 2

Yes.

01:24:54 Speaker 2

2011, 10 years in the government has an impact.

01:24:57 Speaker 2

But now, and even in the future, the absence of condition for fear and balancing political competition, where all actors operate on an equal footy.

01:25:15 Speaker 2

This is the problem, because you have a political party with a popular

01:25:23 Speaker 2

legitimacy works as a normal political party.

01:25:29 Speaker 2

And the majority of the other political parties suffer from this problem.

01:25:43 Speaker 2

Looking forward, one key conclusion stands out.

01:25:46 Speaker 2

It is neither possible nor desirable to exclude Islamic

01:25:52 Speaker 2

parties from the equation of nationality form.

01:25:57 Speaker 2

So this is the significant motion.

01:26:01 Speaker 2

Sustainable democratization in Morocco, indeed, in the region as well, requires the continued integration of political currents within the framework of pluralism.

01:26:16 Speaker 2

So this experience emphasizes and consolidates

01:26:22 Speaker 2

thesis of not inclusion moderation, but inclusion effectiveness in dealing and addressing economic and social.

01:26:33 Speaker 2

They have the legitimacy, the popular legitimacy to wage the necessary reforms in order to address the economic and social problems.

01:26:47 Speaker 2

So

01:26:49 Speaker 2

The future of political reforms in Morocco remains closely tied to strengthening an inclusive national approach that consolidates the foundation of the Moroccan exception.

01:27:03 Speaker 2

At the same time, so this is for the political system and the society, but at the same time, the party itself

01:27:18 Speaker 2

is called upon to renew from winning, preserving its core principles and moral integrity while undertaking the necessary self-assessment and adaptation to overcome past shortcomings.

01:27:34 Speaker 2

This renewal should aim to reinforce its constructive role in shaping innovative public policies, grounded in its added

01:27:47 Speaker 2

The value to public life.

01:27:49 Speaker 2

So the future, it is related to three elements.

01:27:56 Speaker 2

I am speaking about the future of political reforms.

01:28:02 Speaker 2

The first, it is related to the balance or to the equilibrium between political parties.

01:28:11 Speaker 2

The second, it is related to the consolidation of the integration inclusive approach.

01:28:18 Speaker 2

And the third, related to the self-criticism, renewal, the renewal of the political platforms of the world, of the world.

01:28:31 Speaker 2

So three tasks, three tasks, three that will govern and shape the future of democratization and

01:28:47 Speaker 2

political reforms.

01:28:49 Speaker 2

So, in my thinking, the presence of long-standing political tradition and stable monological system endowed with a strong legitimacy, I think this tradition, political tradition, the nature of the political system, for me,

01:29:17 Speaker 2

represents the key factor that will encourage or accelerate the process related to consolidation of inclusion approach, self-criticism, and renewal of the political system and problem.

01:29:46 Speaker 2

But to resolve the third, maybe we're not going to succeed.

01:29:53 Speaker 2

The third is establishing a real framework of competition between political parties.

01:30:02 Speaker 2

Because it depends to the work of the other political parties.

01:30:09 Speaker 2

But the second and the second related to the

01:30:15 Speaker 2

consolidation of the inclusive approach, I'm expecting that the system is going to consolidate this approach.

01:30:25 Speaker 2

Concerning that the party is going to wage the necessary rethinking to renew its platform and political soup, yes, we started this and the last national congress in April 2000 was a signal for this.

01:30:45 Speaker 2

But the question of real political party reforms, I doubt this.

01:30:55 Speaker 2

So in conclusion, I would like to once again extend my sincere thanks to all of you for your kind attention and to express my deep appreciation to everyone who contributed to the organization and success of this event.

01:31:12 Speaker 2

Thank you.

01:31:13 Speaker 2

Thank you very much.

01:31:22 Speaker 1

Thank you so much for a real inside view of what a lot of people comment on from the outside of somebody who saw the whole process all the way through.

01:31:31 Speaker 1

So thank you for that and some real genuine insights there.

01:31:34 Speaker 1

We only have a short period of time for questions, but I'd like to kick us off with a particular question, which I'm sure you may have heard before.

01:31:45 Speaker 1

You've talked a lot about the amazing things that the party did in government, the achievements in the social realm, in economics, all the various aspects you've done.

01:31:55 Speaker 1

What you didn't talk very much about was religion.

01:31:57 Speaker 1

And you actually say at the end, we didn't try to impose our religious agenda.

01:32:01 Speaker 1

And therefore, my provocative question would be, what is Islamic about the PJD?

01:32:07 Speaker 1

Are you no longer an Islamic political party?

01:32:09 Speaker 2

I will.

01:32:19 Speaker 2

We have this evening, and the platform that I was the president of the chair of the political commission of the recent Congress, and I presided the commission who drafted the new electoral, new political platform, not the program, the platform.

01:32:44 Speaker 2

We call the , the general program, the doctrine of the .

01:32:52 Speaker 2

And we have a statement concerning this.

01:32:55 Speaker 2

And we answer, a political party within Islamic reference means, first, that we need to be a model in respecting public money, in respecting our words.

01:33:15 Speaker 2

in working with people.

01:33:18 Speaker 2

So in terms of principles, we need to be a model within the political arena.

01:33:27 Speaker 2

This is the first.

01:33:29 Speaker 2

Second, we need, in terms of policies, we need to wage the necessary we call new interpretation

01:33:43 Speaker 2

jurisprudence to develop solution to the concrete problem of the society.

01:33:51 Speaker 2

And you know what?

01:33:52 Speaker 2

During 10 years, how many times we face problems that is the problems that are results of contradiction between political activities and our religious reference?

01:34:14 Speaker 2

Less than five times.

01:34:18 Speaker 2

For example, for me as a minister of communication, it was the issue of advertising the gambling in the public television.

01:34:28 Speaker 2

I refuse this because it's harm to us, but I defend it as an obligation to use an article in the Constitution that the state should protect children and kids.

01:34:43 Speaker 2

And this advertisement of the gambling in public television represents a threat to the...

01:34:52 Speaker 2

And I succeed in passing a vote to copy it.

01:34:57 Speaker 2

This is the case.

01:34:58 Speaker 2

Another case related to giving a second option to the Moroccans to have access to the, what we call in Morocco, the alternative.

01:35:13 Speaker 2

banking system, not based on interests.

01:35:20 Speaker 2

We succeeded in passing this law.

01:35:23 Speaker 2

And for the first time, we have this, we have now in Morocco two systems, the old, the traditional and the new.

01:35:33 Speaker 2

We have a debate about the optional protocol concerning fighting discrimination against women.

01:35:41 Speaker 2

There was a debate, but by the end, we occupied the protocol.

01:35:48 Speaker 2

But beside this, it was very, very limited.

01:35:54 Speaker 2

Why?

01:35:54 Speaker 2

Because we are in Morocco in an Islamic state.

01:35:59 Speaker 2

The constitution said Morocco is an Islamic state.

01:36:03 Speaker 2

And if we'd like the people to join

01:36:10 Speaker 2

not only Islamic principles, but all the elements that govern the life related to religion, it's work within society, not in the political arena.

01:36:29 Speaker 2

So, proselytizing, it's not the work of the party, it's the work of religious movements.

01:36:38 Speaker 2

We encourage them.

01:36:41 Speaker 2

But we need to make a separation.

01:36:43 Speaker 2

And one of the elements that we consolidated in the doctrine of the party that we are not going to do electoral campaign in mosques.

01:36:57 Speaker 2

And we need to make a distinction between the religious activities and the political activities.

01:37:04 Speaker 2

For example, our program in 1997, as I mentioned,

01:37:10 Speaker 2

More than 60% are related to religious issues.

01:37:15 Speaker 2

In the last, less than 20%.

01:37:19 Speaker 2

So what is Islamic in our experience?

01:37:23 Speaker 2

So is our behavior to be a model, honest, political art, integrity?

01:37:34 Speaker 1

Thank you.

01:37:35 Speaker 1

Thank you.

01:37:36 Speaker 1

I can now open it up to the audience for questions.