

ISLAMIC PEACE MOVEMENTS



**IKV PAX
CHRISTI**



A DESK RESEARCH ON MOROCCO

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1. Introduction

IKV Pax Christi is a civil society organisation working for peace, reconciliation and justice worldwide. It supports local peace efforts in conflict areas, in more than twenty countries spread over four continents. Its aim is to prevent conflict and to build a peaceful, democratic and just society.

In the Middle East, IKV Pax Christi works with civil society groups to increase freedom of expression in Morocco and Jordan, to broaden civil society's room to manoeuvre in Syria and to prevent torture and improve the treatment of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and for a just and durable peace in Israel and Palestine. In the Netherlands, IKV Pax Christi calls for public and political support for peace negotiations, political transformation and reconciliation; elsewhere, it organises peace dialogues and supports local peace activists in their efforts to resist violence in the heat of conflict.

As an organisation with a Christian background, IKV Pax Christi is interested in the issue of 'Islamic peace movements', which it defines as "organisations or individuals that are inspired in their activism for peace and social justice by Islam". IKV Pax Christi has developed a way to recognise the potential of Islamic activist movements for promoting, human rights and political reform. The sharp contrast between successful projects with Islamic human rights activists in Morocco and the negative tone of the public debate in the Netherlands has raised interest in the Islamic peace movements in the Islamic countries where IKV Pax Christi operates. The projects in Morocco have spurred IKV Pax Christi's eagerness to work with Moroccan Islamic groups and individuals that share its passion for peace and social justice. This desk-study is intended to stimulate the public's interest and support IKV Pax Christi's eagerness. Its goals are twofold. First is to determine whether there are actually such organisations in Morocco and to map the organisations that do

exist. A model developed by the Advisory Council on Government Policy (known in the Netherlands as the WRR) will be used for this. Second is to explore modalities for future cooperation between IKV Pax Christi and Islamic activists in Morocco.

1.1. Objectives and Relevance

Despite being a faith-inspired organisation, IKV Pax Christi's primary goal is to promote peace not religion. These two factors – religious roots and peace as a goal – prompt it to reflect on the role of religion within itself as organisation and in the contexts where it operates. The forthcoming *Policy Framework on Religion and Conflict* reflects one such attempt¹. This document argues that interfaith and intrafaith dialogue and practical, faith-based projects can help build the peace toward which IKV Pax Christi works².

IKV Pax Christi always works with local partners active in the local context. Because of its view on faith as contributor to peace, IKV Pax Christi is convinced of the importance of cooperating with other faith-based organisations. This is operational in many of its African programmes, where churches and other Christian organisations are often the only vestiges of institutional stability. IKV Pax Christi has little experience with systematic cooperation with Islamic organisations, although there has occasionally been ad hoc cooperation. One example dates from 2003 when the Helsinki Committee, IKV and Pax Christi Netherlands (then separate) organised a dialogue on freedom of religion in Macedonia; another example dates from March-October 2007 when IKV Pax Christi supported a series of dialogues between

¹ Van den Berg (2008). For full references to works cited in the footnotes, see the bibliography at the end of this paper.

² IKV Pax Christi's Middle East + Asia team (MEA) decided to work on three regional issues: 1) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in relation to the Arab world, 2) human security from below and 3) inclusive society.

Islamists and leftists in Morocco that were organised by the Middle East Citizens' Assembly (MECA).

Since the majority of the people in more than half of the countries where IKV Pax Christi operates are Muslim, IKV Pax Christi has been studying modalities for working with Islamic organisations. In April 2008 a report entitled *Travelling the Same Road – An Inventory of the Wants and Needs as Seen by IKV Pax Christi and Muslim Organisations in the Netherlands* outlined the modalities for working with Muslim organisations in the Netherlands. It concluded that Muslim organisations and IKV Pax Christi were both open to cooperation, as long as each side showed respect for peace, dialogue and reciprocity. *The End of Fear – Walking with Muslims on the Road to Peace*, which Pax Christi's Membership Council published in September 2008, stated that its Catholic principles of solidarity and subsidiarity³ encouraged it to help create an inclusive society that did not marginalise groups or individuals. Well aware that religious differences are not easy to overcome, Pax Christi's Membership Council still considers it very important to contribute to interfaith dialogue. Because religion can be a binding factor between communities, dialogue and cooperation with Muslims is desirable. In undertaking these "Pax Christi should not become distracted by geopolitical considerations that label Islamic organisations terrorist or undesirable. After all contacting and talking with an Islamic NGO is not the same as recognising it or approving its goals"^{4,5}.

Some Dutch political actors are coming to share IKV Pax Christi's objectives. Even though

government, political parties and political leaders are aware that religion has the potential to divide communities⁶, and even though they are not (yet) willing to talk with all Muslim organisations (e.g. Hamas), they are beginning to realise that the confrontation with Muslims or their isolation from world politics will not increase safety and democracy in the world⁷.

Although IKV Pax Christi and some Dutch political leaders are aware that Islamic organisations can have a positive impact on peacebuilding, most people in the Netherlands are not. Many people have a negative impression of Islamic institutions. One reason for this is the apparent incompatibility with universal human rights in countries under Islamist leaders. Terrorist attacks by fundamentalist Muslims are another⁸. IKV Pax Christi wants to eliminate this fear of Islamic organisations and acknowledge the work that Islamic organisations do for peace by drawing attention to Islamic organisations that make a positive contribution to their societies.

To reach these objectives IKV Pax Christi needed a list of Islamic activists in the countries where IKV Pax Christi operates. Morocco is one of these countries. IKV Pax Christi believes it must continue its work in Morocco even in the absence of a 'hot' war (the conflict in the Western Sahara has been frozen for years) because IKV Pax Christi is also involved in political Islam's relations with the West. Other deciding factors in the decision to continue working in Morocco are that Morocco is still a repressive state, the threat of terrorism there, the success of previous activities and the unplanned spin-offs of ongoing projects⁹. This report's contribution is

³ The principle of subsidiarity was introduced in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). According to this principle communities should be allowed to resolve their own problems; members of these communities should be allowed to shape their own lives.

⁴ NGO: Non-government Organisation

⁵ Pax Christi's Membership Council (2008) p. 42

⁶ Hirsh Ballin (2007), p. 3.

⁷ See: Hirsh Ballin (2007); CES-CDAWI (2008); and Legendijk and Wiersma (2007).

⁸ WRR (2006) pp.19-20

⁹ The talks that IKV Pax Christi facilitated between secularists and Islamists have led to a deradicalisation

to provide an account of Islamic groups and individuals working for peace and social justice in Morocco.

At least figuratively “building a ship while sailing it”, IKV Pax Christi is creating a framework for cooperation with partners and new requests for funding. IKV Pax Christi's midterm review¹⁰ outlines its work and its value for peacebuilding in the period 2011-2014.

After working with an analytical model developed by the World Bank, IKV Pax Christi's midterm review concluded that the

organisation's strengths lay in advocacy/public communication, social cohesion and intermediation/facilitation¹³. These three functions are defined in table 1. The outcome of this conclusion is that the organisation will focus on these three functions in the countries where it operates, relating all future activities to one of these three aspects of peacebuilding. These elements will also play a role in the search for new partners. To be a potential partner for IKV Pax Christi, a Moroccan Islamic peace movement would have to be active in one of these three areas.

Function	Activities	Typical actors
Advocacy/public communication	Articulating interests specific to marginalised groups and getting issues on the public agenda. Creating communication channels, raising awareness and entering public debate. Participating in official peace processes.	Advocacy organisations, independent media, think tanks, networks.
Social cohesion	Strengthening links among citizens, using social capital to build bridges across societal divides.	CBOs ¹¹ and other membership organisations.
Intermediation/facilitation	Establishing relationships (communication, negotiation) to support cooperation between interest groups, institutions and the state. Facilitating dialogue and interaction. Promoting attitudinal change toward a culture of peace and reconciliation.	Intermediary NGOs, CSO ¹² networks, advocacy, organisations, faith-based organisations.

Table 1 : Functions in Peacebuilding¹⁴

project with Montada al-Karama, an organisation rooted in Islamic values.

¹⁰ IKV Pax Christi (2008b).

¹¹ CBO: Community-based Organisation

¹² CSO: Civil Society Organisation

¹³ The other four functions in the World Bank's model are protection, monitoring/ early warning, socialisation and service provision.

¹⁴ IKV Pax Christi (2008b) p. 8

1.2. Key Concepts

IKV Pax Christi needs to know whether there are any Islamic peace movements in the countries where it operates. Islamic peace movement is defined here as an organisation that 1) derives its inspiration from Islam, just as IKV Pax Christi derived its inspiration originally from Christianity and 2) works to create "social relations and political institutions characterised by an ethos of tolerance and non-violence"¹⁵.

Since CSOs are often better organised in Western than in non-Western countries, IKV Pax Christi has chosen to be pragmatic and flexible; it is more important for IKV Pax Christi that potential partners in Morocco be working for a good cause than that they be well-organised NGOs with a documented record of building social relations or political institutions.

Because of this reason, the search for Islamic groups or individuals working for peace or social justice in Morocco overlaps with the search for Islamic activism there. Pax Christi's Membership Council¹⁶ defined Islamic activism as the broad spectrum of Muslim groups for which Islam is a source of inspiration for the way they want to shape politics and society. The visible influence of Islamic traditions becomes clear in issues like food, economics, clothing, criminal law and political structure. When speaking about the latter, political Islam is also used to refer to the visible influence of Islamic traditions in politics. This definition of political Islam comes close to that of the WRR ("the aspirations of people for which Islam is a source of inspiration for shaping today's politics and society")¹⁷ and that of the International Crisis Group ("the active assertion and promotion of beliefs, prescriptions, laws or policies that are held to be Islamic in character")¹⁸. According to the International Crisis Group, Islamic activism is

the same as Islamism, according to which Islam includes an aspiration for political power as well as being a spiritual system.

In *The End of Fear*, Pax Christi's Membership Council expressed its desire to cooperate with Islamic activists who have set up NGOs¹⁹. The report stated that civil society actors in Muslim countries can be either secular or Islamic. Islamic activism can be civic, political or militant; obviously, militant Islamic activists could not become IKV Pax Christi partners²⁰.

1.3. Methodology – Advantages and Limitations

This study is primarily done as a desk-study; the information in it has been culled mainly from academic literature, reports and internet. There are many civil society organisations in Morocco; there are internet sites with useful databases and long lists of Moroccan NGOs²¹ and political parties²². In 1994 and again in 2003, *Maroc Hebdo*, a Moroccan weekly; published lists of between 20 and 30 Islamist organisations in Morocco²³. This was also a useful starting point for locating what could broadly be described as Islam-inspired peace movements. Because these sources had little information on Islamic movements for peace or social justice, the resulting search of on-line sources of information on groups or individuals working for peace and/or social justice was less systematic than we would have liked.

¹⁹ Pax Christi's Membership Council (2008), p. 38.

²⁰ This does not imply that IKV Pax Christi is completely against the use of violence. Catholic theory on a just war, the absolute principles of international law, the responsibility to protect and an implicit notion of a just war do not permit Pax Christi or IKV to renounce the use of violence a priori.

²¹ I searched ECOSOC's database, the Euro-Mediterranean Youth Platform's database and www.tanmia.ma (viewed on 7/01/09).

²² See

http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_des_partis_politiques_marocains (viewed 27 Jan 2009) and Lust-Okar (2005), p. 178-186.

²³ Manzour (1994), p. 8-9 and Chadi (2003), p. 10-12

¹⁵ Coward and Smith (2004), p. 5

¹⁶ Pax Christi's Membership Council (2008), p. 6

¹⁷ WRR (2006), p. 23.

¹⁸ ICG (2005).

A small part of this study is based on information obtained by email and telephone and from informal interviews with people in Morocco. The latter were held between November 28 and November 30. Gijsbert van Ijtersen-Scholten and Evert-Jan Grit, both IKV Pax Christi programme officers, took part. These interviews (see appendix I) were very useful; they provided some welcome, in-depth insights into the situation in Morocco and offered an opportunity to discuss some topics informally.

A third source of information for this was direct contact with experts whether, and what kind of, Islamic peace movements could be found in the region. Interviews with experts in the Netherlands were originally intended to produce information on the fields where it would be beneficial to combine efforts with

Islamic activists and to learn about the Islamic peace movements with which the interviewees were most familiar. However, experts contacted in the early stages of the study (including international scholars and Islamic peace movements in the West) said they had no knowledge of any Islamic peace movements in Morocco. Given this dearth, such interviews would have been futile; the questionnaire prepared for them went unused. Its logic and structure did prove to be useful as a framework for situating individual organisations. Interested readers can find it in appendix II.

Because the informal interviews in Morocco proved to be so valuable, I contacted other experts in the Netherlands when the study was nearly complete to learn what they thought of its subject. Appendix I contains a list of their names.



2. Activism in Morocco - Between the Years of Lead and Acting Non-violent

The Kingdom of Morocco was established in 1956, when the country proclaimed itself independent from France. It is a country with over 34 million inhabitants, of which 98.7% are Muslims²⁴.

Some background information on the complicated political and religious structures in Morocco and its Islamic activism would be a useful aid for understanding how Islamic activists and the civil society function in this North-African country.

The king holds all the power in the Moroccan political system, a constitutional hereditary monarchy. From the 1960's to the 1980's, a period known as the Years of Lead, the late King Hassan II ruled Morocco with a heavy hand. He granted favour and power to those in his immediate circle; but many people outside the king's circle were tortured or killed or were made to disappear to ensure that no opposition group²⁵ could become powerful enough to even consider challenging the king's position²⁶. King Hassan II pursued a policy of divide and conquer. Some opposition groups (*Istiqlal* (Independence) and *USFP* (*Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires*)) were allowed to participate in politics, which put them in a position where they were unable to challenge the incumbent's regime. Other, mainly religious, opposition groups were deliberately kept away from the king and hence outside the system, banned from participation. This largely explains why the Islam-based opposition in Morocco became influential but never very powerful.

When king Hassan II died in 1999, his son, Mohammed VI, succeeded him. Although King

Mohammed VI rules Morocco less strictly than did his father, he is still an absolute ruler.

In addition to being the supreme political authority in Morocco, the king is also the supreme religious authority. The constitution acknowledges him as descendant of the prophet Muhammad and Commander of the Faithful (*amir al-mu'minin*). King Mohammed VI has emphasised that, in Islam, there are no intermediaries between God and the Quran'an and in the end, God will be the sole judge. He has said that no one should act as the king's conscience since that would be an insult to the Muslims²⁷. Uniting political and religious power in the king's person strengthens and legitimises his absolute position²⁸ and makes Morocco an Islamic state by definition. Islamist opposition groups have no grounds for arguing that Morocco should become an Islamic state, nor can they fight and use violence to Islamise Morocco. However, some groups argue that Islam is not practiced correctly in Morocco today; they invoke *Dawa*, the teaching of proper Islamic conduct, in their attempts to change this situation. Fear of overstepping the acceptable is not the only factor restraining violence in Morocco. For the most part, opposition groups have voluntarily rejected the use of violence. One reason is the unenviable example of Algeria and Tunisia. Public dialogue was preferable to the violence that rent these countries²⁹. Another factor is the stabilising impact of the Malikite school of Islam. It's Islamic jurisprudence is widely accepted in Morocco; the school's spirit pervades people's attitudes and actions. The Malekite school appeals to common utility and the common good; it's notion of *ijma'* (consensus) influences discourse in Morocco. *Ijma'* is one source of Islamic legislation. It is based on the principle

²⁴ CIA (2008).

²⁵ According to Lust-Okar, opposition groups include more than just political parties not allowed to participate in the government. She includes everyone who could possibly challenge the power of the king as part of the opposition.

²⁶ Lust-Okar (2005), p. 59, 80

²⁷ Adolf (2005), p. 103

²⁸ Zeghal (2005), p. 9

²⁹ Entelis (1997), p. 56

that the majority of the community of believers will never agree on error. This principle can provide firm ground for democratic thinking (referenda and majority vote)³⁰. This tendency towards consensus appears to be more prevalent in Morocco than in other Islamic countries.

Since its independence, Morocco has started to fall behind in the international ranking of some factors. Several socio-economical factors have led to a rise in poverty and an increase in the demand for jobs and housing while salaries and the standard of living fell sharply. One result is growing support in Morocco for radical Islamic extremism. When the government became aware of this in the early 1990's, it tried to improve socio-economic conditions in Morocco by allowing civil society to grow. Individuals and small groups were allowed to work for a better life. Today, Morocco has almost 40,000 NGOs³¹. Yet I think it important to stress the role of the king in this development. According to Ellen Lust-Okar, Moroccan opposition groups are well aware of the boundaries that the system

has set and they usually operate within these boundaries. During the interviews held in Morocco, the interviewees gave us the same message: the king sets the activists' agenda. When the king speaks, everyone listens, everyone nods in agreement; when the king says civil society should grow, it grows, whether it has a support base in society or not. Top-down creation of societal organisations means that many of these organisations seem to have a shallow to non-existent support base. That may be one reason why many NGOs wither. It also leaves us wondering just how many of the organisations in Driss Khrouz's list are well structured and operational NGOs. This may also explain why Moroccan civil society has been unable to implement structural changes and why the root causes of radical extremism have not been remedied. But the very size of civil society does offer opportunities for IKV Pax Christi to look for new partner organisations.

³⁰ Jilani (2006), p. 737-738

³¹ Khrouz (2008), p. 43

3. Becoming Acquainted with Activism in Morocco

To understand the role Islamic organisations play in Morocco's civil society, we need to have an idea of the many diverse types of Islamic organisations operating in this field. The WRR has drawn a useful diagram (see table 2) to help depict the similarities and differences between Islamic groups around the world. It can be used to sort out the organisations in Morocco and thus provide a coherent picture of Islamic activism in Morocco.

In its report, the council delineates four categories of Islamic activist movement: revolutionary, evolutionary, societal/daily life and spiritual/missionary. The first two are top-down and state-centered, the latter two society-centred and bottom-up.

I believe that the best place to start looking for Islamic organisations or individuals working for peace is in the societal category. However, the WRR-report states that political activist groups, organisations with an evolutionary orientation, can also have societal and revolutionary branches. Depending on political circumstances, organisations will use different strategies to accomplish their goals. As I will show, the borderlines separating the various categories of Islamic movement are permeable and not mutually exclusive³². Besides diversity, Islamic activism is also marked by their trading in revolutionary means evolutionary and more moderate methods.

		Goals	Targets	Probable development
Vertical, top-down	Revolutionary	To take over state power by opposing current system	State(s)	Confrontation
	Evolutionary	To control/influence the state by creating political parties or forming coalitions	Political field, legal system, social services, education	Accommodation
Horizontal, bottom-up	Societal	To use using private organisations, the media and networks to carve out a place for Islamic identity; these groups see Islam as cultural capital	Media, education, social and economical services and networks	Integration
	Missionary	To achieve religious self-awareness and internal purification	Mosques, education, religious communities	Isolation, parallel autonomous communities

Table 2: Orientations of Islamic Activist Movements³³

³² Idem, p. 96

³³ WRR (2006), p. 97.

3.1. Scholars and Ulama

To form a complete picture of peaceful activism we must also include the scholars and *ulama* (Islamic scholars, sg: *alim*) that have influenced the way people think about non-violence in Morocco. We need to include them in this report, because they, too, are working for peace and social justice in their own way.

Abbes Jirari

Dr. Abbes Jirari (*15 February 1937) was professor at the Faculty of Letters in Marrakesh, president of the Council of Ulama, and advisor to King Mohammed VI. His position as advisor to the king made it likely that his ideas on non-violence influenced the king's own views on this issue.

It is interesting to mention Jirari here because this Islamic scholar's faith has inspired him to work to help society solve the conflicts it faces today: friction between past and present, between independence and dependence and between religion and antagonistic counter-movements³⁴. Jirari is certain that truthfulness and openness toward one another are essential elements in resolving these conflicts. His work has brought him to meetings on Islamic Madahib (doctrines), Islamo-Christian dialogue and dialogue among the three monotheistic religions. Jirari's article on "L'Alternative de la Paix ou de la Guerre en Islam"³⁵ cites several Qur'anic verses to show that Islam calls for peace because Islam emphasises cooperation between people and between their societies. It also calls for dialogue with others because Islam seeks to end conflicts since these lead only to losses. This does not make Jirari a strict pacifist; he still thinks war can sometimes be necessary, but he sees war as a last resort and advocates strict rules of warfare based on Islam.

³⁴ <http://www.abbesjirari.com/english/edefault.htm> (viewed on 28/1/09)

³⁵ Jirari (2007).

Groupe Recherche Islamo-Chrétien (GRIC)

Groupe Recherche Islamo-Chrétien (GRIC) is a French research group for Christian-Islamic dialogue founded in 1901. Its work is grounded in the belief that God has revealed Himself in his Word, and that people should have confidence in their own religion while being open towards others. The organisation's members represent only themselves; they hold no religious or political mandate.

The organisation does not intend to suppress the differences between the two religions, or to merge Islam with Christianity. Rather, GRIC wants to engage in an open debate and to study faith. It aspires to increase understanding and cooperation between adherents of the two religious families by studying the practical and doctrinal problems that arise between them. The group hopes to contribute to the development of the societies in which it works by publishing the research results even though its work tends to be theological rather than activist.

GRIC operates primarily in France (the charters, the website and most of the onsets for dialogue come from France) but there are independent branches in Rabat, Beirut and Tunis. Because this organisation operates in Lebanon (another of IKV Pax Christi's fields) and Morocco, it may well be worth further consideration.

Each branch has its own section of GRIC's website on which to publish its research. The website contains little information on how the various national branches differ and interact. I was told that the group in Rabat is currently undergoing a difficult restructuring requiring attention to go to methodology and recruiting members rather than to new activities. That is why GRIC's Rabat branch was unable to respond to Israel's offensive in Gaza at the end of 2008. It did, however, issue press releases during the first and the second intifada.

UNESCO Chair for Culture of Peace

The United Nations (UNESCO) has established a Culture of Peace chair at Mohammed I University in Oujda. Professor El Arbi Mrabet held this chair initially. He has published quite a few articles on the chair's website. In "Dialogue entre les civilisations: de la tolérance aux droits", he said that interreligious or intercultural dialogue should stress (human) rights, because they put into practice the tolerant attitude that Islam describes³⁶. Professor Mrabet moved to Rabat after his term. His successor, professor Mohamed Ali Zerouali, has published fewer articles on the website. Inquiries in Oujda about the work of this chair showed that its current focus is more on law and human rights than on peacebuilding.

Jawdat Said

Although not a Moroccan, Syrian scholar Jawdat Said (*9 February 1931) should also be mentioned here. Like Abbes Jirari, Jawdat Said is a scholar whose Islamic faith prompts him to promote peace. The conflict between the Syrian government and the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1980s influenced his thinking.

Said's work has had a far-reaching impact throughout the Arab world. We were told that Jawdat Said's work and ideas were decisive in the MUR's (*Mouvement Unification et Réforme*) internal debate on non-violence in Morocco. After the Casablanca bombings in 2003, the MUR organised a series of congresses on how to temper the risk that violence would erupt among the state, Islamists and secularists. This was a decisive moment in which his party reaffirmed its commitment to non-violence grounded in Islam. Interesting as this topic is, not much additional information is available. When asked, Jawdat Said was not willing to speak on the subject. The Israeli offensive and the

negative atmosphere in the Arab world at that time may explain this.

3.2. Revolutionary Organisations

Islamic revolutionary organisations use a top-down strategy to change the system. They oppose the state system and attempt to gain control over it. While such organisations may theoretically be non-violent, in practice they are often jihadist because eventually they clash with authoritarian states³⁷.

Three Islamist organisations in Morocco espouse violence: Al Hijra wa at Takfir, the Salafiya al Jihadya and As Sirat al Moustaqin. The latter two were responsible for attacks in Casablanca. It is interesting to note that the very existence of such organisations in Morocco can indicate that Morocco is not a totalitarian state³⁸. Abdessamad Dialmy's article gives a very good description of these three jihadist organisations, explaining their ideologies and telling about the people involved in them. I refer readers interested in these organisations to this article. Since these organisations are not likely to become IKV Pax Christi partners we will not discuss them here.

Because the Islamic revolutionary organisations fall outside the description the Islamic peace movements that IKV Pax Christi is looking for, it makes little sense to examine secular revolutionary organisations in Morocco since they show even fewer similarities to the sought for Islamic peace movements.

3.3. Evolutionary Organisations

Like revolutionary organisations, evolutionary organisations also use a top-down strategy when trying to change the system. But rather than taking over the state, evolutionary organisations want to control or influence it from within. They often become political parties. Since their main interest is to acquiring political power by winning the next elections, they do not fit the description of

³⁶ Mrabet (2003?).

³⁷ WRR (2006), p. 96

³⁸ Dialmy (2005), p. 78.

those sought as potential IKV Pax Christi partners. Nevertheless, there are several good reasons to include them in this report. These will be described below.

3.3.1 Secular Evolutionary Organisations

Many Moroccan political parties have no explicit reference to Islam in their programme. The country has always had a broad spectrum of political parties. By definition, non-religious organisations have no explicit Islamic inspiration. Because their primary objective is to gain political power and not to work for peace or social justice it is only logical to exclude them from further study here. For those wishing to pursue this subject, a French language Wikipedia website³⁹ contains an extensive list of Moroccan political parties; Ellen Lust-Okar⁴⁰ offers information on major political forces in Morocco since the 1970s/1980s.

3.3.2. Religious Evolutionary Organisations

Alongside secular political parties are those that invoke Islam explicitly. Although being political parties disqualifies them from being potential IKV Pax Christi partners, I still think it worth while to mention them here because the topics they address impact on political debate, because the parties welcome discussion of their political statements with others, leading some Islamist political parties to take part in talks IKV Pax Christi has organised in Morocco, and because of their size. PJD is the second largest Islamic movement in Morocco making it impossible to disregard when surveying Islamic activism in Morocco.

Parti de la Justice et de Développement (PJD)

Morocco has no long tradition of Islamic political party participation in elections. The Islamist PJD is the largest opposition party in

Morocco; in the 2007 elections it won 46 of the 325 parliamentary seats, only six seats behind Istiqlal. PJD has its roots in the MPCD (*Mouvement Populaire Démocratique et Constitutionnel*), the first Islamic political party to participate in Moroccan elections. MPCD was fairly passive until members of the Chabiba Islamiya, the Youth Movement, revived it in 1998. That is when it changed its name to PJD.

MPCD's founder, Abdelkarim Al Khatib, had ties with the government. PJD is still known as a pro-monarchy party. That is one reason why it holds government authorisation, unlike Al Adl wa-I Ihsane (see section 3.4.2).

PJD's objective is ultimately to Islamise the country. It wants to do this legally by building institutions⁴¹. However, after the attacks in Casablanca the PJD became more pragmatic as is evident for its search for international legitimacy. An illustration of that is the PJD's work to explore modalities for the PJD to cooperate with European Christian-Democratic parties with whom it feels allied because of their shared religious inspiration. This pragmatism, the party's acceptance of self-criticism, Morocco's political pluralism and the people's fear of violent outbursts are all reasons why the violence in Morocco has not escalated.

Other Islamic Political Parties

Although the PJD is the largest and best-known Islamist political party in Morocco, it is certainly not the only one. Others are al-Haraka min ajl al Ouma and Al-Badil al-Hadari. The latter is currently banned because its secretary-general and number two, Mustapha Moâtassim and Mohamed El Amine Ragala, were accused of being part of a terrorist network centred on the Moroccan-born Belgian double agent Abdelkader Belliraj. In Morocco we spoke with Hassan Alaoui, Al-Badil al-Hadari's (the Civilised Alternative's) number three because the party took part in the talks IKV Pax Christi facilitated in Morocco. Alaoui said he wanted real dialogue because

³⁹http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_des_partis_politiques_marocains (viewed on 27/01/2009)

⁴⁰ Lust-Okar (2005), pp.178-186

⁴¹ Zeghal (2005), p. 216.

tolerance and understanding are important in Islam; but he also said that he was afraid that discrimination against Islamists in the world could hinder this. The party also emphasises dialogue in several articles on its website (www.albadilalhadari.com).

During our conversation, Alaoui spoke less positively about peacemaking than about dialogue. He emphasised the difference between peace and justice. He always linked peace to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the feeling that Palestinians are supposed to give up everything to create peace, while Israel must make few compromises.

3.4. Societal Organisations

Societal organisations aim to change (or, in the case of Islamic societal organisations: Islamise) society from below by mobilising the communities affected by the issues that concern them⁴². As I said, civil society is very active in Morocco, yet many of civil society actors work for implicit secular motives. *Laïcité* (the idea that religious authorities should not pontificate on political issues and political authorities should not meddle in religious matters) is part of Morocco's French colonial heritage. Islam-inspired CSOs have long been active in the Arab world. However, according to Francesco Cavatorta, many secular writers wrongfully refused to consider them part of civil society because Islam is part of tradition, and because these writers thought faith-based society was incompatible with pluralist democracy⁴³.

3.4.1 Secular Societal Organisations

Some secular organisations in Morocco are said to work explicitly for peace, but they are hard to find. Of the 58 Moroccan CSOs in ECOSOC's database, none claims to be working for peace (database viewed on 7 January 2009). Only one (a labour organisation) calls itself Islamic. The database of Moroccan development organisations found at www.tanmia.ma lists 4,440

organisations; only 13 say working for peace is one of their tasks (none calls itself Islamic) (viewed on 7 January 2009). The Moroccan organisation that do include working for peace among their tasks are listed further on.

UN Resolution E/1997/97

In 1997 the United Nations adopted resolution A/RES/52/13, in which it called for an 'International Decade for the Culture of Peace⁴⁴ and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001–2010)'. This has sparked numerous projects to promote peace. Were we not be approaching the end of this decade, it might have been interesting for IKV Pax Christi to work with such organisations even though they lack explicit religious motivation. In Morocco King Mohammed VI launched the International Year for a Culture of Peace that marked the start of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace with a ceremony and speech; the minister for higher education announced a national program. There were also several non-recurrent activities: a forum, a musical competition and an awareness campaign⁴⁵.

Probably because the king proclaimed this decade, some NGOs were founded to implement the UN's resolution. France set up an international coordinating group for this decade and in September 2007 the Coordination Marocaine pour la Décennie Internationale (CMDI) joined it. The CMDI, based in the Oujda, numbered 14 Moroccan

⁴⁴ According to UN Resolutions A/RES/52/13, a Culture of Peace "consists of values, attitudes and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society". See: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N98/760/15/PDF/N9876015.pdf?OpenElement> (viewed 5/2/2009) or <http://www.un-documents.net/a52r13.htm>

⁴⁵ International Year for the Culture of Peace website: http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_tb_national_articles.asp?Pays=MOR (viewed on 27/01/2009)

⁴² WRR (2006), p. 97

⁴³ Cavatorta (2006), pp. 207, 212

CSOs⁴⁶. Although the organisation was still represented at an international conference on the culture of peace and non-violence in May 2008⁴⁷, CMDI appears to be defunct at the moment; no one updates its website, no one answers my e-mails.

Association Orientale pour la Promotion d'une Culture de Paix et Non Violence (AOCP)

Many CMDI member associations seem to have been working for many other issues than peace (such as handicapped care, youth or environment), but the Association Orientale pour la Promotion d'une Culture de Paix et Non Violence (AOCP) appeared to be a potential peace movement. Its ultimate goal is a society without violence. This is not restricted to mere physical violence, but includes economical, political, sexual, ideological and ecological violence. Unfortunately, this organisation too appears defunct. Although its secretary-general Abdellah Lahsaini did answer one request for information, its website lists no activities more recent than January 2007. Gijsbert van Ijtersen-Scholte reported hearing on a field trip in Oujda that the organisation no longer exists.

Other Peace Organisations

Besides organisations founded after UN Resolution A/RES/52/13, there are a few other organisations in Morocco working explicitly for peace.

One of them is the Association Marocaine pour l'École Instrument de Paix (AMEIP) (founded on 29 December 2002). Its goals were to teach children about human rights and peace and, according to its website, it organised interesting activities to accomplish this goal. However, it seems to have ceased operating; the most recent activities

mentioned on its website date from 2006; e-mail to the address found there bounces. The name of another, the Association Paix pour l' Environnement (APE) indicates that it, too, works for peace. Its stated aim is to strengthen the principles and ethics of peace and the protection of the environment. I have not been able to find any other information about than that found at www.tanmia.ma.

Besides these, many secular organisations work for social justice without explicitly targeting peace. According to Driss Khrouz,⁴⁸ the strongest links in the chain are the NGOs that campaign for human rights and fairer treatment for women. However, www.tanmia.ma lists literally hundreds of such organisations. Investigating all of them to determine whether their endeavours overlap with IKV Pax Christi's is well beyond the scope of this study.

3.4.2 Religious Societal Organisations

As noted above Islamic peace movements will most probably be found in Islamic societal organisations section of the WRR's model. The only problem is that Morocco does not seem to have what we would think of as an Islamic peace movement. The closest available are organisations that promote a theme that we would normally consider within the scope of a peace movements activity: non-violence, human rights, women's emancipation. In what follows I will present one example of each starting with *Al Adl wa-I Ihsane*, the largest Islamic movement in Morocco, then moving on to an Islamic human rights organisation (*Montada al-Karama*) and an Islamic women's organisation (GIERFI). These organisations can be thought of as working for peace in a broad sense as well as being the strongest links in the chain of NGOs.

Al Adl wa-I Ihsane

One of the most prominent Islamic organisations in Morocco is *Al Adl wa-I Ihsane*, meaning movement for spirituality and justice.

⁴⁶ ICD (2007), p.2.

⁴⁷ See:

<http://www.decennie.org/documents/Salon3/en/workshops.html>

⁴⁸ Khrouz (2008), p. 43

This organisation is not a peace movement, but it parallels what we are looking for. It is trying to expand into other countries, but for now operates mainly in Morocco. Al-Adl wa-Ihsane is more a movement than an NGO. It is a Sufi organisation that is organised as such: strictly and pyramidal. Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine (*1928) has headed the movement ever since he founded it in September 1987⁴⁹.

Like the King, Abdelassalam Yassine is a descendant of the prophet Mohammed and so can legitimately claim the title Commander of the Faithful. In 1974, Yassine used his authority as a spiritual leader to defy the king in a now famous open letter to the king' entitled *L'Islam ou le deluge*).

According to members of Al-Adl wa-Ihsane, the government is attempting to suppress the movement, and it refuses in any case to grant it official recognition, as a result of its challenging the king's authority. Members also report that because of the organisation's size, the government's opposition to Al-Adl wa-Ihsane not overt and any attempt to destroy it would be doomed to failure. Because it is illegal to be a member of this movement, there is no way of knowing the exact number of members; estimates vary from 50,000 to several million. Yet by all accounts it is the largest Islamist movement in the country⁵⁰.

During our conversations, it was clear that the organisation's members did all they could to give us a positive image of the movement. They stressed that the movement operated as if recognised and that its members tried to maintain a stable relationship with the government stable by never doing anything that could spark a violent conflict with it. The movement wants to be "la vraie stabilisation aux Maroc". Its members claim to be very much in favour of peace and pacifism. They frequently and emphatically stressed its non-violent behaviour. Their struggle for legitimacy seems to have a heavy impact on their perception of peace.

⁴⁹ Tozy (2009), pp. 198-201

⁵⁰ Cavatorta (2006), p. 213

The members of Al-Adl wa-Ihsane told us that the movement has three spearheads. However, the chosen spearheads seem grounded more in a desire to please IKV Pax Christi rather than in the organisation articles of association.

- 1) Dialogue. Al-Adl wa-Ihsane seeks dialogue with people whose lives reflect an awareness that they are God's creatures and who anticipate the day of the Lord's coming. Because Qur'an teaches that Christianity is very close to Islam and because of the roles that peace and Jesus play in Islam, the movement is open to interfaith dialogue with Christian movements. We were told during a conversation that it is important to keep talking "contre la misère dans la monde". Our informants could envisage situations where the movement would be willing to work with Christians or with Christian organisations, but noted that they would not be willing to speak with people who purpose was to evangelise.
- 2) Rights. Al-Adl wa-Ihsane is aware that human rights are are being violated in many parts of the world. Its members accept the idea of human rights, although they have some issues with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These issues are probably related to the idea that the secular terms in which this declaration is stated fail to take into account Islamic traditions and practices, such as Islamic perspectives on law. Still, Al-Adl wa-Ihsane is willing to discuss these points with others.
- 3) A just system throughout the world. This system would be economically, politically and socially just; it is very close to what we think of as world peace. As a Sufi-movement, Al-Adl wa-Ihsane aims to deepen Muslims' perception. Unlike the rhetoric one might expect from Islamist organisations, Arsalane was modest about the changes that an Islamic movements, even a large one like Al Adl wa-Ihsane, can bring about.

Montada al-Karama

Montada al-Karama pour les Droits Humain is an Islamic human rights organisation. Its founder was Moroccan lawyer Abdeltif Hatimy. Its members tend to be upper-middle-class Moroccan jurists. IKV has been in touch with this organisation for several years. Its membership makes this an important organisation. For example, the imprisoned number two of al-Badil al-Hadari, Mohamed El Amine Ragala (see above 3.3.2), is also a member of Montada al-Karama, which is providing aid for him and others suspected of involvement in Abdelkader Belliraj's network.

Montada al-Karama bases its human rights work on the Quran and on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The first is considered divine and hence ultimately just. The UDHR derives its legitimacy as guide from being a body of principles that humans have agreed on.

With these as foundation, Montada al-Karama promotes human rights in Morocco, with special regard for the rights of political prisoners. The organisation draws attention to and decries torture and tries to obtain respect for political prisoners right to a fair trial. Its main instruments are lobbying, organising protests and providing legal advice to those who need it. On occasion it also organises seminars. Montada al-Karama and IKV Pax Christi plan to co-organise soon a seminar for Islamic organisations on recognising and dealing with radical tendencies.

Groupe International d'Étude et de Réflexion sur la femme en Islam (GIERFI)

GIERFI (*Groupe International d'Étude et de Réflexion sur la femme en Islam*) is a think tank or consultancy network designed to provide a place where people can meet, study, communicate and reflect on women's place in Islam. Its goal is to provide women with renewed intellectual, theological and judicial awareness. The objective is to end male-dominated (religious) thinking so that Muslim

women can become actors of change in their societies. To do this, GIERFI wants to educate, inform and raise the Muslim women's awareness of their rights. GIERFI is eager: it is making plans and took the time and expended the effort to respond to our requests for information. Right now GIERFI is working with a Moroccan religious institution to compile an *Encyclopédie sur la femme et l'Islam* to review and reform incorrectly interpreted Islamic terminology, which they blame for discrimination against women. GIERFI will also be working on a *Women's Rights Workshop* until October 2009. It will offer women a forum to debate on Islamic jurisprudence.

For a presentation on the organisation's vision please consult its website⁵¹. Its fundamental principles are spirituality (Islam), solidarity, post-colonialism and humanism. GIERFI believes Islamic views and humanistic views are complementary, not conflicting because they both oppose injustice and advance human rights. GIERFI is also open to interfaith dialogue because it believes that religious convictions can bring people together allowing them to work for peace and justice.

The organisation's plans sound interesting, but it is important to be aware that it is very young (founded October 2008). It still has to prove itself. However, its founder, Asma Lamrabet, has many years of experience which hold promise.

GIERFI is a Moroccan organisation that operates internationally. Its executive office has three founding members and five representatives (one each for Canada, Belgium, France, Spain and Morocco). Each country is said to have a considerable number of active members and supporters.

3.5. Missionary Organisations

Missionary or spiritual Islamic organisations focus more on the individual than on society.

⁵¹ <http://gierfi.wordpress.com> (viewed on January 14 2009)

They see inner change and spirituality as the keys to social change. According to the WRR-report these activists are “*exponents of the increasing fragmentation of the authority of the traditional ulama, who have lost credibility and because of their close ties with the authoritarian state and who compete with self declared religious leaders, sufi movements and religiously inspired intellectuals*”⁵²

Jama'at at-Tabligh wa-d-Da'wa and Sidi Hamza's sufi movement are Moroccan examples.

The movement built around Sheikh Sidi Hamza al Qadiri al Boutchich (*1922) mainly preaches tolerance and love and thus non-violence. Steven Adolf says that Sidi Hamza's wisdom is mainly esoteric, it relates to the obtrusive tirades of the fundamentalists as a poem to a threatening letter”⁵³. The movement differs from al-Adl wa-l Ihsane by being a purely spiritual movement. It is not interested in worldly power or influence or in forms of social activism, but prefers to concentrate on the spiritual. Sidi Hamza is quoted as saying, “Conflicts between various ethnic and religious communities are linked to the past and one should not be concerned with these”⁵⁴.

The Islamic movement Jama'at at-Tabligh wa-d-Da'wa was founded in the 1940s in India in response to Mawdudi's Jama'a al-Islamiya. It is a low-threshold organisation that focuses on how to live daily life the right (Islamic) way rather than on complex and abstract theological problems. The transformation individuals into pious Muslims is supposed to lead to the transformation of society. Conversion or mission (*da'wa*) is essential for reaching the greatest possible audience; all the groups within the movement are obliged to proselytise. Travelling Pakistanis introduced

the movement into Morocco in the 1960s where it was officially established in 1975. It is mentioned here because of its adherents' preference for non-violence. They are reputed to meet aggression with clemency⁵⁵.

However, because Jama'at at-Tabligh wa-d-Da'wa is preoccupied with internal, personal issues and has little interest in social questions its primary objectives do not overlap with IKV Pax Christi's.

The model I have used to classify Islamic organisations could give the impression that revolutionary and missionary organisations clashed. This is not quite true. Actually, they are ideologically close, focusing on returning to the fundamentals of Islam. One illustration is that a perpetrator of the 2003 Casablanca attacks had been a member of Jama'at at-Tabligh wa-d-Da'wa before joining Salafiya al Jihadya⁵⁶. These organisations differ mainly from Islamist organisations in that they do not define Islam in terms of state and law⁵⁷.

Like the revolutionary organisations, their missionary counterparts are far from having the profile required of an Islamic peace movement. Since secular missionary organisations (e.g. based on Marxism) would be even further from the profile of a prospective partner, this study does not take them into consideration.

⁵² Piscatori, 2000; “*Islam, Islamists and the Electoral Principle in the Middle East*”, Leiden, ISIM, pp. 4, In: WRR, 2006, p. 96

⁵³ Adolf (2005), p. 221.

⁵⁴ Sidi Hamza. See also <http://www.tariqa.org/qadiriya/texts/sayings.html> (viewed 26 January 2009)

⁵⁵ Tozy (2009), pp. 259-276.

⁵⁶ Dialmy (2008), p. 75.

⁵⁷ Idem, p. 68

4. Conclusions

This report is an attempt to discover whether there are organisations in Morocco that fit the profile of an Islamic peace movement. I sought first to determine what types of activism are present in Morocco and then to determine in what part of this range an organisation with the profile of an Islamic peace movements would most likely be found. To do this I have tried to identify Islamic and secular activists (including scholars and ulama) in Morocco. I used a classification based on WRR model shown in table 2.

Table 3 contains a summary of the outcome. Again, it does not provide a full overview of all the groups and individuals working for peace and social justice in Morocco and it is not intended to be representative of the organisations in Morocco.

Yet this classification does provide interesting information. According to the model Islamic

peace movements were expected to be found among religious societal peace movements; but it seems there are no such organisations. The model also shows that some organisations come close to the profile of an Islamic peace movement. Examples are Islamic organisations working for peace with political goals, with no political goals, or with another focus. There are also many secular organisations, some working explicitly for peace. Finally, some Moroccan religious and secular scholars also work for peace. Rachid Toutouh also mentioned this when he said that there is a lot of talk about peace in Morocco, but it is not part of the organisation's identity; many organisations claim to work for peace, but there are no peace organisations. Given this, the present study draws the following conclusions.

	Secular	Religious
Revolutionary	<i>Not studied/not applicable</i>	<i>Not applicable</i>
Evolutionary	<i>Not studied/not applicable</i>	PJD
Societal	<i>Number beyond scope of study</i>	Al Adl wa-I Ihsane
• Peace movements	CMDI, AOCP, AMEIP, APE	<i>Not found</i>
• Human rights movements	<i>Number beyond scope of study</i>	Montada al-Karama
• Women's organisations	<i>Number beyond scope of study</i>	GIERFI
Missionary	<i>Not studied/not applicable</i>	Sidi Hamza, Jama'at at-Tabligh wa-d-Da'wa
Scholars	UNESCO Chair	Abbes Jirari, GRIC

Table 3: Groups or individuals working for peace and/or social justice

Methodology

A desk-study severely restricts possible outcomes. It is difficult to trace potential partners by searching the internet or by reading (academic) literature. There is a dearth of literature on this topic. Societal activists often had poorly built and haphazardly updated websites. Furthermore, it was often difficult to get in contact with the organisations and actors that I could find. E-mail addresses were often out of date and e-mails that did reach the intended recipient often went unanswered. Some answers that did arrive showed that the questions were not always understood.

Difficulty in contacting people hindered access to in-depth information on organisations' and individuals' understanding of peace and on their Islamic inspiration.

Low level of institutionalisation

Even without the methodological problems, it would still be difficult to identify Islamic peace-movements in Morocco because they are often not institutionalised. Muslim actors generally have little experience with (stable) institutions and formally constituted bodies and they have not set up many organisations. This is not only the case in Morocco: research on Muslim peacebuilding actors in sub-Saharan Africa and in the Balkan have reached the same conclusion⁵⁸ and research on Islamic peace movements in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan also found few institutionalised peace building initiatives⁵⁹. According to Bouta, "although social services, community assistance, and charitable work have been integral to Islamic communities ... [m]ost of the time, the local imam or sheikh, or other religious leaders and elders, undertake peacebuilding activities in their personal capacity"⁶⁰.

This study initially assumed that peacebuilders in the Islamic world would be found among

organisations and individuals. I still agree with Bouta that this could theoretically be true, but given the restrictions innate to a desk-study, it has been difficult to find individuals doing Islam-inspired peace work; individuals do not usually have websites, those I have found have not answered my e-mails.

Scope of civil society

Although few Moroccan societal organisations are highly institutionalised, many vibrant NGOs populate Morocco's civil society. Among them are potential candidates for IKV Pax Christi partnership. We should not forget that not all activists are able to work as they would like because the king's rule largely shapes the field in which Moroccan civil society is willing and able to work.

Large Muslim population

The absence of Islamic peace movements in Morocco could stem from practically all Moroccans being Muslims. Even non-practicing Muslims will lay claim to a Muslim identity. So it is hardly necessary to start an organisation for peace or social justice explicitly on Islamic grounds. Someone wanting to work on social issues will join or start a secular NGO do charitable Islamic work. Anyone wanting to exert Islam-inspired political influence will usually join PJD or Al-Adl wa-Ihsane, since this inspiration is usually based on fundamentalist views.

Open for dialogue and cooperation

The organisations that I did manage to contact were generally very kind and open. During interviews in Morocco and in the e-mails I received, people showed interest in the study's objective. They were willing to offer what help they could. They seemed to think that peace work could be a foundation for working with IKV Pax Christi.

Open for Christian organisations

Interviews in Morocco indicated that IKV Pax Christi's Christian roots were an asset in working with Islamist organisations. Some

⁵⁸ Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer (2005) p. 44.

⁵⁹ Petrih (2009), p.9.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

interviewees were open to dialogue especially because the Qur'an calls Christians a people of the book who also believe in one God. This, and IKV Pax Christi's track record in facilitating dialogue with Islamists could open the way to cooperation.

Search for recognition and support

Finally, Islamist activists crave recognition. Lacking legitimacy from Moroccan government and encountering worldwide post 9/11 fear of Islamic activism, PJD, Al-Badil al-

Hadari, Al Adl wa-I Ihsane and similar organisations welcome Western organisations seeking dialogue and contact with them. They feel that they need to prove that they are not dangerous terrorist groups even though some of their members are being arrested. They want a chance to prove they are pious activists working non-violently to improve people and society by their faith. Apart from that, the possibility of receiving financial support from a Western organisation is likely to stimulate a warm welcome.



5. Recommendations

This study attempted to document Islamic peace movements in Morocco systematically to determine whether any of them had a profile that would make them potential candidate partners for IKV Pax Christi.

Do on-site research in Morocco

My first recommendation would be to conduct this type of research on site in the future. Desk research has severe limitations because it is difficult to establish deep contacts by e-mail. The field trip to Morocco showed that personal contact is very important for obtaining information on Islamic activism in the North Africa. Part of this is a cultural issue: face-to-face meeting and personal relationships are important in Arab culture. The quality of this type of research depends for a large part on the quality of the informants on the situation in Morocco; (academic) literature or online sources cannot provide such information. We recommend speaking to scholars like Abbes Jirari although it would be even better to contact societal organisations in Morocco as well. This would provide the double advantage of ground-level information on motivation and experience alongside academic reflection. More ground-level information on activities and motives would help in determining which of the World Bank's functions best describe an organisation's operations. Because this study involved classification rather than in-depth analysis I did not treat these functions in detail. However, they should certainly be taken into account when planning IKV Pax Christi's future activities.

Continue human rights work in Morocco

There are many human rights NGOs in Morocco. My experience thus far has been that such NGOs are more than happy to get in touch with IKV Pax Christi. One major reason is the Pax Christi International submitted an intervention to the UN Human Rights Council in June 2008 expressing its concern about and objections against the torrent of arrests of

Islamic activists in Morocco after the 2003 attacks in Casablanca; many non-violent Islamic activists were caught in this dragnet. IKV Pax Christi's demonstrable history of working on human rights made members of *L'instance des Droits des Hommes*, Al Adl Wal Ihsane's human rights movement, most willing to provide information on human rights abuses against the twelve members of Al Adl wa-l Ihsane who have been held in prison for 17 years.

Despite pessimistic claims that Islamists are only concerned about human rights when it suits them, there is enough common ground between Islamists and IKV Pax Christi to permit work on improving respect for human rights in Morocco; I think that IKV Pax Christi could make use of this.

Explore the role of women's organisations in projects in Morocco

There are several reasons for recommending that IKV Pax Christi include women's organisations in future projects and explore opportunities for creating partnerships with such organisations in Morocco. One reason is that my contacts with GIERFI (the only women's organisation included in this study) were very positive. It responded to my mails quickly and at length. Later, I also received a letter from the *Association Nationale Al Hidn*, a women's organisation that received a forwarded copy of our e-mail to GIERFI and that was enthusiastic about joining forces. (Since this organisation focuses on family issues rather than peace, it does not have the profile for a partner in peace projects.) This shows a desire for cooperation. A second reason to explore opportunities for partnerships with women's organisations is the great number of secular and religious women's organisations in Morocco. The large field increases the chance of finding some with the right profile. It was beyond the scope of this study to explore how women's organisations can contribute to peacebuilding, although their ability to articulate the

women's concerns, to draw public attention to women's issues and to strengthen links between women and society are avenues worth examining. The functions of their work seem to coincide with those IKV Pax Christi has selected from World Bank's list. Finally, there is a basis within IKV Pax Christi for cooperating with women's organisations. It would link up with research being done for IKV Pax Christi on the role of women's organisations in the Balkan, the Caucasus and Iraq. IKV Pax Christi has engaged an advisor on gender issues, who will start working in March. This is another indication of the organisation's interest in working with women's organisations.

Define peace

Interviews with Moroccans showed that it is very important for Moroccans to know what IKV Pax Christi means by peace. Peace is a noble goal, one of the most important concepts in Islam, but there are different ideas on what peace is.

There is a difference between talking about peace and accepting it as part of one's identity. Mohammed Cheppih believes it is also important to distinguish between internal conflicts and external conflicts. He said that organisations in Islamic countries often have a non-violent attitude towards their state and the conflicts within this state. This is consistent with my findings: evolutionary, societal and missionary activists have many non-violent principles; civil society actors are not willing to condone violence in Morocco. However, these actors do not necessarily display the same peaceful attitude toward external conflicts. Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is often seen as surrendering to demands coming from Israel and the US. The activists mentioned in this report have reported that events in Israel and the Palestinian territories have a heavy impact on their work. Interviewees often asked about IKV Pax Christi's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is important that IKV Pax Christi's position on the conflict, its

relation to the Arab world and what it means by peace should be unambiguous.

Respect people's fear of Islamist organisations

The final recommendation is to respect people's fear of Islamist organisations. The reason for ordering this study was that IKV Pax Christi has come to realise that it should talk with Islamists, and that it is advisable to cooperate in Islamic activists. I fully agree with this, but I think that it is also important to be aware that many people are suspicious of what they think of as Islamic activists' hidden agenda and lack of tolerance. For example, during the interviews in Morocco, secular Moroccan informants expressed their concern over what Islamist political parties might do after coming to power. They were afraid that Islamists would want to turn Morocco into an Islamised state. Several Dutch intellectuals share this view: they feared that al-Adl wa-l Ihsane will not show secularists the same tolerance that secular organisations are expected to show it. These fears arise largely from the Islamists' ambiguity on several sensitive, but politically crucial, issues. The fears are rooted in the organisations' dual character (they are religious and political and so can be politically flexible while remaining religiously rigid), in the rise of a new generation of activists and in the contradictions in the socio-economic context within which these organisations operate⁶¹.

I think people's fears of such organisations should be acknowledged when setting IKV Pax Christi's policy and engaging in a fair and open dialogue. There are several ways to deal with this fear, Nathan Brown explained one of the most interesting⁶². He identified six gray zones. These are crucial and sensitive issues that impact how Muslims think about democracy, human rights and creating an Islamic state. These six gray zones are: Islamic

⁶¹ Brown, Hamzawy and Ottaway (2006), p. 6-7

⁶² Idem, p. 8-17

law, the use of violence, political pluralism, civil and political rights, women's rights and the place of religious minorities. It is often not certain what position the Islamist groups take on them, but this is important to know. Since IKV Pax Christi's initial assumption was to develop cooperation with Islamic activists, it can use the way any given Islamic group thinks about these six points to decide on whether

this group can reasonably develop a partnership with IKV Pax Christi. I would like to emphasise that these ambiguities should not be used to quantify Islamic activism: when problems arise with these issues it would be unfair to disregard to people's fears and convictions because a calculated mean determined that all by all an organisation was not that bad.



Appendix I List of the interviews

The interviewees are listed in alphabetical order.

- Adolf, Stephen, author of *Marokko achter de Schermen – De Wedloop voor een Betere Toekomst*, (by telephone), January 20 2009
- Aghnaj, Mohammed, lawyer and member of Al Adl wa-I Ihsane's human rights committee, Rabat, November 29 2008
- Arsalane, Fatallah, spokesperson for Al-Adl wa-I Ihsane, Rabat, November 30 2008
- Alaouin, Hassan El Hasni, member of Al Badil al Hadari's board, Rabat, November 28 2008
- Bahroui, Ghizlain, member of the Al-Adl wa-I Ihsane's political bureau, Rabat, November 28, 2009
- Cheppih, Mohammed, founder of the Poldermoskee, Amsterdam, January 29 2009
- De Mas, Paolo, former director of the Dutch Institute in Morocco (NIMAR), (by telephone), January 21 2009
- Hamieddine, Abdelali, member of Montada al-Karama's board, Rabat, November 29 2008
- Khalfi, Mustapha, editor of *At-Tajdid* newspaper, Rabat, November 30 2008
- Monjib, Maâti, Coordinator of MECA, professor at Rabat University, Rabat, November 27 2008
- Qsiyer, Faouzi, coordinator for internationalisation at the academy of Oujda, Rabat, November 29 2008
- Temara, Salmi, sociologist at the University of Kenitra and member of Al Adl wa-I Ihsane's human rights committee, Rabat, November 29 2008
- Toutouh, Rachid, researcher, Rabat, November 29 2008
- Yassine, Nadia, daughter of Al-Adl wa-I Ihsane's leader, Rabat, November 28 2009

Appendix II List of Abbreviations

AMEIP	Association Marocaine pour l'École Instrument de Paix
AOCP	Association Orientale pour la Promotion d'une Culture de Paix et Non-violence
APE	Association Paix pour l' Environnement
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CDA	Dutch Christian-Democrat Party
CDAWI	Research Institute of the Dutch Christian-Democrat Party
CES	Centre for European Studies
CMDI	Coordination Marocaine pour la Décennie Internationale
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GIERFI	Groupe International d'Étude et de Réflexion sur la femme en Islam
GRIC	Groupe Recherche Islamo-Chrétien
ICD	International Coalition for the Decade
ICG	International Crisis Group
IKV	Interchurch Peace Council
ISIM	International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World
MEA	Middle East and Asia
MECA	Middle East Citizens Assembly
MENA	Middle East/North Africa
MPCD	Mouvement Populaire Démocratique et Constitutionnel
MUR	Mouvement Unification et Réforme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PJD	Parti de la Justice et de Développement
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WRR	Dutch Advisory Council on Government Policy

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