Country: Morocco

Years: 1956-1957

Head of government: M'barek Bekkai

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies leader's party as independent. CHISOLS identifies head of government's party as none. Zartman (1985) notes: "The first government constituted on December 7, 1955, had only an Istagli minority under the presidency of an independent 'king's man,' Mbarek Lahbil Bekkai." Alport (1961: 207) writes, "Another political grouping that is slowly spreading, the Berber Mouvement Populaire led by Mahjoub Ahardane and Dr. Khatib . . . had the support of the late Minister of the Interior Mbarek Bakkai, himself a Berber." The American Jewish Year Book (1960: 322) writes, "Other active political groups included. . . the Popular movement headed by Abd al-Khatib, with former premier Si Bekkai as its honorary president." The Mouvement Populaire is a member of the liberal organization Liberal International. Ennaji (2014: 99) writes, "By the 1980s, Berber nationalist feelings were not embodied by any political party except for the Popular Movement (Al haraka ashaabiya), which is a conservative liberal party established in 1957 by the Berber charismatic leader Mahjoubi Aherdan. Although the party did not explicitly refer to itself as a Berber party, it sympathized with the Berber cause by identifying itself as representing the rural populations of Morocco. The political left equated Berber demands with the Popular Movement Party, which according to socialist and nationalist parties, is a mere reaction of traditional rural elites to modernity and to an increasingly urbanized state. . . the party was divided in 1993 into Popular Movement Party and National Popular Movement Party, in 2004 the party reunited again." Banks et al. (2006) confirm that the Popular Movement was not founded until 1958: "Organized in 1958 as a monarchist party of the Berber mountaineers, the MP [Mouvement Populaire] was a major participant in government coalitions of the early 1960s." The Handbook continues that MP was an "opposition party" a part of the National Entente: "The National Entente, also known as the Wifaq (agreement) Bloc, initially comprised of five center-right parties... The UC, MP, PND and RNI". Clement (1986) notes of Bekkai and Moroccan political economy of the time that "Morocco has always had an official commitment to capitalism and a clear policy of promoting capital accumulation in local hands" and specifically, "when independence came in 1955... European businessmen departed... [and] Moroccans bought most of their enterprises at fire-sale prices." He continues "some of the first purchases were local notables who already owned substantial land in the area, like the Nejjai, Bekkai... families". In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center" (.428) in 1977. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Popular Movement (PM) as 3.3.

Years: 1958-1959

Head of government: Abdallah Ibrahim

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government ideology as centrist. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Independence Party (Istiglal). CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Laskier (1976) identifies Ibrahim's party as Istiqlal in 1958: "[In] 1958, the leftwing of the Istiqlal formed a new government, headed by Abdallah Ibrahim." Nelson (1978) identifies Istiqlal as left: "The party [Istiglal] expounded a program of Islamic socialism" and "The four opposition parties included the Istiglal party on the center, or perhaps center-left." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Istiqlal Party (PI) as 4.3. However, Nelson (1978) notes that Istiglal disbanded in 1959 and Ibrahim became the leader of a new party, UNFP: "The 1963 arrests of UNFP members and subsequent restrictions on party activities, coupled with party leader Abdullah Ibrahim's continuing policy of boycotting elections and referenda, greatly weakened the organization." Nelson (1978) states UNFP was an extension of Istiqlal and that its ideology was leftist: "Despite the UNFP's sometimes abrasive Marxist rhetoric, it shared common goals with Istiqlal." Nelson (1978) identifies UNFP as left: "The four opposition parties included... on the left... the National Union of Popular Forces (Union Nationale des Forces Populaires—UNFP)." The centrist Democrat International (2020) identifies Istiglal as one of its members. The rightist International Democrat Union (2020) identifies Istiqlal as one of its members.

Years: 1960

Head of government: Muhammad V

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020) identify Muhammad V instead of Abdallah Ibrahim on December 31, 1960. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies leader party as none.

Perspective monde does not identify leader's party.

Years: 1961-1962

Head of government: Hassan II

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS identifies head of government's as none. Ashford (1961) identifies Hassan II's party as non-party: "The King [Hassan II] decided to remove Ibrahim a week before elections and to institute a non-party Council of Government under his personal direction." Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. Manzano (2017: 108) writes

"Yet, regarding the ideology of the heads, both monarchs, Hassan II and his son Muhammad VI, have clearly sustained a conservative ideology." Perspective monde does not identify leader's party. Seddon (1999) notes that "In the 1990s, the king, who has ruled for 37 years, has attempted to liberalize Morocco... call[ing] new elections for November and December 1997" which led to a "center-left government that took over in March 1998". Seddon (1999) also notes "beginning in December 1989, Morocco dropped its state-centrist economics policy in favor of privatization. Now the country has begun to call for more reliance on private entrepreneurship and investment as tools for future economic growth."

Years: 1963-1964

Head of government: Ahmed Bahnini

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as "Front for the Defense of Constitutional Institutions-Social and Democratic Party". World Statesmen (2020) identifies Bahnini's party as FDCI. World Statesmen (2020) notes that FDIC stands for "Front for Defense of Constitutional Institutions" saying this party "comprising MP, PSD, Constitutional Democratic Party, monarchist, 1963-1965)." Nelson (1978) identifies Bahnini as a member of the Parti Socialiste Démocratique (PSD): "In 1964, Hassan reorganized the government with Ahmed Bahnini, head of the Democratic Socialist Party, as prime minister." Banks et al. (2006) confirm Bahnini's party ID as PSD during his tenure noting: "In the Spring of 1965 the King sought to form a new government from among the FDIC coalition, the diversity of ambitions and interests within it as well as within its component parties, the MP and PSD rendered each too divided... On June 3rd, Premier Bahnini... resigned from the PSD." Nyrop (1972) notes of the PSD that "the party's name, however, was a misnomer for it was not, in fact, socialist", and continues that "The underlying motive for the formation of the new party [PSD] was not clear, but many supposed that Guedira, sensing a loss of control for the FDIC, re-formed his own group to attain closer control... it was clear from the start that the new group intended to be a party of carious unaffiliated politicians with extensive connections in the executive and legislative branches, but little or no mass base." They continue "As the leftists were quick to point out, the meaning of the party label "socialist" had little to do with state intervention in the economy, because PSD leader Reda Guedira was one of Morocco's most consistent exponents of private enterprise economics." Perspective monde identifies head of government ideology as "centrist".

Years: 1965-1966

Head of government: Hassan II

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020) identify Hassan II instead of Ahmed Bahnini on December 31, 1965. HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS identifies head of government's as none. Ashford (1961) identifies Hassan II's party as non-party: "The King [Hassan II] decided to remove Ibrahim a week before elections and to institute a non-party Council of Government under his personal direction." Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. Manzano (2017: 108) writes "Yet, regarding the ideology of the heads, both monarchs, Hassan II and his son Muhammad VI, have clearly sustained a conservative ideology." Perspective monde does not identify leader's party. Seddon (1999) notes that "In the 1990s, the king, who has ruled for 37 years, has attempted to liberalize Morocco... call[ing] new elections for November and December 1997" which led to a "center-left government that took over in March 1998". Seddon (1999) also notes "beginning in December 1989, Morocco dropped its state-centrist economics policy in favor of privatization. Now the country has begun to call for more reliance on private entrepreneurship and investment as tools for future economic growth."

Years: 1967-1968

Head of government: Mohamed Benhima bin Taiyib (Mohamed Benhima)

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies bin Taiyib's party as non-party.

Years: 1969-1970

Head of government: Ahmed Laraki

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Zartman (1985) identifies Laraki's as non-party: "The collapse of Parliament and of the FDIC led to the appointment of a non-partisan prime minister, Dr. Ahmed Laraki."

Year: 1971

Head of government: Mohamed Karim Lamrani

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Zartman (1985) identifies Lamrani's ideology as right:

"The task of redressing the economy falls upon the team assembled by Prime Minister Karim Lamrani, whose strong preference for an open and increasingly privatized economy has been made abundantly clear in both the past and present [1983] governments." Perspective Monde identifies Lamrani's party affiliation as independent. Lust-Okar (2004:167) writes, "The revision of the constitution, public acknowledgement of the union's demands following the proposed general strike in 1994, the removal of Prime Minister Lamrani, a long-time opponent of the unions, and the resumption of social dialogue were all steps toward negotiation with the legal opposition."

Years: 1972-1978

Head of government: Ahmed Osman

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as center right. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as National Assemblance of Independents. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Price (1978) identifies Osman as independent until 1978, when he formed his own political party: "In October 1978 the *Indépendants* met in Casablanca and formed themselves into the Rassemblement National des Indépendants (RNI). Its first President, Ahmed Osman, is Prime Minister." Tachau (1994) notes the same thing: "Ahmed Osman, a former prime minister and brother-in-law of King Hassan, founded the National Assembly of Independence in 1978 as a way of organizing and centralizing the coalition of independent candidates who supported the king and formed the majority of members of parliament." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Rally of Independents (RNI) as 5.6. In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.138) in 1984. Perspective Monde identifies Osman as right: "droite modérée."

Years: 1979-1982

Head of government: Maati Bouabid

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as center right. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Constitutional Union. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Zartman (1985) identifies Bouabid as non-party: "He was followed by Maati Bouabid, formerly of the UNFP, as a non-partisan prime minister." Nelson (1978) adds that Bouabid later formed a new party, the UC, whose "mission was to integrate the post-independence generation around a credo of economic liberalism." Perspective Monde identifies Bouabid as right: "droite modérée." Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes that "Bouabid... organized a new moderate party... [called] the Constitutional

Union" in late 1983. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Constitutional Union (CU) as 4.3. Seddon (1999) notes that "In the 1983 and 1984 elections, the newly formed Constitutional Union (UC), which held its founding congress in April 1983, clearly had the support of the palace in its objective of creating a new conservative "center" for Moroccan politics".

Years: 1983-1985

Head of government: Mohamed Karim Lamrani

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Zartman (1985) identifies Lamrani's ideology as right: "The task of redressing the economy falls upon the team assembled by Prime Minister Karim Lamrani, whose strong preference for an open and increasingly privatized economy has been made abundantly clear in both the past and present [1983] governments." Perspective Monde identifies Lamrani's party affiliation as independent. Lust-Okar (2004:167) writes, "The revision of the constitution, public acknowledgement of the union's demands following the proposed general strike in 1994, the removal of Prime Minister Lamrani, a long-time opponent of the unions, and the resumption of social dialogue were all steps toward negotiation with the legal opposition."

Years: 1986-1991

Head of government: Azzedine Laraki

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. AmazighWorld.net (2010) identifies Laraki as (tentatively) non-party: "En 1986, le dévouement de Laraki est récompensé par le roi Hasan II qui le nomme Premier minister... sans étiquette politique. Les cadres de l'Istaqlil le prennent comme une traîtrise et attaquent violemment son government." Seddon (1999) also notes "beginning in December 1989, Morocco dropped its state-centrist economics policy in favor of privatization. Now the country has begun to call for more reliance on private entrepreneurship and investment as tools for future economic growth."

Years: 1992-1993

Head of government: Mohamed Karim Lamrani

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Zartman (1985) identifies Lamrani's ideology as right:

"The task of redressing the economy falls upon the team assembled by Prime Minister Karim Lamrani, whose strong preference for an open and increasingly privatized economy has been made abundantly clear in both the past and present [1983] governments." Perspective Monde identifies Lamrani's party affiliation as independent. Lust-Okar (2004:167) writes, "The revision of the constitution, public acknowledgement of the union's demands following the proposed general strike in 1994, the removal of Prime Minister Lamrani, a long-time opponent of the unions, and the resumption of social dialogue were all steps toward negotiation with the legal opposition."

Years: 1994-1997

Head of government: Abdellatif Filali

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Banks et al. (1998) identify Filali's party affiliation as independent: "Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Abdellatif Filali (ind.)." Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes that Filali was "longtime advisor to the king" who took office "while King Hassan continued to seek Democratic Bloc leadership to join the new coalition government". Democratic Bloc was "a coalition of center-left opposition groups led by the old-guard Istiqlal party and the Sociality Union of Popular forces" (Political Handbook, 2015). Phillips (1995) writes, "Career diplomat Abdellatif Filali, who led the previous cabinet dominated by technocrats, was reappointed Prime Minister. The King's retention of Filali is considered a strong signal of continued commitment to economic liberalization, which has proceeded at a much faster pace than political liberalization. Filali stated soon after his first appointment as Prime Minister in 1994 that the government "must let the private sector play its role" in economic development, recognizing that the state "does not have the vision of a modern entrepreneur.""

Years: 1998-2001

Head of government: Abderrahmane Youssoufi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Tachau (1994) identifies Youssoufi's party earlier as Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP): "Bouadi died in early 1992; Abdherrahmane Youssoufi then headed the party [USFP] as first secretary." Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes "King Hassan was subsequently able to finally persuade the Democratic Bloc to assume cabinet control.... And appointed Abderrahmane of the USFP (which had won the most seats in the House of Representatives) as the next prime minister. According to Political Handbook of the World (2015) Democractic Bloc was "a coalition of center-left

opposition groups led by the old-guard Istiqlal party and the Sociality Union of Popular forces". Ashford (1961) identifies USFP as left: "From this perspective, the October 2007 crises that had struck the socialist USFP when it agreed to again participate in the new government formed after the September 2007 election needs to be understood." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) as 3.0. The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) as one of its members. In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.586) in 1997. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of governments party as having "Negligible visible disagreement" in 1997. Seddon (1999) notes that "In the 1990s, the king, who has ruled for 37 years, has attempted to liberalize Morocco... call[ing] new elections for November and December 1997" which led to a "center-left government that took over in March 1998". A'boushi (2010) notes that although early in its existence USFP was a revolutionary party to slowly became reformist and in 1996 it entered a constitutional reform agreement "that the democratic transition can only take place within the constitutional institutions, thus transcending revolutionary choices," a major change in ideology from its once revolutionary roots. As apart of the first cabinet headed by Youssef "The Cabinet... did not deviate from major strategic directions of the State. The declaration [by the Cabinet] asserted the liberal choice of the State, through encouraging free initiative, foreign investments and the continuation of privatization". Miller (2013) notes that "Youssoufi... a lifelong opponent of the regime, agreed to head a government of "Alternance," or opposition, at Hassan's request.... It is assumed that his invitation to Youssoufi was motivated largely by a desire to assuage his political opponents". Miller continues that "Saddles with a team he did not choose, Youssoufi also had to deal with the discordant noise of multiple political parties, each clamoring for a seat at the table... His relations with the king and other ministers were publicly characterized with words such as "consensus" and "dialogue"... [despite all of this] The Alternance, for all its shortcomings... won favor from both the right and the left". Perthes (2004) notes of Youssoufi's government that "Youssoufi represents an ideal-type politician. Most of his life, he opposed the monarchical regime that eventually co-opted him to form a government of alternation." Schlager et al. (2006) write "Morocco... The center-left government that took over in March 1998 has been praised for setting the foundations of a civil society... In a year of political surprises, the king shocked everyone by choosing Abderrahmane Youssoufi, a well-known opposition Socialist and a former political prisoner, to be prime minister... The USFP's political outlook is, broadly speaking, social democratic. It advocates reform of the constitution, civil liberties, and the liberation of political prisoners. It calls for the nationalization of the principal means of production, transport, exchange, and credit; land reform on the basis of "land to the tiller";

largescale housing programs and the control of urban rents and property speculation; anticorruption measures; and wage increases... As the major left-wing party, the USFP seems to be growing in strength and influence."

Years: 2002-2006

Head of government: Driss Jettou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as independent. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Lansford (2015) identifies Jettou as independent. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Jettou as an independent noting that Youssoufi was replaced "with an independent, Driss Jettou". Badcock (2002) writes, "The 57-year old Jettou has no official political affiliations, as well as strong links with the business community. . . [Jettou] is considered to be an efficient and affable technocrat without a political axe to grind." Bank (2004) notes that "A similar trend towards 'technicos' at the expense of 'politicos' becomes apparent, underscoring King Muhammad's declared intention to modernization and economic development. A prominent example for this trend is Driss Jettou who was appointed prime minister in October of 2002. Before his political career at the interior ministry, the industrialist headed the very influential 'Omnium Maroc des Phosphates,' One of the largest state-owned enterprises". Badcock (2004) writes, "Since the elections of September 2002, the direction of the coalition government headed by the unaligned technocrat, Prime Minister Driss Jettou, has been to modernize and liberalize the economy. All sectors are due to be privatized as and when the process is adjudged favourable to the needs of Moroccan society." Ortiz de Zarate (2016) writes, "[Jettou was] considered an obedient and discreet technocrat with no appetites for political intrigue. . . It was taken for granted that the new prime minister would be a socialist. . . but the king returned to surprise by opting for his minister de Interior [Jettou] on October 9." Chahir (2019) emphasizes that the Jeetou was disliked by the leftist Socialist Union of Popular Forces, saying "Jettou became prime minister, angering the Socialist Union of Popular Forces". Noury (2015) notes that "In addition to strengthening domestic demand, Morocco has in the last decade begun the policy of creating major economic hubs known as "national champions" in addition to the implementation of the "development programme" during the government of Driss Jettou which has succeeded in stimulating a number of economic sectors." Makarem (2014) notes that because "Jettou; a prominent business man [was] a trust ally of the king... Jettou's gradual political ascent put him, arguably, in a better position than others to push neoliberalism as a political project." Schlager et al. (2006) write "The USFP's political outlook is, broadly speaking, social democratic. It advocates reform of the constitution, civil liberties, and the liberation of political prisoners. It calls for the nationalization of the principal means of

production, transport, exchange, and credit; land reform on the basis of "land to the tiller"; largescale housing programs and the control of urban rents and property speculation; anticorruption measures; and wage increases... As the major left-wing party, the USFP seems to be growing in strength and influence... Now, with the appointment of USFP's Driss Jetton as prime minister, the party's stock will certainly rise."

Years: 2007-2010

Head of government: Abbas El Fassi

Ideology: Centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as centrist. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Istiqlal. Lansford (2015) identifies El Fassi's party as Istiqlal. Nelson (1978) identifies Istiqlal as leftist or centrist: "The party [Istiqlal] expounded a program of Islamic socialism" and "The four opposition parties included the Istiqlal party on the center, or perhaps center-left." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Istiqlal Party (PI) as 4.3. In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center" (.418) in 2007. Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes that Fassi "formed a cabinet that reflected the king's desire for a moderately conservative, reformist government". The centrist Democrat International (2020) identifies Istiqlal as one of its members. The rightist International Democrat Union (2020) identifies Istiqlal as one of its members.

Years: 2011-2016

Head of government: Abdelilah Benkirane

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Lansford (2015) identifies Benkirane's party as Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD). McFaul and Wittes (2008) write "The PJD compares itself constantly to Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Europe's Christian Democrats." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies AKP as right ("droite modérée"). Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes that PJD "have stated publicly since 2007 that the party is not a Islamist party, but rather a centrist party with an Islamist perspective". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Justice and Develpoment Party (JDP) as 6.0. In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center" (-.362) in 2011 and 2016. Hissouf (2016: 52) writes, "Helpless at the economic level between 2011 and 2014, the PJD seemed to focus on the social issues."

Year: 2017-2020

Head of government: Saadeddine El Othmani

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Justice and Development Party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies head of government's party as PJD. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate right. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Justice and Development Party. Ferjani (2007) identifies Othmani's party as PJD: "C'est la thèse défendue par le Réseau des Démocrates Arabes créé à Casablanca en décembre 2005 à 1 ;initiative du Centre de l'Étude des États-unis – et avec la participation d'islamistes dits modérés – dont Saadeddine Othmani et Mohamed Yatim du PJD – et des « démocrates laïques » tellement modérés qu'ils ont accepté de ranger leur laïcité au placard pour pouvoir travailler avec des islamistes qui n'ont pas renoncé à maintenir la référence à la religion." McFaul and Wittes (2008) write "The PJD compares itself constantly to Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Europe's Christian Democrats." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies AKP as right ("droite modérée"). Political Handbook of the World (2015) notes that PJD "have stated publicly since 2007 that the party is not a Islamist party, but rather a centrist party with an Islamist perspective". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Justice and Development Party (JDP) as 6.0. In V-Party (2020) 2 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Center" (-.362) in 2016 Hissouf (2016: 52) writes, "Helpless at the economic level between 2011 and 2014, the PJD seemed to focus on the social issues."

Notes:

Manzano (2017: 108) states that "several royalist parties, which are considered in our sources as conservative and center-right organizations, have mostly taken control of the cabinet".

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