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A History of Modern Morocco

Morocco is notable for its stable and durable monarchy, its close ties with the West, its vibrant cultural life, and its centrality to regional politics. This book, by distinguished historian Susan Gilson Miller, offers a richly documented survey of modern Moroccan history. The author's original and astute interpretations of the events, ideas, and personalities that inform contemporary political life are testimony to her scholarship and long association with the country. Arguing that pragmatism rather than ideology has shaped the monarchy's response to crisis, the book begins with the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 and Morocco's abortive efforts at reform, the duel with colonial powers and the loss of independence in 1912, the burdens and benefits of France's forty-four-year dominion, and the stunning success of the nationalist movement leading to independence in 1956. In the postindependence era, the book traces the monarchy's gradual monopolization of power and the resulting political paralysis, ending with the last years of Hassan II's reign, when Moroccan society experienced a sudden and radical opening. A postscript brings events up to 2012, covering topics such as Morocco's "war on terror," the détente between the monarchy and the Islamists, and the impact of the Arab Spring. This concise, readable book will inform and enthrall students coming to the history of North Africa for the first time, as well as those in other disciplines searching for the background to present-day events in the region.

Susan Gilson Miller is Professor of History at the University of California, Davis. Her research interests focus on Islamic urbanism, travel and migration, minorities in the Muslim world, and the historiography of colonialism and nationalism, with a special emphasis on North Africa. Her most recent publications are *The Architecture and Memory of the Minority Quarter of the Muslim Mediterranean City* (2010) and *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib* (2010).

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Note on Transliteration and Translation

The transliteration of Moroccan personal and place names poses difficult problems. French spelling is predominant throughout the Maghrib, but unfortunately, it does not always render well into English. Generally speaking, I have used the French spelling for place names, making use of the glossary of toponyms found in J-F. Troin, ed., *Maroc: Régions, pays, territoires* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002). Exceptions to this rule are place names that are commonly found in English: Marrakesh, Tetuan, Tangier, Fez.

Personal names call for a different approach. When the name has a common French spelling and the individual may be otherwise difficult to identify, I use the French spelling (Laroui, for example, instead of al-‘Arawi). When a name gains greater clarity by using the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) method of transliteration from Arabic, that method is applied: ‘Abd al-Qadir instead of Abdel Kader, Muhammad instead of Mohamed. Admittedly, this is often a matter of personal choice.

Arabic terms are transliterated using the IJMES method, with the modification that I have dropped all diacritical marks except for the ‘*ayn* (‘) and the *hamza* (’), indicating the latter letter only when it is in the middle of the word. (Hence *Qur’an* but not *shurafa*’.) In some cases, I write the plural of an Arabic word by adding an “s” to the singular, such as *fatwas*. Finally, Arabic words that now appear in the *Oxford English Dictionary* – for example, *ulama* – are spelled accordingly.

All translations from Arabic and French to English are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

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Chronology

1830, July 5	French landing in Algiers
1844, August 14	Moroccan defeat at the Battle of Isly
1859–1860	Tetuan War against the Spanish
1863, December 11	British Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore arrives in Tangier
1873	Sultan Hassan I enthroned
1880, May 19–July 3	Conference of Madrid affirms the legal right of protection
1894	Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz enthroned
1900, May 13	Death of the regent Ba Ahmad
1904, April 8	French-British agreement giving France a free hand in Morocco
1905, March 31	Emperor Wilhelm II lands at Tangier
1906, January 7–April 6	Algeciras Conference places conditions on Moroccan independence
1907, August 7–12	Bombardment of Casablanca by the French
1907, August 16	Sultan ‘Abd al-Hafiz proclaimed in Marrakesh
1908, January 4	Bay‘a of Sultan ‘Abd al-Hafiz at Fez
1909, May 4	Death of Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Kabir al-Kattani
1911, November 4	Franco-German treaty; Germany concedes Morocco to France
1912, March 30	Treaty of Fez, French Protectorate begins
1912, April 27	Lyautey is named Résident Général of the Protectorate
1912, August 13	Proclamation of Sultan Yusuf

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Chronology

1912, November 27	French-Spanish treaty institutes Spanish control in the north
1914, November 13	Middle Atlas Berbers defeat French at Battle of el-Herri
1921–1925	Rif War and declaration of the “Ripublik” of the Rif
1925, September 24	Lyautey is replaced by T. Steeg and departs Morocco
1927, November 18	Sultan Muhammad V is enthroned
1930, May 16	Berber Dahir
1933, 18 November	First Throne Day celebrated
1934, December 1	Reform Plan of the CAM (Moroccan Action Committee)
1937, September	Meknes riots lead to pro-nationalist demonstrations
1942, November 8	Allied landings in North Africa
1943, January 22	Anfa Conference, Roosevelt–Muhammad V meeting
1943, December 10	Creation of the Istiqlal Party
1944, January 11	Manifesto of Independence
1945, November 14	Creation of PCM (Moroccan Communist Party)
1946, June 20	‘Allal al-Fasi returns to Morocco from Gabon to head Istiqlal
1946, September 11	Istiqlal founds party newspaper <i>al-‘Alam</i>
1947, April 9	Sultan Muhammad V’s speech at Tangier
1952, December 5–8	Anti-French riots in Casablanca
1953, August 20	Sultan Muhammad V deposed and exiled to Madagascar
1954, November 1	Start of Algerian war of independence
1955, March 20	Creation of UMT (Moroccan Workers’ Union)
1955, August 22	Conference of Aix-les-Bains
1955, November 16	Sultan Muhammad V returns to Morocco
1956, March 2	French-Moroccan declaration of independence
1956, May 14	Foundation of the FAR (Royal Moroccan Armed Forces)
1956, October 8	Tangier is reintegrated into Morocco

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Chronology xvii

1956, December 26	First congress of the UNEM (Moroccan Students' Union)
1957, January 21	Revolt of Addi Ou Bihi in the Tafilalt
1957, July 9	Crown Prince Hassan declared heir to the throne
1957, August	Muhammad V takes the title of King
1957, December 21	Creation of University Muhammad V in Rabat
1958, May 12	Istiqlal government headed by Ahmed Balafrej
1958, May–November	Rif Rebellion repressed by FAR under Crown Prince Hassan
1958, October	Morocco joins the Arab League
1958, December 24	Government of Abdallah Ibrahim
1959, September 6	Istiqlal splinters; left-wing forms UNFP
1960, February 14	Arrests of UNFP militants accused of plotting against the Crown Prince
1960, February 29	Earthquake in Agadir
1960, May 27	King Muhammad V takes over the government
1960, May 29	First municipal elections
1961, February 26	Death of Muhammad V
1961, March 3	Hassan II becomes King
1962, July 5	Algerian independence declared
1962, December 7	First Moroccan Constitution adopted
1963, January 2	The Istiqlal leaves the government and joins the opposition
1963, February 6	Death of 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi in Cairo
1963, May 13	First legislative elections
1963, June–July	Arrests of UNFP; Ben Barka flees Morocco
1963, August 21	Birth of Sidi Muhammad, future King Muhammad VI
1963, October 15	“War of the Sands” with Algeria
1963, November 9	Mehdi Ben Barka is condemned to death in absentia
1964, March 14	Trial and death sentence for leaders of UNFP, later commuted
1965, March 22	Casablanca uprising of students and workers
1965, March 29	Hassan II amnesties political prisoners
1965, June 7	Constitution of 1962 suspended, state of emergency declared

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1965, October 29	Ben Barka kidnapped in Paris
1967, June 5	Morocco sends troops to aid Arab side in Six-Day War with Israel
1967, June 5–11	Anti-American demonstrations; attacks on Jews in Meknes
1969	Agreement of association with the EEC
1970, July 31	Second Constitution ends the state of emergency
1970, August	Ila al-Amam splits from Communist Party (PCM)
1971, July 10	Attempted coup at Skhirat palace is subdued by Oufkir
1971, July 13	Ten ranking army officers are executed by firing squad
1972, February 12	Trial of soldiers implicated in the Skhirat coup opens in Kénitra
1972, March 1	Third Constitution is promulgated
1972, August 16	Second failed coup, death of Oufkir
1972, November 6	Execution of 11 detainees accused of planning the August coup
1973, January 24	Arabization of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat
1973, March 3	King announces the program of “Moroccanization”
1973, May 10	Founding of the Polisario
1973, October	Arab-Israeli war; price of oil and phosphates soars
1974, May 13	Death of ‘Allal al-Fasi
1974, June	Shaykh Yassine’s letter to Hassan II, “Islam or the Deluge”
1974, November 6	The Green March begins
1975, December 18	USFP leader Omar Benjelloun is assassinated
1976, January 27	War with Algeria in the Sahara
1976, May 20	SARD is declared (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)
1977, May	Trial of members of Ila al-Amam
1977, November 26	CDT created (Democratic Confederation of Workers)
1979, January	Tan-Tan is seized by the Polisario
1979, March	Driss Basri becomes Minister of the Interior

1979, June 24	AMDH (Moroccan Association of Human Rights) is created
1980, July	Amnesty of members of USFP jailed since 1973–1974
1981, June 6	Casablanca bread riots
1981, September	Foundation of Shaykh Yassine’s al-‘Adl wa-l-Ihsan
1984, August	Treaty of Oujda, Moroccan-Libyan Union
1984, November 13	Morocco quits the OAU after SARD is admitted
1985, August 19	Visit of Pope John Paul II to Casablanca
1986, July 22	King Hassan II and Israeli PM Shimon Peres meet in Ifrane
1988, May 6	Diplomatic relations with Algeria are resumed
1988, December 10	OMDH (Moroccan Organization of Human Rights) is created
1988–1993	Construction of the Hassan II mosque in Casablanca (\$600 m.)
1989, February 17	Creation of the UMA (Maghreb Arab Union)
1990, May 8	CCDH formed (Consultative Committee of Human Rights)
1990, August 2	Persian Gulf War begins
1990, September	<i>Notre ami le roi</i> is published in Paris
1991, February 3	Massive pro-Islamist demonstrations in Rabat
1991, August 5	The Charter of Agadir is signed by six Amazigh associations
1991, September 6	Cease-fire in the Saharan war
1991, September 13	Abraham Serfaty is freed and exiled from Morocco
1991, October 23	Liberation of the survivors of Tazmamart prison
1992, August 21	New Constitution is presented for referendum
1993, February 6	Arrest of Police Commissioner Tabit
1993, September 15	Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin visits Rabat
1994, August	Closing of the border with Algeria after Marrakesh bombing
1995, December 24	“Cleanup” campaign of Minister of the Interior Basri

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1996, September 13	Constitutional revision calling for a bi-cameral legislature
1998, March 14	Government of “Alternance” under A. Youssoufi
1999, July 23	Death of Hassan II
1999, July 30	Muhammad VI is enthroned
1999, September 30	Abraham Serfaty returns from exile
1999, November 9	Minister of the Interior Basri is fired
2000, March 1	The Berber Manifesto
2001, October 17	Dahir of Ajdir creating the IRCAM
2002, March 21	Marriage of Muhammad VI and Salma Bennani
2002, September 27	Parliamentary elections, PJD emerges as main opposition party
2003, May 8	Birth of heir-apparent, Prince Hassan
2003, May 16	Casablanca bombings followed by mass arrests
2003, May 31	Banning of satirical <i>Doumane</i> , editor Ali Mrabet jailed
2003, December	ERC formed, headed by human rights lawyer Driss Benzekri
2004, January	New Family Code (<i>Mudawwana</i>) is enacted into law
2004, February 24	Earthquake in El Hoceima (seven hundred killed, fifteen thousand homeless)
2004, June 15	Free trade agreement with the United States signed
2004, December 15	Public testimony of victims of “years of lead” by ERC begins
2006, January 6	King announces termination of the work of the ERC
2006, December 16	Closing of the magazine <i>Nichane</i> for attacking “Islamic values”
2007, March	Suicide attacks on targets in Casablanca
2007, June	Morocco and Polisario hold talks at UN but fail to reach agreement
2007, September 7	Parliamentary elections, only 37 percent of eligible voters take part; Abbas El Fassi (Istiqlal) named Prime Minister

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2009, July 30	Celebration of tenth anniversary of Muhammad VI on the throne
2010, August	Tension with Spain over border incidents near Melilla
2011, February 20	Mass rallies for political reform and a new constitution
2011, April 28	Bomb blast in a Marrakesh café kills fifteen, including ten foreigners
2011, July 1	New constitution approved in a referendum, winning 98 percent of the vote
2011, November 25	PJD wins a plurality in parliamentary elections, Abdelilah Benkirane is named Prime Minister

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Who Is Who?

- Ababou, M'hamed (d. 1971)** Head of military academy at Ahermoumou, leader of cadets in abortive Skhirat coup
- 'Abd al-Aziz, Sultan (d. 1943)** Reigned 1894–1908, deposed by his brother 'Abd al-Hafiz
- 'Abd al-Hafiz (d. 1937)** Reigned 1908–1912; signed Treaty of Protectorate with France, 1912
- 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri (d. 1883)** Hero of resistance to French in Algeria, 1832–1847
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Sultan** Reigned 1822–1859; modernizer and reformer
- Aherdane, Mahjoubi** Berber military chief, leader of 1957 Rif uprising; founder of the *Mouvement populaire* (MP)
- Arslan, Shakib (d. 1946)** Druze pan-Islamist, visited Morocco in 1930, inspired young nationalists
- Azoulay, André** Counselor to Hassan II and Muhammad VI on financial, political, and Jewish affairs
- Azziman, Omar** Legal expert, human rights advocate, Minister of Justice 1997–2002
- Balafrej, Ahmed (d. 1990)** French-educated leader of Istiqlal, Secretary-General of the party (1944), Prime Minister (1958); served in other top posts before retiring from public life (1977)
- Basri, Driss (d. 2007)** Minister of the Interior 1979–1999, dreaded symbol of the “Years of Lead,” removed by Muhammad VI
- Bekkai, M'barek (d. 1961)** Head of the first government of independent Morocco, appointed December 1955
- Belarbi, Aïcha** Sociologist, diplomat, author, women's rights activist

- Ben ‘Arafa, Mawlay Muhammad (d. 1976)** Puppet ruler imposed by French, 1953–1955
- Ben Barka, Mehdi (d. 1965)** A founder of UNFP, condemned to death in absentia, “disappeared” in Paris.
- Benaïssa, Mohamed** Journalist, politico, Ambassador to United States (1993–1999); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1999–2007)
- Benjelloun, Omar** Trade unionist, head of USFP, assassinated 1975
- Benkirane, Abdelilah** Head of PJD, appointed Prime Minister in November 2011
- Benlyazid, Farida** Filmmaker, director of *A Door to the Sky* (1989)
- Bennani, Salma** Wife of Muhammad VI (2002), known as Princess Lalla Salma; mother of Prince Hassan (b. 2003), heir to the throne
- Berrada, Hamid** Student leader, journalist, condemned to death in absentia 1963
- Bouabid, Aderrahim (d. 1992)** Economist, founder and leader of USFP
- Bu Himara (El Rogui)** Rebel chief and royal pretender in the Taza region, 1902–1909
- Chraïbi, Driss (d. 2007)** Author, voice of postcolonial generation
- Daure-Serfaty, Christine** French human rights activist, reported on secret prisons during the “Years of Lead”
- Dawud, Muhammad (d. 1984)** Historian, nationalist, author of multi-volume *A History of Tetuan*
- Dlimi, Ahmed (d. 1983)** Security head, Hassan II’s right-hand man after death of Oufkir; died in auto crash
- al-Fasi, ‘Allal (d. 1974)** Founder, chief architect of the Istiqlal party, coauthored Plan of Reforms, favored a constitutional monarchy
- al-Fasi, Malika (d. 2007)** An author of the 1944 Manifesto of Independence; nationalist; symbol of early political activism for feminist movement
- el-Fassi, Abbas** President of UGEM (1961); human rights activist; head of Istiqlal (1998); Prime Minister 2007–2011
- Ghallab, Abdelkrim** Leading author, novelist, political commentator, editor of Istiqlal newspaper *al-‘Alam*
- al-Glawi, Thami (d. 1956)** Pasha of Marrakesh, allied with French in colonial period, opposed Muhammad V and then relented, famous for his venality
- Guedira, Ahmed Reda (d. 1995)** Lawyer, adviser to Hassan II, held many government posts; organized pro-royalist FDIC as alternative to Istiqlal (1963)

- al-Hajwi, Muhammad (d. 1956)** Religious scholar, reformer, propagandist for Protectorate
- Hassan I, Sultan** Reformer and consolidator; reigned 1873–1894
- Hassan II, King (d. 1999)** As Crown Prince, chief of FAR; after enthronement in 1961, wielded near-absolute power
- al-Hiba, Ahmad (d. 1919)** Son and successor of Ma al-‘Aynayn, led unsuccessful 1912 revolt against French occupation
- Hicham b. Abdallah el-Alaoui, Prince** Pro-democracy intellectual, cousin of King Muhammad VI, lives in the United States
- El-Himma, Fouad Ali** Technocrat, close adviser to Muhammad VI, founder of PAM (2008)
- Ibn Musa, (Ba) Ahmad (d. 1900)** Grand Vizir and Regent for young Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz
- Ibrahim, Abdallah (d. 2005)** Head of opposition government 1958–1960, a founder of the UNFP
- Jamäi, Abubakr** Economist, political activist, editor of *Le Journal* (now defunct)
- Jettou, Driss** Technocrat, Minister of Interior (2001); Prime Minister 2002–2007
- al-Kattani, ‘Abd al-Hayy (d. 1962)** Scholar, bibliophile, ally of al-Glawi, favored deposition of Muhammad V, disgraced and died in France
- al-Kattani, Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Kabir (d. 1909)** Sufi shaykh and political rival of Sultan ‘Abd al-Hafiz, accused of treason and flogged to death
- al-Kattani, Muhammad b. al-Ja‘far (d. 1927)** Sufi shaykh, author of *Salwat al-Anfas*, history of the notables of Fez
- al-Khattabi, ‘Abd al-Karim (d. 1963)** Berber chief, journalist, head of Rifian Republic 1922–1926; hero of anti-colonial resistance
- Laâbi, Abdellatif** Poet, founder of *Souffles*, political prisoner in the 1970s
- Laanigri, Hamidou** Security chief abruptly removed from power in 2006
- Laroui, Abdallah** Public intellectual and nationalist historian
- Lyautey, Louis Hubert Gonzalve (d. 1934)** French aristocrat, first Résident Général of the Protectorate (1912–1925), preserver of the makhzan, and architect of Moroccan modernity
- Lyazidi, Mohamed Ahmed (d. 1990)** Chief propagandist of the pre-independence Istiqlal
- Ma al-‘Aynayn (d. 1910)** Saharan religious scholar, leader of resistance to French occupation before 1912
- al-Madghari, Muhammad (d. 1892)** Chief of Darqawa brotherhood, called for jihad against French in the 1880s

- el-Malki, Habib** Economist, minister, member of USFP
- al-Manabhi, al-Mahdi (d. 1937)** Minister of War under ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, exiled to Tangier after 1912
- el-Mandjra, Mahdi** U.S.-trained economist, diplomat, human rights advocate
- Medbouh, Gen. Mohamed (d. 1971)** Chief of Royal Household, killed after failed Skhirat coup
- Mouti’, ‘Abd al-Karim** Founder of Islamic radical group al-Shabiba al-Islamiyya in 1969; in 1975, accused of killing labor leader Omar Benjelloun
- Muhammad V, Sultan and King** Reigned 1956–1962; revered as liberator of Morocco from colonial rule
- Muhammad VI, King** Current ruling monarch, son and successor to Hassan II, enthroned July 1999
- al-Muqri, Muhammad (d. 1957)** Makhzan official
- al-Nasiri, al-Makki (d. 1994)** Member of CAM, journalist for nationalist press
- Noguès, Charles (d. 1971)** Résident Général of the French Protectorate in Morocco, 1936–1943; implementer of Vichy-inspired race laws during World War II
- al-Ouezzani, Mohammed Hassan (d. 1978)** Founder of PDI, rival of ‘Allal al-Fasi
- Oufkir, Mohamed (d. 1972)** General, Minister of Interior, died in mysterious circumstances after 1972 failed coup
- Rachid b. Hassan, Prince** brother of King Muhammad VI and second-in-line in succession to the throne
- al-Raysuni (Raisuli), Ahmed (d. 1925)** Local chieftain and sharif of the Jebala region; mounted campaign of kidnapping Europeans, 1903–1904, that received world attention
- Sbihi, Abdellatif (d. 1965)** Leader of “Young Moroccans”; organized resistance to the Berber dahir, 1930
- Serfaty, Abraham (d. 2010)** Mining engineer, founder of Ila al-Amam, jailed during the “Years of Lead”; released in 1991 and exiled; returned home in 2000
- Taoufik, Ahmed** Historian, novelist, Minister of Islamic Affairs (2002–), architect of a reformed religious establishment
- Torres, Abdelkhalek (d. 1970)** Nationalist leader in the Spanish zone
- Yassine, Abdessalam** Royal admonisher, founder in 1987 of al-‘Adl wa-l-Ihsan pro-Islamist Party

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Who Is Who?

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Yata, ‘Ali (d. 1997) A founder of the PCM (Communist Party) in 1943 and later its head; in 1974, founded the socialist PPS

Yousoufi, Abderrahmane Founding member of the UNFP; Prime Minister of the government of “Alternance,” 1998–2002

Yusuf, Mawlay, Sultan (d. 1927) Reigned 1912–1927; father of Muhammad V



MAP 1 Morocco and Its Major Cities