



**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO MOROCCO'S
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY**

**MOHAMMED TAWFIK MOULINE
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES [IRES]**

**Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
OSLO, April 21, 2016**

COMMUNICATION PLAN

PRESENTATION OF IRES: A MISSION OF ENLIGHTENING DECISION MAKING ON STRATEGIC ISSUES

I. DOMESTIC POLICY: A REFORMING MOMENTUM AIMING TOWARDS PROMISING DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

II. MOROCCO'S PRIORITIES IN TERMS OF FOREIGN POLICY:

- THE PILLARS OF THE KINGDOM'S FOREIGN POLICY
- MOROCCO'S EUROMEDITERRANEAN OPTIONS
- MOROCCO'S AFRICAN POLICY

CONCLUSION

IRES : A mission of enlightening decision making on strategic issues (1)

IRES.Think tank

Study of strategic issues of high impact on the country's future



IRES.Foresight watch

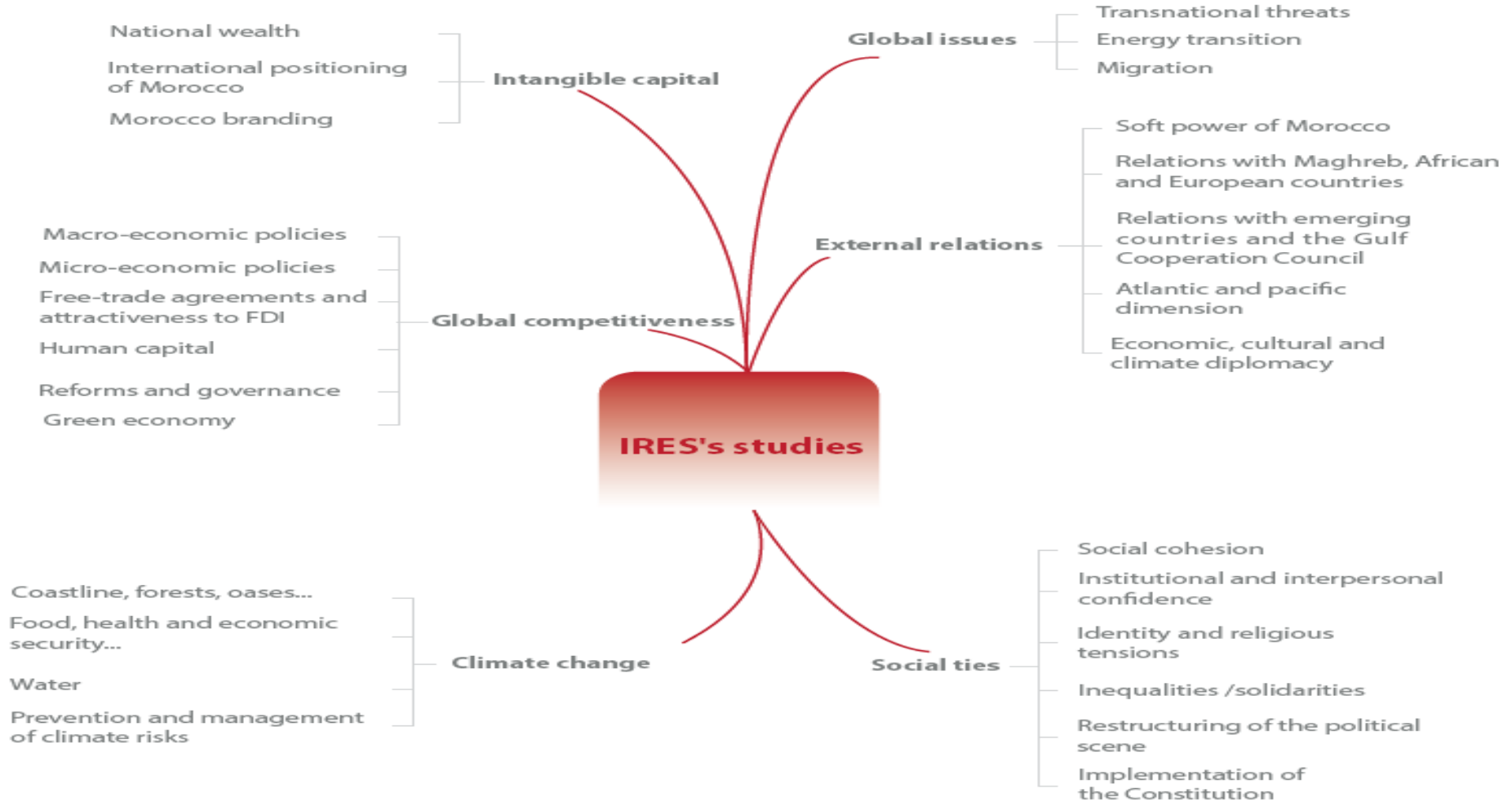
Follow-up and analysis of national, regional and international trends

IRES.Forum

Centre for debates and thinking
Dissemination of strategic thinking

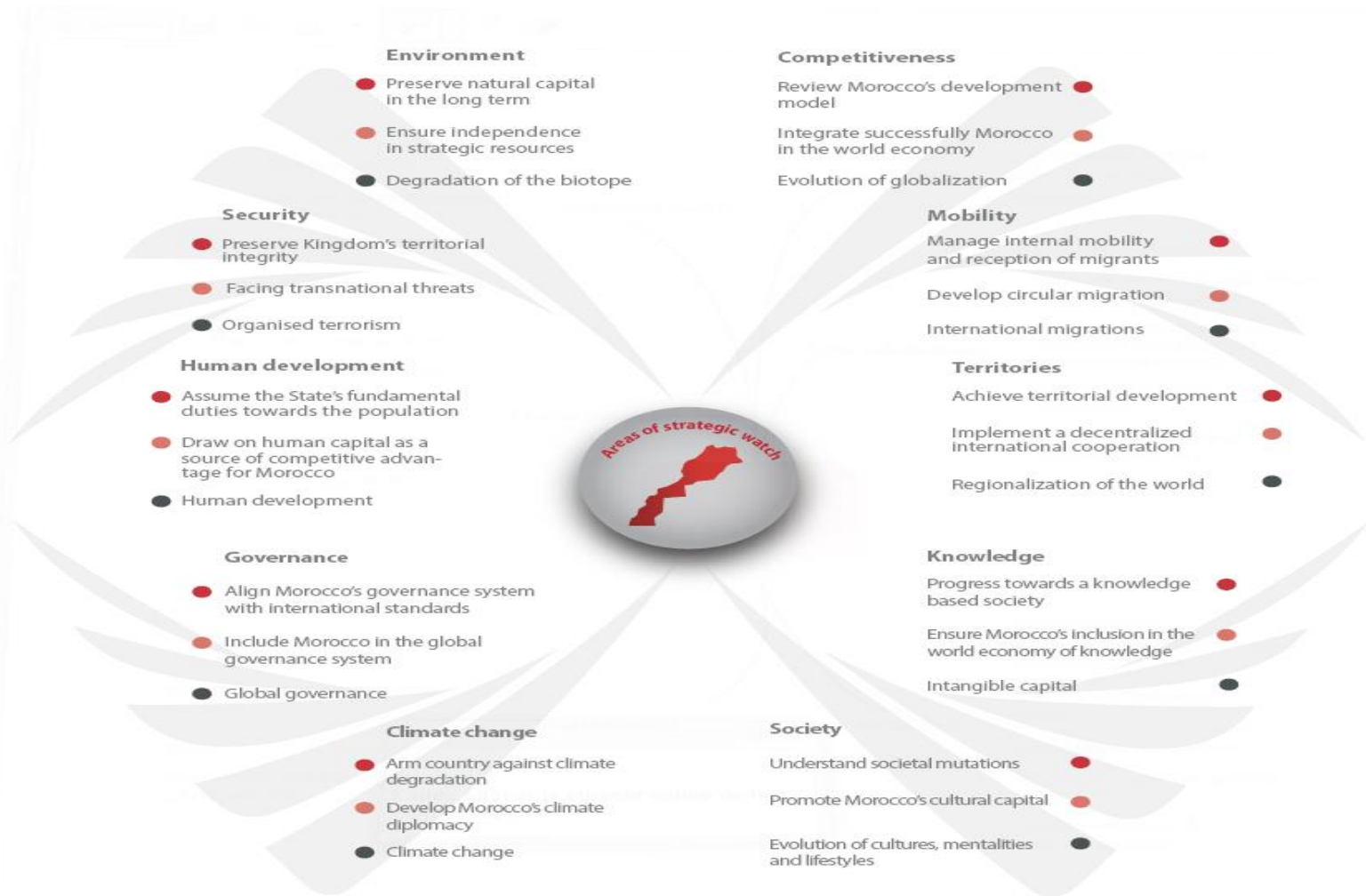
- Strategic reflexion device which relies on two major axes: study programs and strategic watch. These are two heavily interdependent components which upscale one another instantly. The two missions are relayed by Ires.Forum which aims, thanks to serene debate, to the outbreak of innovative ideas and sharing of new concepts.

IRES : A mission of enlightening decision making on strategic issues (2)



- A work program centred on key issues related to domestic and foreign policy of the kingdom. These constitute a one undivided whole, combining all the development efforts of the kingdom and its quest to position itself favourably in a globalised system.

IRES : A mission of enlightening decision making on strategic issues (3)



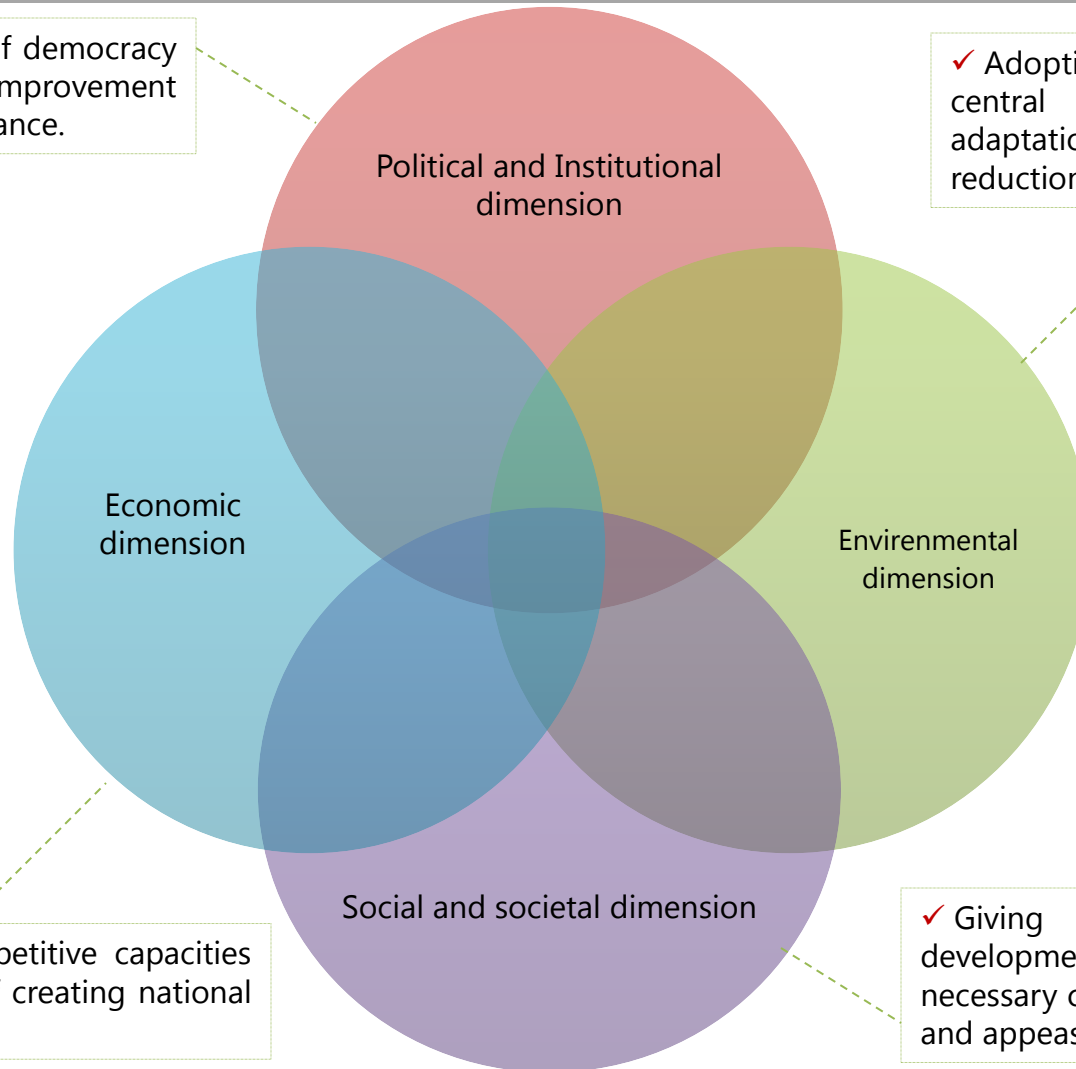
- A system of advanced strategic watch, which allows to follow closely evolutions at the national, international and global levels, to seize the opportunities, thwart the threats and anticipate the resulting ruptures.

1. DOMESTIC POLICY: A REFORMING MOMENTUM AIMING TOWARDS PROMISING DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

Key dimensions of Morocco's domestic policy

✓ Rooting of the values of democracy and Human Rights and improvement of the institutions' governance.

✓ Adoption of green economy as a central pillar of the policy of adaptation to climatic change and reduction of ecological footprint.



✓ Reinforcing the competitive capacities to boost the process of creating national wealth.

✓ Giving impetus to human development and building the necessary conditions for a harmonious and appeased living together.

Advances on the political and institutional levels, supported by the 2011 constitutional reform

- Morocco is a **millenary Monarchy**, which rejoices large popular legitimacy. Since independence, Morocco opted for political pluralism, a market economy with a human dimension and promoted the development of civil society.
- Between 2003 and 2005, Morocco initiated a process of **national reconciliation**, supported by political parties, trade unions and civil society with the objective of exhuming the past for a better contemplation of the future. This included compensation of human rights victims and putting in place the adequate laws to prevent any violations in the future.
- An important and quality leap forward took place with the adoption of the **July 2011 Constitution**. Its main contributions are as follows:
 - Constitutional consecration of the **plurality of the Moroccan identity**: Arab-Islamic, Berber [Amazigh], and Saharawi-Hassani, enriched with its African, Andalusian, Hebrew and Mediterranean tributaries.
 - Reinforcement of the State of Law and promotion of Justice to the rank of an independent power.
 - Promotion of a **new generation of human rights**: The right to live, right to security, and the right to a safe environment, right to petition...

Advances on the political and institutional levels, supported by the 2011 constitutional reform (2)

- Consolidation of the **principle of separation and equilibrium between powers** (the head of government is fully responsible of the executive [public Administration]).
 - Consecration of the principle of nominating the head of Government from the party which comes first in the legislative elections.
 - Constitutionnalisation of **Institutions in charge of good governance**, Human Rights and the protection of liberties.
 - The **supremacy of International law over the national laws**.
- ➡ **The main objective is to accelerate the transition of a representative democracy towards a participative democracy in which civil society plays a key role.**

Advances on the political and institutional levels, supported by the 2011 constitutional reform (3)

- A number of organic laws have been drafted in a variety of areas. Other laws should be adopted during the current legislation which ends in October 2016.
- The full implementation of the constitution faces some challenges:
 - Regarding the Berber [Amazigh] language, which has become an official language, two positions are facing off: one advocating a national approach, and another one recommending an approach based on the regional specificities.
 - The reform of justice was prepared by a national committee before being adopted. Its implementation faces numerous constraints mainly the resistance to change.
 - The establishment of the institution in charge of parity is still the subject of discussion.

Advances on the political and institutional levels, supported by the 2011 constitutional reform (4)

- The Constitutional reform has overhauled the regions' powers. The new territorial districting of the Kingdom into 12 regions, instead of 16, formed the base of a regional Moroccan model based on « regions that are economically and geographically complementary and socially and culturally harmonious ». This model is based, among other things, on:
 - Universal direct suffrage for the election of regional counsels.
 - Overhaul the composition and powers of the second [Lower] Chamber of Parliament, with the objective of consecrating the territorial representation of the regions.
 - The establishment of financing mechanisms, promoting solidarity between regions: regional cohesion funds, equalization system ...
- The **provinces of the Moroccan Sahara** are the first to benefit from this model of **advanced regionalization** whose foundations converge perfectly with the **autonomy plan** proposed by Morocco to definitively resolve the artificial conflict of the Moroccan Sahara . The plan, considered credible and realistic by the international community including the permanent members of the UN Security Council, is a reliable form of self-determination of Sahara **from which most of the dynasties that ruled the Morocco originated.**

The two provinces of the Moroccan Sahara represent :

- **1,5% of Morocco's population**
- **2,5% of GDP, on average, over the period 2009-2013**
- **6% of the national production of phosphates**

Advances on the political and institutional levels, supported by the 2011 constitutional reform (5)

- The new development model of the Southern provinces is based on concrete progress :
 - **Regular holding of communal and legislative elections**, expressing the will of the citizens of the southern provinces, with a voter turnout rate exceeding the national average : This reflects the commitment of the population of these provinces to the Moroccan sovereignty and their effective involvement in the project of building a participatory democracy.
 - **Placing two offices of the National Council of Human Rights** in Laayoune and Dakhla to strengthen the anchoring of human rights values in these provinces.
 - **Infrastructure development** , especially in the priority social sectors : Southern provinces show a level of human development , well above the national level. This effort far exceeds the revenues from mineral resources and fisheries which feature these provinces : **for 1 dirham received from Sahara, Morocco invested 7 dirhams.**
 - An **important cultural mix** , reflected in the sharp decline in endogamy levels in the southern provinces, as is clear from some reliable sociological studies .
- The **investment program of nearly 8 billion euros**, launched by the Sovereign on the occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Green March in November 2015, opens large perspectives not only for the provinces of southern Morocco , but also for the sub-Saharan neighborhood.
 - ➔ **the aim being to make the Moroccan Sahara a space of stability and shared prosperity, promoting the eradication of vulnerability sources that feed terrorism and crime in the lawless areas that thrive in the Sahel.**

Economic dynamic based on sound macro economic policies and sectorial strategies, promoting Morocco's global Business lines

- **Morocco is a field of economic and financial reforms** since the early 80s and has achieved an economic growth rate of 5% on annual average over the past decade. These efforts include:
- **strengthening macroeconomic stability** (controlled inflation , sustainable public debt , sound public finances ...) , giving more resilience to the Moroccan economy to external shocks and a sovereign credit quality of Morocco, the most reliable in its region (Investment grade).
- **Territorial planning and development of highway infrastructure**, port and airport, strengthening international connectivity of Morocco.
- the **implementation of sectorial strategies** to transform Morocco's specialization profile : Development of Morocco's global business lines in the Emergence Plan , the Green Morocco Plan in agriculture, the 2020 tourism vision, energy strategy, the development of the phosphate sector ... : the automotive industry today occupies the first position in export, exceeding phosphates and derivatives.
- **diversification of growth drivers of Moroccan economic operators**, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (strong presence of Morocco in Africa in the banking, telecom , construction sectors...)

Economic dynamic based on sound macro economic policies and sectorial strategies, promoting Morocco's global Business lines (2)

Some challenges remain , however, to drive the Moroccan economy on a growth path both bottom-up and inclusive :

- Increase the content of economic growth in jobs for a young and skilled population .
- Further diversify growth pillars at the sectorial and geographical level by optimizing the opportunities offered within the framework of free trade agreements concluded by the Kingdom.
- Progressively integrating the informal sector into the formal system and promote the social economy
- Attract more foreign capitals, especially those promoting the transfer of knowledge and expertise to accelerate technological upgrading of Morocco

 **Morocco is considered today as a regional hub in a multitude of sectors , allowing it to boost its economic size .**

Societal reforms which aim to consolidate the social bond and valuation of the cultural diversity of the Kingdom

Morocco witnessed important advances to improve the living conditions of citizens, to promote social equity and ensure the bases of a harmonious and appeased living together :

- The supply of basic social services was widespread :
- **Education** : Generalization of basic education and improving the conditions of access to education in rural areas, reducing illiteracy ...
- **Education – vocational training** : reform of higher education, emergence of private universities , development of vocational training as a full branch in its own.
- **Health**: improving the provision of care and generalization of medical coverage , especially for vulnerable people.
- **Housing**: a policy of promoting access to social housing , with substantial assistance from the state : mobilization of land, guarantees of housing loans ...
- **Eradication of extreme poverty** and sharp decline in relative poverty. Nevertheless , social inequalities remain significant .



Social reforms, together with the implementation of the National Initiative for Human Development in 2005 helped strengthen the capacity of vulnerable populations and to promote income-generating activities.

Societal reforms which aim to consolidate the social bond and valuation of the cultural diversity of the Kingdom (2)

- Large social reforms were undertaken by Morocco since 2000 :
 - **Rehabilitation of the status and rights of Moroccan women**, made possible by the personal commitment of His Majesty King Mohammed VI: Reform of the Family Code in 2004 , transmission of Moroccan nationality by the mother in 2007 and lifting of reservations of Morocco on the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 2011. These reforms have strengthened the gender equity . In some sectors, such as higher education , the number of girls is higher than boys
 - **Framing the religious field** : training preachers, fight against informal preaching, educating citizens through audio-visual communication channels on the values of Islam , based on tolerance and respect of other faiths. The Moroccan experience in the field is currently benefiting to some Arab and African countries as well as European countries including France and Belgium.
 - **Development of civil society** whose role as government's partner was strengthened. The current number of associations in Morocco amounts to more than 120,000. A national commission to examine public policies to strengthen civil society was established. Today, the role of civil society is no longer limited to advocacy, but plays a complementary role to government in several areas: non- formal education, health ...

Societal reforms which aim to consolidate the social bond and valuation of the cultural diversity of the Kingdom (3)

Morocco continues to face several challenges:

In the social field

- Valuation of intangible capital as an important source of creation of national wealth. The weight of this capital in national wealth is 75 % , a level close to the average in OECD countries which is 80 %.
- Accelerate the accumulation of human capital covered by the new reform of the education system, favoring equal opportunities , improving system quality and greater openness to foreign languages.
- Better governance of social welfare system to maximize the impact on beneficiaries, while promoting optimal allocation of public spending.
- Transition from a housing policy to a real urban policy , taking into account the urban dimension and the imperatives of social link : social diversity, aspects of values and identities ..

In the societal field

- Increasing the political participation rate of women to the levels set by the Constitution (27 % of the seats at the communal level , 30% of seats in national and regional level) and facilitating their participation in the economic field .
- Immunization of Moroccan youth, in particular against the influence of extremist currents of thought coming from outside and operating via internet.
- Capacity building of civil society and enforcement of their contribution in the public diplomacy effort.

A gradual transition towards public policies which promote environmental sustainability

The public policy choices in Morocco are dictated by sustainability approaches due to the need to adapt to the inevitable effects of climate change, but aim also to accelerate the economic development process:

- Recognized internationally for its dam policy, Morocco has implemented since 1995 a **water strategy based on demand management** and the efficient mobilization of water resources.
- The Kingdom has made the **development of renewable energy**, mainly solar and wind power, a central axis of its energy strategy elaborated in 2009. The weight of these energy sources in the electric capacity would reach 42 % in 2020 and 53 % in 2030. The solar park of Ouarzazate, the largest in the world, should put Morocco in a pioneering role in the field of solar energy.
- Morocco introduced recently a **new framework dedicated to the development of its coastline** (area of concentration of human and economic activities by excellence) that reflects the new realities of climate change and the reduction of the ecological footprint .
- The Kingdom has a **sustainable development strategy** which aims to improve the living environment of citizens, strengthening the sustainable management of natural resources and the promotion of environmentally friendly economic activities.



The Kingdom, an active country in the international debate on climate and environmental issues , will host COP22 in November 2016.

A gradual transition towards public policies which promote environmental sustainability (2)

The fight against climate change urges Morocco to develop a **strategic long-term vision** to adapt to this global phenomenon. The successful implementation of this vision requires the following:

- development of public actors capabilities, in charge, directly or indirectly, of the environmental issue.
- mobilizing national funding, but also the need for international cooperation at bilateral and multilateral levels .
- significant reforms to be undertaken to align the national institutional and legislative framework to international standards.
- Promoting ways of production and consumption compatible with the need to reduce the ecological footprint.

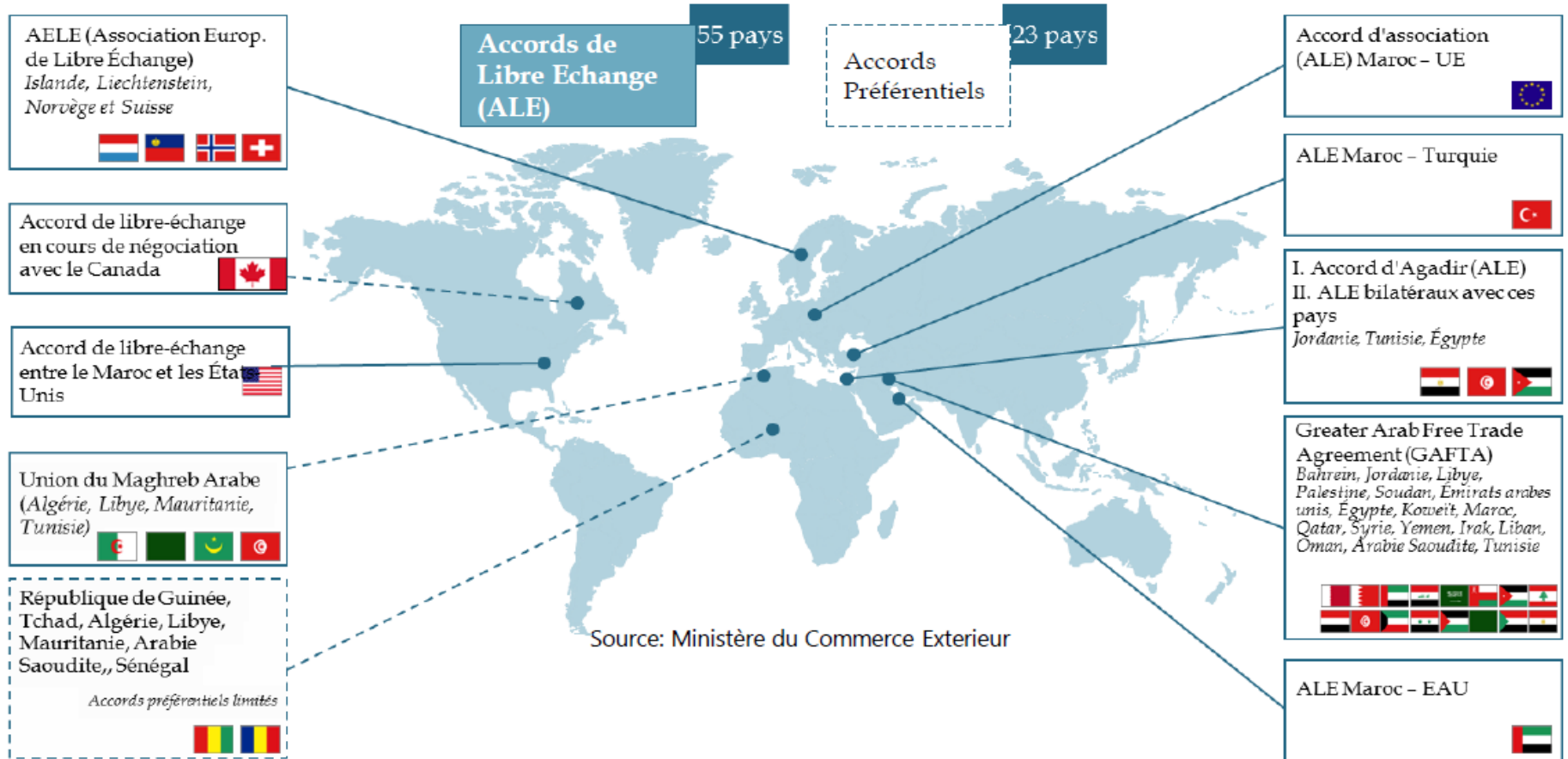
II. PRIORITIES OF MOROCCO'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MOROCCO'S FOREIGN POLICY

Moroccan doctrine in foreign policy aims at strengthening traditional ties of cooperation , establishing new links in a networking logic and concluding a new generation of strategic partnerships. The deployment of the Moroccan foreign policy operates via the following :

- An **international behavior based on political and religious moderation** that enabled the Kingdom of Morocco to act as a privileged mediator and bridge between the Muslim world and the West, which draws its substance from a centuries-old history , dedicating the particularity of Morocco as a crossroads of civilizations.
 - **Assiduous participation of Morocco in maintaining peace operations and humanitarian actions** under the aegis of the UN, but also of NATO, to which Morocco has a status of strategic partner.
 - Increased **sensitivity to global issues** (human development, global security , climate change, defense of a fair and just international order ...) .
 - An **open trade policy** within the multilateral framework of the WTO or through the conclusion of free trade agreements with traditional and emerging powers , as well as developing countries .
 - Geostrategic positioning choices that allows Morocco to develop its **status as a regional hub** in a multitude of fields: economics , finance, transport, logistics, education , education ..
- ➡ **Morocco's determination to walk on the path of reform and economic modernization allow it today to enjoy a reputation among G8 countries exceeding that of countries in the MENA region and Africa as well as some emerging countries (survey conducted by " Reputation Institute " in 2015, in collaboration with IRES) .**

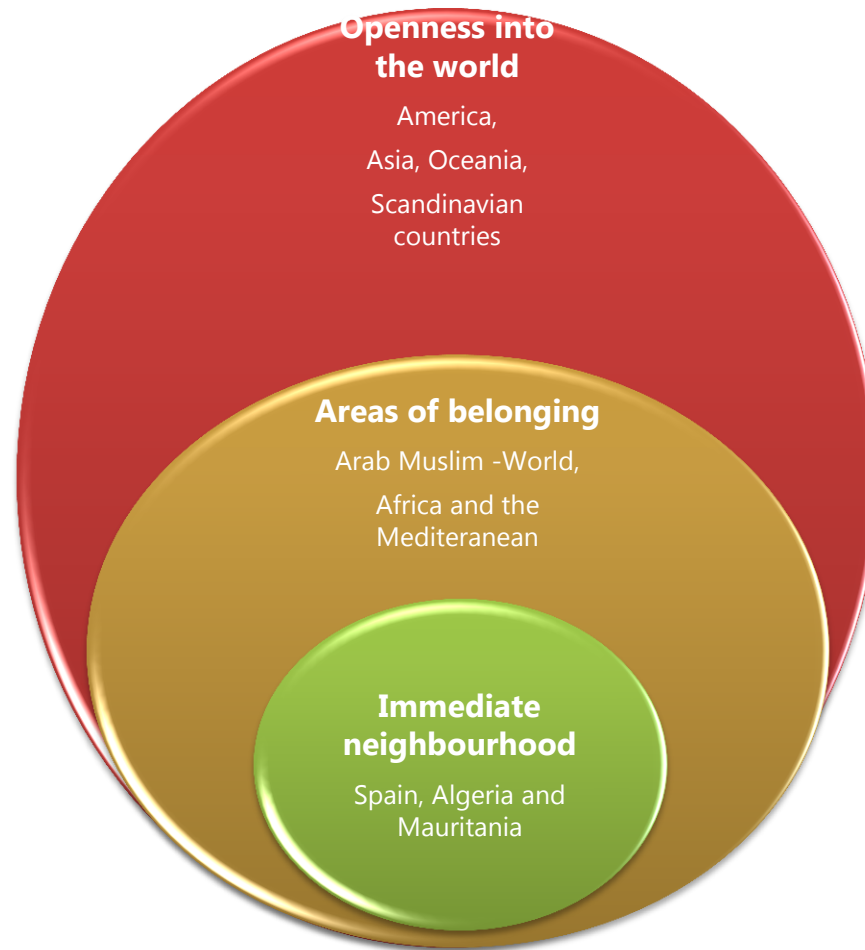
A DIAGRAM OF MOROCCO'S ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIPS



An extensive network of free and preferential trade agreements giving access to Morocco to a large market of nearly 2 billion consumers .

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MOROCCO'S FOREIGN POLICY (2)

While remaining in a logic of diversification of its partnership through the development of the Asian and Atlantic dimension of its foreign policy, Morocco attaches great importance to strengthening its relations with Europe and Africa. Relations with these two regions have a particular dynamism without , however, fully mobilizing their potential.



Morocco –European Union relationships

Strategic relations

By their bilateral and Euro-Mediterranean dimension, Morocco's relations with the European Union are strategic.

The European Union is the first customer of Morocco, its main supplier, its largest foreign investor, its first source of tourist flows and remittances from Moroccans of the world (80% of Moroccans living abroad reside in Europe).

Since October 2008, relations with the European Union are growing under the **advanced status framework, which is a position between association and membership**. This status offers clear opportunities to Morocco to achieve convergence of the national legislative and regulatory systems towards the “*acquis communautaire*”, based upon the principle of national sovereignty, while accessing European community programs and agencies.

Currently, negotiations are underway to conclude a **comprehensive and in depth free trade agreement (CAFTA)**, to enable Morocco to join the European single market.

Morocco –European Union relationships (2)

A cooperation to deepen and to enlarge to include other geographical spaces of mutual interest

To further strengthen the partnership between the two parties and open up promising prospects , it would be essential to give priority to :

- **reducing the chronic trade deficit** of Morocco in its trade with the European Union (nearly 7 billion euros in 2014) and enhancing the attractiveness of the Kingdom to European investments .
- **Taking into consideration, in the treatment of the Moroccan Sahara issue, Morocco's assets** (stable country in advanced democratic transition and important player in the fight against terrorism) and in view to prevent episodic tensions in bilateral relations currently related to the agricultural agreement , unjustified position of certain European institutions with regard to the situation of human rights in the southern provinces of Morocco ...
- The **promotion of tripartite cooperation** involving Morocco and Europe with emerging powers in order to adapt to the new global geopolitical and geo-economic realities.

Morocco –European Union relationships (3)

Morocco within the euro Mediterranean partnership

Morocco has always advocated for boosting cooperation between the countries bordering the Mediterranean, which is a projection space of Moroccan foreign policy. The Kingdom has continued to work towards the strengthening of regional integration since the launch in 1995 of the Barcelona process .

- Within the framework of the European neighborhood policy, **Morocco's** ability to carry out reforms allowed him to be the **first beneficiary of the financial instruments of this cooperation.**
- Morocco plays an **active role in the 5 + 5 dialogue in Western Mediterranean** and attaches strategic importance to the stability of the Mediterranean region, by actively participating in peacekeeping, the fight against terrorism and cross boarder crime.
- **The Kingdom has developed its Mediterranean vocation** with the implementation of major infrastructure projects on the Mediterranean coast.
- Morocco has actively participated in the establishment of the Union for the Mediterranean whose Secretary General is Moroccan. It is home to the Euro-Mediterranean University in Fez.

Morocco –European Union relationships (4)

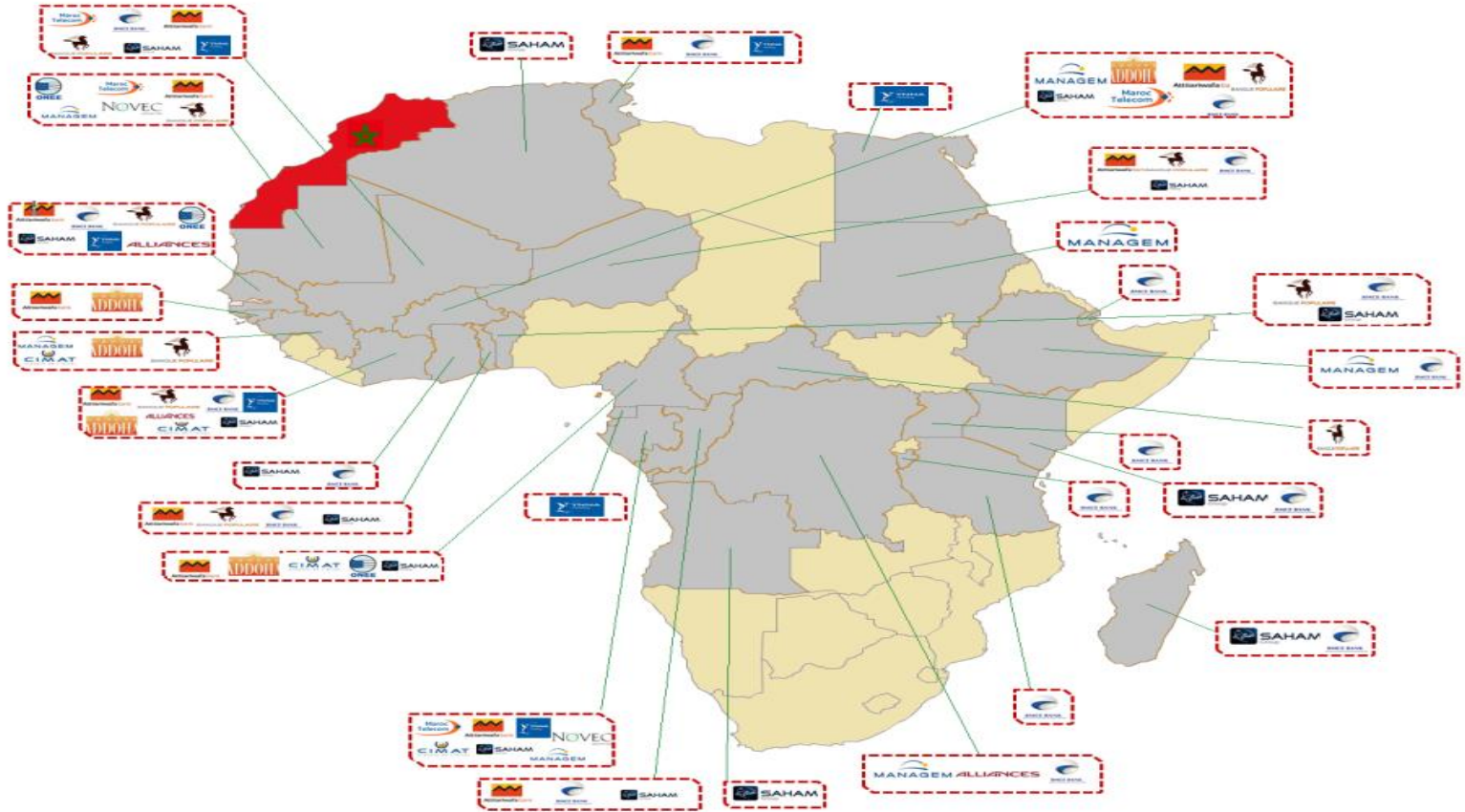
The imperative of the new paradigm of cooperation within the Euro Mediterranean space

in order to erect the Euro-Mediterranean space as a zone of peace, stability and shared prosperity, Morocco defends a new paradigm of the Euromed partnership that goes far beyond free trade :

- Need to **include the vision of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership in the context of a civilization project** where the human, cultural and institutional aspects are well integrated in order to enable South Mediterranean countries to win the battle of human development and accelerate economic emergence and democratic transition.
- Opportunity to **build an integrated regional production system** , enabling Southern countries to enhance their economic specialization profiles and northern countries to have new growth pillars.
- Imperative to **adopt a renovated and humane migration policy**, promoting mobility between the two shores of the Mediterranean and to provide substantive responses to mass influx of migrants, in the aftermaths of the wars in Libya and Syria.
- Establishing a **framework that would codify** in the same and unique reference, the **security instruments of the Mediterranean region**.
- **Development of think tanks as the regional level** to serve as a consultative forum on issues related to regional construction , particularly in the southern Mediterranean countries.
- In depth and complete review of the financial contribution of the European Union in favor of the southern Mediterranean countries, by indexing on the principle " more for more " and promoting long-term financing of the South Mediterranean economies , giving priority to SMEs.

MOROCCO'S AFRICAN POLICY (2)

Presence of Moroccan operators in Africa



Source : Traitement IRES des données du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération

A marked presence of Moroccan operators in Africa. Some of them realize more than a third of their revenues in Africa

MOROCCO'S AFRICAN POLICY (3)

A rich framework of cooperation

Morocco enhances further its cooperation with Africa in the framework of multilateral approaches to compensate for its absence from the African Union :

- An **active role of Morocco in the sub - regional organizations** such as the West African Economic and Monetary Union or the Economic Community of West African States.
- **Strong involvement of the Kingdom in some regional cooperation initiatives**, like the Conference of African countries bordering the Atlantic which Morocco is the initiator.
- **An effective contribution of the Kingdom of Morocco to strengthen peace and stability in Africa**, within the UN mechanisms.
- **A strong presence within the cooperation forum linking Africa to the emerging countries**, particularly in Asia : Sino - African Forum, India-Africa Forum ...

MOROCCO'S AFRICAN POLICY (4)

A security dimension of cooperation

The security situation in Africa is both complex and worrying. **The Sahel is today the epicenter of terrorism in Africa**, with the presence of the most dangerous terrorist groups. These groups, who take advantage of the fragility of the border areas, are provided with military capabilities exceeding those of some states in the region. They have three benefits: the money from all kind of traffic, length time and military capability.

The seriousness of the security threats facing Africa makes sole **national management of security challenges an illusion**. The international and regional support to national efforts to fight against terrorism should be the rule and not the exception.

On the military side, **the answer to the security challenges in Africa must necessarily be backed by policies of socio-economic nature** to fight vigorously against the structural factors underlying security crises and their prevention. It is commonly accepted today that without peace and security, Africa will not be able to accelerate socio-economic development.

Moroccan contribution in support of the international effort **to pursuit stability in Africa** appears, in particular, through:

- participation in peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Congo and Ivory Coast.
- military support for intervention in Mali and the Central African Republic.
- hosting talks between Libyan fractions to pull the country out of the deadlock and avoid to turn into a cradle of terrorism, endangering both Africa than Europe

Perspectives of Morocco's positioning in Africa

A positioning to reinforce in West Africa , focusing on two strategic axes:

- The involvement of SME in the process of diversification of Moroccan international private groups in Africa, forging alliances with foreign firms .
- Intensifying regional cooperation in the fight against terrorist and criminal networks in the Sahel and Gulf of Guinea, giving priority to capacity building in vulnerable countries in terms of security governance.

A positioning to develop in Southern Africa and East Africa , through:

- Expanding the field of economic interests with the leading countries of this region.
- The use of a proactive communication strategy to bridge the information gap on Morocco and convey a calm speech to both regions.
- The development of relations between civil society actors and the encouragement of cultural and academic exchanges to promote mutual understanding between peoples.

CONCLUSION

- **Crossroads of civilizations and state for over 12 centuries**, the Kingdom of Morocco has made significant progress on the political, economic, social, environmental and security levels.
- **Morocco is positioned today as a regional hub** thanks to its location, its level of infrastructure endowment and the reforms being undertaken by the country to strengthen its global competitiveness.
- **Known for its stability, domestic policy, oriented towards sustainable development and its moderate foreign policy**, Morocco has today a good reputation internationally, particularly among the G -8. It is considered by the EU as an outstanding partner and by the West African and emerging country as a credible and reliable partner.
- These accomplishments can only reinforce **Morocco's determination to move forward** and make more efforts to address both the internal and external challenge to which the country's would be confronted, mainly human development, climate change, security, illegal migration.

CONCLUSION (2)

- **Morocco is predisposed to act as a locomotive for development of its neighborhood Maghreb and sub-Saharan countries**, provided the inflexible positions on the Moroccan Sahara issue gave way to realistic and forward-looking visions.
- **Conditions are favorable today to implement an active communication strategy on Morocco's image** and to provide the country with a Morocco brand.
- Finally, to increase its openness to the outside, **Morocco should have a better knowledge of partners** and their specific political, economic and cultural particularities. This is the case in particular with the **Scandinavian countries**, with which Morocco could build the foundation for a promising cooperation at several levels.



THANK YOU

www.ires.ma