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 enthral 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).
A History of Modern Morocco

SUSAN GILSON MILLER

University of California, Davis
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Friends, colleagues, and family have helped me over the years and made the writing of this book possible.

Moroccan scholars provided me with the informal education necessary to study the history of their country. I especially want to thank Jamaa Baida, Khalid Ben Srhir, Mohamed Kenbib, Abdelahad Sebti, Mohamed El Mansour, Ahmad Taoufiik, Mohamed Kably, Maâti Monjib, Mohamed Dahbi, Mohamed Hatimi, Nadia Erzini, Simon Lévy, Mina Elmghari, Mokhtar Ghammadou, Halima Ferhat, Rahma Bourqia, Mohamed Mezzine, Abdel fattah Kilito, and Fatima Sadiqi for generously sharing their deep knowledge of Moroccan state and society with me. My first Moroccan mentor was the impeccable Si Muhammad al-Manuni, who introduced me to the intricacies of modern Moroccan historiography. Special thanks to Said Mouline and Mia Balafrej, who offered me superb hospitality during my many visits to Rabat, and to Sonia Azagury and Rachel Muyal, my sentinels in Tangier.

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A host of North African specialists have been advisers and collaborators over the years: Wilfred Rollman, Julia Clancy-Smith, William Granara, Jonathan Katz, Michael Willis, Susan Slyomovics, Kenneth Brown, Norman Stillman, Katherine Hoffman, James McDougall, Thomas Park, Harvey Goldberg, John Entelis, Mark Tessler, Dale Eickelman, André
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Former students, now colleagues, shared their work with me, enriching my own. Their friendship is especially treasured: Sahar Bazzaz, Jonathan Smolin, Emily Benichou-Gottreich, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, Lisa Bernasek, Amira Bennison, Hannah Louise Clark, Amy Young, Tom de Georges, Jessica Marglin, Eric Calderwood, Aziza Chaouni, Etty Terem, Moshe Gershovich, Stacy Holden, Abby Krasner Babale, and Lamia Zaki are at the center of a new generation of Maghribi scholars who are changing the state of the field. David Stenner and Lily Balloffet, history graduate students at UC Davis, have more recently lent a hand.

My warmest appreciation to Gérard Lévy of Paris, who generously gave me unpublished photos from his personal archives, and to the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, my platform for pursuing Moroccan studies for nearly twenty years. My heartfelt thanks to a series of supportive CMES directors who made a place for Maghribi studies at Harvard: William Graham, Cemal Kafadar, and Steven Caton among them. In a special category of her own is Susan Kahn, Associate Director of CMES.

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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.

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.
## Chronology

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1830, July 5</td>
<td>French landing in Algiers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844, August 14</td>
<td>Moroccan defeat at the Battle of Isly</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859–1860</td>
<td>Tetuan War against the Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>1863, December 11</td>
<td>British Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore arrives in Tangier</td>
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<td>1873</td>
<td>Sultan Hassan I enthroned</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880, May 19–July 3</td>
<td>Conference of Madrid affirms the legal right of protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz enthroned</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900, May 13</td>
<td>Death of the regent Ba Ahmad</td>
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<td>1904, April 8</td>
<td>French-British agreement giving France a free hand in Morocco</td>
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<td>1905, March 31</td>
<td>Emperor Wilhelm II lands at Tangier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906, January 7–April 6</td>
<td>Algeciras Conference places conditions on Moroccan independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907, August 7–12</td>
<td>Bombardment of Casablanca by the French</td>
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<td>1907, August 16</td>
<td>Sultan ‘Abd al-Hafiz proclaimed in Marrakesh</td>
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<td>1908, January 4</td>
<td>Bay’a of Sultan ‘Abd al-Hafiz at Fez</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909, May 4</td>
<td>Death of Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Kabir al-Kattani</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911, November 4</td>
<td>Franco-German treaty; Germany concedes Morocco to France</td>
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<td>1912, March 30</td>
<td>Treaty of Fez, French Protectorate begins</td>
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<td>1912, April 27</td>
<td>Lyautey is named Résident Général of the Protectorate</td>
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<td>1912, August 13</td>
<td>Proclamation of Sultan Yusuf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>French-Spanish treaty institutes Spanish control in the north</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>Middle Atlas Berbers defeat French at Battle of el-Herri</td>
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<td>1921–1925</td>
<td>Rif War and declaration of the “Ripublik” of the Rif</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Lyautey is replaced by T. Steeg and departs Morocco</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>Sultan Muhammad V is enthroned</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>Berber Dahir</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>First Throne Day celebrated</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Reform Plan of the CAM (Moroccan Action Committee)</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>Meknes riots lead to pro-nationalist demonstrations</td>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>Allied landings in North Africa</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Anfa Conference, Roosevelt–Muhammad V meeting</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Creation of the Istiqlal Party</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Manifesto of Independence</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Creation of PCM (Moroccan Communist Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>‘Allal al-Fasi returns to Morocco from Gabon to head Istiqlal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Istiqlal founds party newspaper <em>al-‘Alam</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Sultan Muhammad V’s speech at Tangier</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>Anti-French riots in Casablanca</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Sultan Muhammad V deposed and exiled to Madagascar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Start of Algerian war of independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Creation of UMT (Moroccan Workers’ Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Conference of Aix-les-Bains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Sultan Muhammad V returns to Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>French-Moroccan declaration of independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Foundation of the FAR (Royal Moroccan Armed Forces)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Tangier is reintegrated into Morocco</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronology

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>October 29: Ben Barka kidnapped in Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>June 5: Morocco sends troops to aid Arab side in Six-Day War with Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>June 5–11: Anti-American demonstrations; attacks on Jews in Meknes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Agreement of association with the EEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>July 31: Second Constitution ends the state of emergency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>August: Ila al-Amam splits from Communist Party (PCM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>July 10: Attempted coup at Skhirat palace is subdued by Oufkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>July 13: Ten ranking army officers are executed by firing squad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>February 12: Trial of soldiers implicated in the Skhirat coup opens in Kénitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>March 1: Third Constitution is promulgated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>August 16: Second failed coup, death of Oufkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>November 6: Execution of 11 detainees accused of planning the August coup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>January 24: Arabization of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>March 3: King announces the program of “Moroccanization”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>May 10: Founding of the Polisario</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>October: Arab-Israeli war; price of oil and phosphates soars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>May 13: Death of ‘Allal al-Fasi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>June: Shaykh Yassine’s letter to Hassan II, “Islam or the Deluge”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>November 6: The Green March begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>December 18: USFP leader Omar Benjelloun is assassinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>January 27: War with Algeria in the Sahara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>May 20: SARD is declared (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>May: Trial of members of Ila al-Amam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>November 26: CDT created (Democratic Confederation of Workers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>January: Tan-Tan is seized by the Polisario</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>March: Driss Basri becomes Minister of the Interior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979, June 24</td>
<td>AMDH (Moroccan Association of Human Rights) is created</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980, July</td>
<td>Amnesty of members of USFP jailed since 1973–1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981, June 6</td>
<td>Casablanca bread riots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981, September</td>
<td>Foundation of Shaykh Yassine’s al-‘Adl wa-l-Ihsan</td>
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<td>1984, August</td>
<td>Treaty of Oujda, Moroccan-Libyan Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984, November 13</td>
<td>Morocco quits the OAU after SARD is admitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985, August 19</td>
<td>Visit of Pope John Paul II to Casablanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986, July 22</td>
<td>King Hassan II and Israeli PM Shimon Peres meet in Ifrane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988, May 6</td>
<td>Diplomatic relations with Algeria are resumed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988, December 10</td>
<td>OMDH (Moroccan Organization of Human Rights) is created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988–1993</td>
<td>Construction of the Hassan II mosque in Casablanca ($600 m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989, February 17</td>
<td>Creation of the UMA (Maghreb Arab Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990, May 8</td>
<td>CCDH formed (Consultative Committee of Human Rights)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990, August 2</td>
<td>Persian Gulf War begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990, September</td>
<td><em>Notre ami le roi</em> is published in Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, February 3</td>
<td>Massive pro-Islamist demonstrations in Rabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, August 5</td>
<td>The Charter of Agadir is signed by six Amazigh associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, September 6</td>
<td>Cease-fire in the Saharan war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, September 13</td>
<td>Abraham Serfaty is freed and exiled from Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, October 23</td>
<td>Liberation of the survivors of Tazmamart prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992, August 21</td>
<td>New Constitution is presented for referendum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993, February 6</td>
<td>Arrest of Police Commissioner Tabit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993, September 15</td>
<td>Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin visits Rabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994, August</td>
<td>Closing of the border with Algeria after Marrakesh bombing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995, December 24</td>
<td>“Cleanup” campaign of Minister of the Interior Basri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronology

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 Doumane, editor Ali Mrabet jailed

2003, December  ERC formed, headed by human rights lawyer Driss Benzekri

2004, January  New Family Code (Mudawwana) 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 Nichane 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009, July 30</td>
<td>Celebration of tenth anniversary of Muhammad VI on the throne</td>
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<td>2010, August</td>
<td>Tension with Spain over border incidents near Melilla</td>
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<td>2011, February 20</td>
<td>Mass rallies for political reform and a new constitution</td>
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<td>2011, April 28</td>
<td>Bomb blast in a Marrakesh café kills fifteen, including ten foreigners</td>
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<td>2011, July 1</td>
<td>New constitution approved in a referendum, winning 98 percent of the vote</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011, November 25</td>
<td>PJD wins a plurality in parliamentary elections, Abdelilah Benkirane is named Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-Jazairi (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
Bekkaï, 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 'Arefa, Mawlay Muhammad (d. 1976)    Puppet ruler imposed by French, 1953–1955
Benaîssa, 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
Chraibi, 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, Abdekrim    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 valency
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


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

Jamâï, 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-Jafar (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 Soufles, 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 1956–1961; 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, Abdelkhalak (d. 1970)  Nationalist leader in the Spanish zone
Yassine, Abdessalam  Royal admonisher, founder in 1987 of al-'Adl wa-l-Ihsan pro-Islamist Party
Who Is Who? xxvii

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

Youssoufi, 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