
**50 Years of Human Development
&
Perspectives to 2025**

“The Future Is Being Built and the Best Is Possible”

Summary of the General Report

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I. Project

1. Context and Purpose

“It is up to us to make the Independence Jubilee an historic moment, and to pause in order to evaluate the steps undertaken by our nation during this half century, in the area of human development, focusing on our successes, difficulties and ambitions, and learning from the choices made in this historic period, and the great turning points which have marked it. Our objective is to reinforce our future choices and orientations, clearly and with all confidence, emphasizing, with complete objectivity, the extraordinary efforts that were undertaken to put Morocco on the path to building a modern State. Such is the best way to be faithful to the crafters of independence in our homeland.”

It is in these terms that **His Majesty, King Mohammed VI**, in His August 20, 2003 speech, inaugurated a public undertaking and participatory study of reflection and debate as a retrospective evaluation of human development in Morocco since its independence and a vision of its possibilities over the next 20 years. This project took the form of a report entitled “50 Years of Human Development and Possibilities for 2025.”

The first result of this plan is to nurture a large public policy debate in the near and distant future, in light of the lessons learned from the experiences of past successes and failures.

This invitation to debate is motivated by three convictions:

- **The destiny of our country is in our hands.** Our country is at a crossroads. Today it has the means to resolutely pursue the path toward a great national ambition, shared by all, and conveyed through human development. To do this, the national community has the ardent obligation to make coherent choices, to accelerate the rate and deepen the range of reforms, and to break definitively with the practices and behavior which have, up till now, stood in the way of its development.
- **The virtues of public debate are invaluable.** Nothing can replace debate in the public life—the forums where ideas, concepts and analyses combine to serve a shared national initiative.
- **Only by strengthening democracy can our country irrevocably pursue the path to success.** This must be exercised consistently, borne by the responsibility and vigilance of each citizen—not as a luxury or a utopia.

Driven by respect for the principles of participation, and scientific and editorial independence, this project has mobilized more than 100 national experts from universities, administration, and civil society.

The unifying concept of this project, that of human development, allows a wide range of themes and questions to be addressed—issues which are often interdependent and difficult to tackle with a single discipline approach. The use of this relatively recent and still expanding concept has undeniably enriched the undertaking in the framework of the report.

This undertaking was conducted in a moment where important reform undertakings have been launched. The country is making an historic step marked by multiple transitional democratic and political, demographic and social, economic and cultural processes. This is a period of profound questioning, promising the formulation of great intentions to renew the national vision and to accelerate the country's rate of development.

Throughout much of the Report, it is clear that the factors which determine human development are largely determined, not only by issues and political choices, but by different contexts and foreign and domestic trends, which have determined or will determine these choices. Looking at our past and our history in the light of today's jurisdictional, ethical and conceptual references, without putting the analysis of public policy in context or in the framework of the doctrines of development which prevailed at the moment of its elaboration, would have made the report run the risk of losing fairness and loyalty towards the players of this period.

The Report on "50 Years of Human Development in Morocco and Possibilities for 2025" proposes a base for knowledge and arguments to encourage debate, taking lessons from the country's past experiences and highlighting paths for reflection for the two upcoming decades. This report purports to be a civic contribution, led as much by patriotic spirit as by the demand for objectivity.

Its fundamental message is to affirm that, with a detached reflection over the past half-century, Morocco of today, at peace with itself and with its past, strong with its successes and lessons from the failures experienced, borne by its women and men, by its youth and elders, is able to proceed, with confidence and determination, on the path leading to a new level of human development.

2. Progression and results of the project

The process of developing this report began in December 2003, with the establishment of a Steering Committee and a Scientific Commission. The Steering Committee was responsible for the general management of the project. The Scientific Commission was in charge of the methodological and scientific aspects.

The Steering Committee adopted general guidelines in April 2004 to organize the project and plan its implementation. Within this framework, ten task forces were created according to the following themes:

1. Demographics and Population
2. Society, Family, Women and Youth
3. Economic Development and Human Development
4. Educational System, Knowledge, Technology and Innovation
5. Health System and Quality of Life
6. Spatial Considerations and Access to Basic Services
7. Poverty and Factors of Social Exclusion
8. Natural Settings, Environment and Territories
9. Cultural, Artistic and Spiritual Dimensions
10. Governance and Participatory Development

Aside from this, three “cross-sectional” groups worked on the following aspects:

1. Synthesis of the historical evolution of independent Morocco
2. Studies of perspectives for the country leading up to 2025 and comparative study of Morocco and a selection of 14 countries over the 1955-2004 period
3. Survey of the values of Moroccans

Led by members of the Scientific Commission, these groups called on a network of researchers and experts who conducted specialized studies in multiple disciplines on the themes covered. Throughout the process, meetings, debates, and brainstorming sessions were organized. These exchanges, which were marked by full freedom of tone and an affirmed willingness to serve the country, were an essential contribution in the research objective and in the quest for quality.

The project resulted in a series of three gradually narrowing sets of documents:

- **75 individual contributions** signed by their authors in 8 thematic volumes;
- **16 thematic and cross-sectional reports.** Elaborated by the 13 task forces, their content explains the responsibilities of the members of each group.
- **The general report**, which synthesizes the major contributions of the thematic and transversal studies, going farther than a mere summary of their findings, consolidates the conclusions of the retrospective evaluation and drafts possible future scenarios for 2025. The editorial responsibility is incumbent upon the Steering Committee of the project. This report also includes a graphic atlas showing the evolution of a hundred key indicators over the past 50 years.

The document, which could not summarize the entire content and essence of the general report, and even less the richness of the thematic reports and the individual contributions, focuses on discussing only the essential elements.

II. Presentation of the General Report

The Report discusses “human potential,” once considered to be the driving force and the purpose of human development. Improvements and regressions of the country, both state and society are evaluated retrospectively as they relate to this area along five axes:

- **Evolution of the human potential of the country from the people’s perspective:** demography and population, society and collective, physical and cultural heritage
- **The liberation of the human potential of the country as a State:** institutional path, building of democracy and governance
- **The valuing of human potential from life and intelligence perspectives:** health, education, and access to basic services, social protection and struggle against poverty
- **Mobilization of human potential as a driving force of wealth creation:** economy and employment
- **Physical potential as a source and a framework for human development:** management of natural and physical heritage, territories and infrastructure.

Through the examination of evolution, deficits and achievements in these different areas, the Report proposes a **synoptic description** of Morocco in 2005 and the large questions which face it. It highlights the heavy trends affecting the development of the country and identifies the nodal points of the future, which represent major problems calling for decisive initiatives.

It then identifies two contrasting visions of our country in 2025, according to our ability to succeed or not in strengthening the transitions underway and to successfully initiate the necessary new reforms.

Finally, the strategies and standards are formulated. These propositions constitute a basis for elaborating a **2025 Agenda**, which needs to be the result of an all-encompassing debate between all the political, economic and social players of our country.

The Report deliberately avoided getting into a prospective or programmatic discourse, leaving that for the political players to elaborate such programs and to debate them legitimately.

1. Evolution of Human Potential in Morocco

Population, social changes and cultural dynamism

1.1 A people attached to their roots

Despite a history at times tormented and marked by phases of retreat and stagnation, Moroccan people were and remain profoundly attached to their roots, generally open to their environment and sensitive to the calls of the future. The settling of the country was marked by a great diversity, remarkable symbiosis and a great capacity for integration. Its multiple components, notably Imazighen, Arabs, Jews, Andalous, and Africans, came together and developed a shared sense of belonging. They knew how to create ways of alleviating tensions, living together, coexisting with different ethnic, linguistic and religious peoples, and making their history together: that of Morocco.

The long process of achieving territorial integrity has served to reinforce nationalistic sentiment. Though Morocco had to put in considerable effort, which it continues to do, fifty years after the proclamation of its independence, it remains united, mobilized, and confident, united around the monarchy—the guarantor of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The richness of the country's human potential comes precisely from its strong unity and great diversity. This unity was strikingly manifested in the vast momentum of the national movement, under the leadership of King Mohammed V; a momentum which mobilized all the components of the Moroccan people and triumphed over all the attempts at division.

Neither the ancient invasions nor the Protectorate, which lasted altogether no more than half a century, could destroy the durability of the Moroccan nation-state, nor the unity of its people, safeguarded for centuries despite the fluctuations of its borders. The profound history of the State destroyed colonialism to adapt itself to this reality and produce a model of a Protectorate relatively respectful to the specific society of the Moroccan people.

Since independence, the Moroccan people have known how to combine attachment to their pluralistic identity with a real determination to initiate modernity and to take their full place in the contemporary world. They have continued to cultivate and to develop their personality, around the monarchy, supporting their original cultural traits and living within their own social traditions, witnessing the richness and vitality of their spiritual and cultural heritage.

The fruit of several-thousand-year-old traditions, the expressions of this heritage are numerous, consisting of anthropological relics, architectural accomplishments, handicraft, food, dress, written and spoken literary traditions, graphics, music, physical expression and artistic production. Over the course of these fifty years, Moroccan society has been able to safeguard the essential pieces of this heritage while engaging in a process of artistic and cultural renewal. Traditional forms of expression as well as modern genres (theatre, cinema, fine arts and music)

thus saw the birth of numerous and brilliant talents, both within and outside the country. This process is far from exhausting the full potential it possesses.

Anthropological and architectural heritage remains at the mercy of the erosion of time and human degradation despite the classification of many sites and works as world cultural heritage. The same goes for unwritten local traditions which remain marginalized and that run the risk of disappearing.

1.2 Social and demographic changes

In the 40 years following its independence, Morocco has seen significant population growth, which is today about to stabilize. It has confronted the challenge to contain it in the long term, while putting in place economic development programs and basic services, notably educational and social, which would meet the needs of a growing population, in order to improve the standard of living or, at least, hold off the risk of its decline.

Thanks notably to the evolution of the matrimonial and procreative behaviors of Moroccan women, the quality of education and social changes as well as programs of family planning, which saw the participation of a large portion of the female population; the country was able to manage the development of all its population. Today it has, under the combined effects of the continued decreases in both mortality and fertility, known an advanced demographic transition, which translates into a decrease in population growth. Life expectancy has gone from 47 years in 1962 to 71 years in 2004 as a result of reduced infant mortality, the improvement of medical training, the availability of vaccination programs and better access to drinkable water.

As for the fertility rate, it has been reduced from 7 children per woman in 1962 to 2.5 in 2004, due primarily to the education of women and urbanization, leading to late marriage, and family planning policies.

The modification of the population age structure is one of the most profound implications of the demographic transition. In the years to come, the number of people to reach working age will continue to grow. This seriously questions our educational system, our enterprises and our global capacity to set in place and to maintain a more propitious environment for the creation of adequate employment.

Urbanization is another indicator of the significant mutations in Moroccan society. Its rate has gone from 29% in 1960 to 55% in 2004. This evolution essentially concerns towns exceeding 100,000 inhabitants, but the tendency during these last 20 years is marked by a net redeployment in favor of medium sized and small towns, in terms of spatial diffusion and development rate. This evolution was equally characterized by serious distortions: concentration in several large cities and in coastal areas which manifests itself in the predominance on the Atlantic coast and especially on the Kénitra-El Jadida strip; proliferation of an unsanitary residential environment, degradation of public services, leading to a ruralization of urban spaces.

With urbanization, the monetarization of exchanges, the generalization of the market economy, the relative progress in the areas of health and education, access to modern media, exposure to new ideas and models conveyed by the world, Moroccan

society has adopted or developed new modes of living, work, consumption and behavior. Family went progressively from an extended and patriarchal structure to a nuclear structure, which is sometimes single parent. Women are emancipating themselves, working more and more outside the home, and increasing their participation in public life. Sociogeographic mobility has begun and is maintained. Traditional solidarity is relaxing and dissolving, even as a number of Moroccans remain attached, by conviction or by socioeconomic necessity, to family values. Numerous players and channels of expression are emerging from this society in mutation. It is notably the case of the associative movement, which has been particularly energetic for the last 20 years.

Moreover, evolution has also touched the modes of social mobility. It gave way to the emergence of new middle classes. New forms of differentiation and stratification, that started emerging under the Protectorate, developed through new types of activities. This process didn't give the country a true middle class, in the sense of homogenous strata with a common conscience of belonging, which could have played a leading role in the social dynamic.

The rural world stayed largely excluded from these dynamics, both in terms of economic human development, and in terms of social transformation. The disparities between city and countryside appear more and more obvious and call for a dual social and economic response.

The previously mentioned evolutions are accompanied by important changes in the register of values. These changes operate through a complex sedimentation, more than by breaks and substitution. The country is going through a period of transition in which a traditional frame of reference coexists with emerging values. Many Moroccans cultivate a duality, even an ambiguity, altering their values, attitudes and behavior from ultra conservative to excessively modern, according to the moment and environment they are in, and according to their interests. Some see in this phenomenon a capacity and an adaptive intelligence, propitious to the safeguarding of identity, while voluntarily adhering to modernity. Others see more of a backward-looking fixation, or, at least, a reticence to engage resolutely in the great current of universal values/standards of today. It is plausible to suggest that in reality Moroccan society is caught between two models of thought and behavior and that its future configuration depends on its capacity to renounce backward-looking as too conservative and to modernize itself deeply, without sacrificing the distinctive aspect of its heritage and identity.

1.3 Women, Youth and Diaspora

This description of Moroccan human potential must take three of its major components into account namely:

- **The Moroccan Diaspora.** Even though Moroccan emigration to Europe was relatively late compared to other southern countries, the number of Moroccans Living Abroad (MRE) has been increasing throughout the last half-century. This emigrant population has become one of the largest foreign communities in certain receiving countries and constitutes a real potential for its country of

origin. The contribution of “Moroccans of the world” has experienced a revival since the mid-1990s, becoming one of the most important functioning “dispersed peoples networks” in the world. Although the contribution of its diaspora to the national economy is long since proven, Morocco should equally seek to benefit from the contributions of each of its components in terms of external influence, economic and financial lobbying, and knowledge transfer in technology and cultural enrichment.

- **Moroccan Women.** Women have played an important role in the evolution of the human potential of independent Morocco. After a period of being the most forgotten element in the human development process, women struggled and have achieved advancements which are now universally recognized. The reform of the Family Code and the Nationality Code attest to this. These recent advances are the crowning achievement of the efforts undertaken by a lively women’s movement that is determined and persevering. The movement has been both the product of political and democratic openness and one of its primary actors. In effect, the women’s movement has played a fundamental role in enlarging civic participation, in political emancipation and in the strengthening of civil society. The movement has equally contributed to the democratic debate over subjects that not only affect women’s conditions but that transcend it in many respects, to join the more general debate over rights, freedoms and the equality of opportunities.

- **Moroccan Youth.** Paradoxically, although young people constitute the largest component of the population, politicians of independent Moroccan, despite real efforts in sector planning, have never successfully integrated youth into the general development equation. Lack of perspectives, difficulty in self realization, poor training, unemployment, and the different forms of precariousness often inspire disenchanted responses. Strong and sometimes dramatic expressions of this disenchantment are the phenomena of clandestine immigration and the hopelessness of unemployed university graduates that attest to serious malfunctions in valuing national human resources. This potential falls prey to twofold erosion: growing expatriation of essential competencies (“brain drain”), and masses of youth willing to risk their lives for a hypothetical future north of the Strait of Gibraltar.

2. Political System, Institutions and Governance

Liberation of the Human Potential

2.1 Balance between institutional stability and oppositional dynamism

Since its independence, Morocco has embarked upon a path of institutional and political development seeking to establish a modern state. Reference of the text of the first fundamental law to the principles of constitutional monarchy and the multiparty system, allowing the representation of different components of Moroccan society within a parliament, was presented well before Independence in the discourse of the national movement as in the positions of King Mohammed V

The path to the creation of a modern state was laborious, marked at times by the occasional period of progress and at others by tension and deadlock. Having banned from the outset the one-party system and committed to respect the organization and the expression of a legal opposition and a pluralistic press, despite censorship and repression in moments of crackdown, Morocco safeguarded civil peace and avoided the drift toward totalitarianism to which many newly independent countries succumbed. Morocco thus made possible the arrival of a pluralistic political culture that permitted it to engage in a, lengthy but real, process of democratic transition.

Maintaining balance between institutional stability and oppositional dynamism, between security and freedom, between power sharing and consistency of options fundamental to the State, has required considerable efforts: vast national cooperation; constitutional, legislative and regulatory production and revision; institutional reconfiguration; reorganization of the State apparatus; integration of new political and administrative elites. Moments of extensive participation of government parties have alternated with moments of tension, without dialogue ever being totally or durably broken.

Construction of any new order is generally accompanied by a struggle of positions between protagonists, and the Moroccan experience has been no different. However, this confrontation was both too long and too costly, as much in terms of security and administrative costs of control and surveillance as in terms of postponing national priorities at the expense of the social problems of large populations. The national image equally suffered from this conflict.

2.2 The opening of the political domain

With the passage of time and the progressive opening facilitated by the confidence in the irreversible solidity of a modern state in transition, the political climate has generally become healthier and more stable. This evolution was made easier by the patriotic gathering of all the political forces around national

and territorial causes and by the loosening of certain once hard-line partisan positions on constitutional reforms and development models. Thus, at the end of a laborious process, a wide consensus around national institutions and choices fundamental to the country was identified. This consensus is apparent in all of the constitutional readjustments that were dictated by the consolidation of democratic gains, the construction of the modern state or the safeguard of territorial integrity. The lessons learned in the last fifty years show that progress at this level could never be achieved in exacerbated conflict and that the monarchy knew how to take the adequate and timely initiatives in the field of constitutional reform.

This was how Morocco witnessed, during the 1990's, the acceleration of the opening of its political field, spurred by Hassan II and the participation of the main political parties. The constitutional revisions of 1992 and 1996; the creation of the Consultative Council on Human Rights in 1990; the general royal amnesty, preceded by various partial pardons; improvement of the transparency of the electoral consultations; access of the former opposition, particularly the Left, to the government in 1998; and the creation of an Independent Compensation Commission for the victims of past serious human rights violations are all illustrative of this process.

The accession of His Majesty King Mohammed VI to power is emblematic of a new pace toward the liberation of Moroccan human potential: a democratic and modern societal project is clearly formulated and promoted, and a new concept of authority is defined. Important changes are brought in the area of administrative, central and territorial political responsibilities. The new Family Code, multiple legislative updates, large development projects, the creation of the Mohammed V Foundation for Solidarity, of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), of the High Authority of Audiovisual Communication (HACA) and of Diwan Al Madhalim (national ombudsman), are many illustrations of the important process of reform undertaken. Additionally, in this 50th Anniversary Year, the work of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission (IER) and its recommendations will definitively turn the page on past serious human rights abuses, for the reconciliation of Moroccans with their contemporary history and for the irreversible establishment of an effective democratic life.

2.3 In search of a mode of governance

Another challenge that strongly emerges from the analysis of the experience of the last fifty years is that of governance, both central and territorial, public and private.

Morocco embarked very early on the path to territorial decentralization, organizing general communal elections since 1960, which were the first in its history. The Communal Charter, adopted in 1976, came to expand the powers of communal councils. Another even more ambitious charter was adopted in 2002. Communal electoral consultations have been held regularly.

It is important however to note that this long experience and these endeavors to energize territorial governance did not always achieve the desired

results. The irregularities tainting the electoral process, the short-term and unstable character of the local partisan alliances, the uneven training of elected officials, mismanagement, and the sometimes ineffective territorial partitions are several factors that have penalized human development in many rural and urban communities.

In addition to these problems, there exists a centralized culture, resistant to change and little inclined to trust and delegation. Thus, with the exception of certain pioneering administrations, devolution, an indispensable corollary to decentralization, is far from accompanying and upholding decentralization in a diligent and consistent manner. One has therefore the impression of being closed in a vicious circle where the mishaps of decentralization and communal management confer an apparent legitimacy on the defenders of centralization. At the same time, the deficits of devolution undermine the possibility for efficient and coherent territorial governance. In the same way, the issue of regionalized development within the framework of large natural and human spheres, each with its own distinctive, yet interdependent, potential continues to present itself in spite of the numerous attempts to define a true regionalization.

Implementation of territorial decentralization since the 1960s seems to have responded more to the desire for political supervision than to concern over the adaptation of the public administration to the needs of local development. Indeed, in 1960, the objective was first to reconstitute the local elites, and this imperative had definitely gained precedence over the administrative and technical preoccupations. Devolution, as it was understood and practiced, did not bring about the conditions necessary for real decentralization.

Guardianship and the ways in which it operated significantly contributed to repressing a real and therefore liberating decentralization process. In fact, in many cases, the persistence of a heavy-handed and powerful “substitutive guardianship” constituted a blockage factor, while it could have resulted, with the evolution of the sociological, economic and cultural context of management methods, in an “institutive guardianship.”

At the central administrative level and that of the decentralized national organisms, governance engendered serious failures, despite evolutions limited in both time and place; problems of embezzlement, financial mismanagement, corruption, nepotism and vote-catching subsist regardless of laudable measures and intentions. Among these, one can cite the proclamation of a good management pact, improved transparency in public tenders, introduction of equitable regulations with regard to management of human resources, creation of regional accounting courts, judicial reform with notably the creation of administrative and commercial tribunals, and more frequent recourse to external audits.

However, over and above these irregularities and illegal practices, one takes note of other kinds of deficits: public policies favoring the short-term over the long-term, narrow sectoring, unequal competence and inconsistency of ministerial personnel and administrative overseers, absence of systematic consideration of merit, mega-ministeriality, micro-ministeriality, absence of inter-ministeriality, bureaucratic

compartmentalization, conflicts of appointment and instability of administrative flowcharts.

Some of these shortcomings are not limited only to administration. One equally finds, in numerous companies and even political and civil organizations, persisting phenomena such as excessive preeminence of individuals over structures and groups, amateur management, and a weak tendency towards concentration, dialogue and negotiated resolution of tensions and conflicts.

3. Enhancement of human potential value

Having inherited a situation of marginalized human potential, the authorities of independent Morocco have quickly embarked upon a long process of enhancing this potential. Introduced under diverse names, such as, “human resources development”, “social policies”, or “social development”, this process was key to the promotion and the reinforcement of Moroccan capabilities, the expansion of their participation in the country’s growth and the improvement of their standard of living.

3.1 Access to basic services and infrastructure

This is one indicator of the development of human capabilities and the magnitude of basic marginalization. From this standpoint, the assessment of the last 50 years is far from ideal. **So, although important efforts have been made in provision of electricity, drinking water supply, and remote area accessibility, these services are far from being generalized.** Furthermore, access to such services is hindered by unequal distribution due to the considerable socio-spatial disparities. It’s only during the last ten years that programs remedying these differences were launched with substantial results, especially in the rural and suburban areas.

The accumulated deficits are due to several factors:

- **Priority given to big projects** intended to generate widespread development. Of course, such projects, like the great dams, have obviously contributed to the water security of a country with recurring drought. This contributed to the development of irrigated agriculture and a regular drinking water supply to cities. However in remote areas, populations without water did not necessarily benefit from the positive advantages of the dams, the roads or the electricity network.
- **An egalitarian system based on “standardized” service for all**, either free of charge, or at a standard rate. It took some time to come up with and implement the idea of having the consumers pay for basic services at a variable and progressive rate.
- **A long-preserved confusion between public services and services offered directly by the government.** The association of populations, private operators and NGOs in the design, management and maintenance of basic services came late. Recent experiences of partnerships among the government, the cities, the populations and the associations of local development or service users are proof that many problems can be avoided as soon as we abandon systematic standardization that often delays access to these services, under the pretext of universality.

3.2 Education

Under the Protectorate, very few Moroccans had access to schooling and only a tiny minority among those reached secondary and higher levels of education.

There was legitimate and understandable concern about educating the majority of Moroccans following independence. Therefore, the Government put forth considerable efforts in terms of education. Until the late 70's, the national education system fulfilled its overall mission. Notwithstanding the considerable shortfalls in the beginning and despite population growth, the national education system succeeded in broadening Moroccans' access to education and providing the administration and the national economy with the next generation of executives. Education has ever since proven to be a vehicle for social mobility, openness to the world, access to modernity and the development of social ties.

Since the early 80s, the education system has fallen into a long crisis whose most striking symptoms consist of: academic failures, the relapse of the dropouts into illiteracy and functional illiteracy, a decrease in civic behavior and critical thinking skills, unemployment of college graduates, lack of basic skills (reading, writing, math, languages, and communication). In spite of, and sometimes due to, a series of make-shift and most often unsuccessful reforms, the educational system became an unprofitable and unwieldy machine, producing graduates ill-prepared for the changes and demands of the modern economy and society. The system ended up producing schools of varying levels whose individual performance keeps decreasing the farther they are away from large urban areas.

A significant effort was made in the areas of workforce training and professional training. Overall, during the first two decades of Independence, higher education contributed very strongly to providing the necessary training for the structures of the modern State. An equally important role was played by universities and the *grandes écoles* in producing intellectuals and internationally renowned scientists. The system of higher education was able to maintain niches of excellences which produced highly skilled individuals (engineers, doctors, IT professionals, architects, managers, legal professionals, professors and others). Nevertheless, the recent progress of higher education, tied to successive educational policies and the political maneuvering to which it was subject, reveals a new challenge; namely the new role imposed by societal changes and those of the international environment: Acting as a true means of human capital development and producing knowledge and technology.

The accumulated shortcomings, combined with the considerable lag in the literacy rate, reflect negatively on all areas of social, political and economic life: an unfair situation for women, failures in democracy, limited spreading of progress of civic values, the unemployment phenomenon and an economy with a low competitive edge.

In 1999, a consensual and ambitious project of educational and training system renovation, supported at the highest levels of government, was formulated in a national plan. Education has been, since that time, declared the first national priority after national integrity. Up until now, important efforts have been

undertaken but the results obtained remain insufficient with respect to the stated objectives. Some undeniable quantitative advances have been made in the area of school standardization and new projects were initiated, covering the educational aspects as well as decentralization and modes of management. However, much remains to be done. Student dropout rates, quality, content, methodological problems teacher training and the values schools convey still remain persistent.

3.3 Health, Social Protection and the fight against Poverty

Since Independence, Moroccan's level of health has recorded notable progress, breaking with the multitude of diseases and epidemics that used to plague the country. The life expectancy has considerably increased and risen to over 70 years of age. However, certain indicators of infant and maternal health remain alarming and mar the level of human development of the country. In addition, the country is going through an epidemical transition, in which formerly wide-spread diseases still exist, alongside new diseases. Thus, Morocco has yet to definitely solve its problems of "poor country diseases" while it must face the increase in strength and frequency of the "rich country diseases," which are more difficult to control and more expensive to take care of. Also, access to treatment and public hospitals stagnates and has regressed, in spite of the isolated accomplishments of certain doctors and researchers.

Insufficient financial means are definitely a constraint, but new strategies of reorganization, financing and public health system management are becoming pressing issues, not only in order to prevent their degradation, but also to hoist them to a level responding to the population's human development needs. One of the aspects of this strategy is the Mandatory Health Insurance (MHI) that recently began to be very progressively implemented. In the area of social protection, several reforms have been undertaken since independence in the broadening of health care coverage for those in need or totally without resources, and the diversification of services provided by different organizations and collective solidarity regimes. Today, the level of social protection remains insufficient and poses serious problems of viability. The design and implementation of a new system, based on the existing one, while renovating and extending it, are even more indispensable. Added to this is the problem of unemployment which is far from over, the relaxation of traditional familial solidarity and, in the long run, the relative aging of the population that will consequently increase the number of people requiring societal care.

In addition, while progress was made in terms of staffing and the quality of human resources, in health management and new functions within the health system, **there has always been a huge gap between reform projects and their implementation. Many questions related to governance, even though well-defined, still persist.** These are related mainly to: the absence of a strategic framework for action and of a global vision of the health system, the diversity of the interests of stakeholders and operators and the presence of many rentiers which developed into real forces of inertia, excessive centralism of health administration and the weak development of local services, as well as the crisis of the public hospital. Faced with the increasing competition of private institutions which attract the majority of the well-to-do population, the public hospital is in search of a new positioning that would help it build its own capacity and increase its resources to enable it to provide quality service.

Moreover, the level of human development in the country continues to be affected by the persistence of poverty. The rate of relative poverty which used to exceed 50% in 1960 has fallen to 14.2% today. However, due to the demographic growth, the absolute number of poor people remained at an average of 5 million; three quarters of whom live in rural areas. With the exception of some forms of public generosity and state aid, such as the subsidy of basic food products, systematic

fight against poverty is a recent concern of public policies, which are still inadequate and not well-founded on the principle of capacity-building so that people are enabled to take themselves in charge over time. One exception can be mentioned here; namely the remarkable success of micro-finance as the work of certain NGO's which managed to introduce the concept and succeeded in its implementation.

4. Mobilization of human potential

Growth, economic policies and employment

4.1. Constructing the national economy:

Starting from a difficult economic situation, independent Morocco set out to build a modern national economy for which the country managed to put in place the basic principles: issuing a national currency, creating regulating bodies and instruments for fiscal, budgetary and monetary policies, controlling inflation, developing a national financial system, a base of small and medium-sized businesses and a hard core of private groups serving as a driving force in certain economic sectors.

From independence to 1982 a Moroccan liberal economic model was constructed, which is at the same time marked by mixed economy, protectionism and the State's economic and social interventionism. As of 1983 a new decade started with the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). This decade was marked by the quest for macroeconomic stability, the reorganization of public finances and the progressive disengagement of the State in favor of market forces. Starting in 1993, the liberalization process gathered speed and the economy was opened to ambitious privatization programs and the signing of several free trade agreements. Conditions for the emergence of a modern market were thus met. The national economy was bound to the liberal model and opened to world trade circuits.

Overall, this course allowed a remarkable progress and important achievements. A rise was observed in the general standards of living of the population in terms of income, purchasing power, consumption and saving.

4.2. Mitigated performances

The Moroccan economy has not yet fully achieved its potential during the last half century. Its growth has generally lacked vigor since 1955 and the increase of per capita income was low. In addition, its continuous dependence on the agricultural sector, which is itself dependent on climatic conditions, shows why growth rates are extremely volatile. Non-agricultural sectors for their part, did not achieve a satisfying growth rate. Last, the current system of the distribution of wealth generated from growth has not allowed for the emergence of an enterprising middle class capable of instilling reforms and facilitate the penetration of technologies and progress values. This evolution resulted in the accumulation of social deficits.

A series of factors explain this weak performance. **The macroeconomic environment remained unstable for a long time, offering little visibility.** The agricultural sector is still largely hindered, not only by the scarcity of water, but also by problems related to obsolescence of technologies, the land property regime, the small size of most plots of land and old agricultural practices. The private sector is limited by the concentration phenomena, complicated access to loans, high interest rates, real estate complications, administrative barriers and legal uncertainties. The sector is also hindered by rentier behaviors and the frequent management, technical and operational defects. The State remained for long burdensome, excessively interventionist, thus hindering the free functioning of the market and competition.

Serious deficiencies still affect the products and services offered in terms of the respect of quality standards and the adoption of efficient marketing strategies. This resulted in low competitiveness at the external level and a big vulnerability of the economy to the international situation. The competitiveness of the economy remained below expectations due to the weakness of productivity and to the limited share of qualified work force in the global work force. In addition, the domestic market remains very narrow. This is due mainly to smuggling, the weakness of internal consumption, as well as to the emergence and development of an informal economy, on which a great part of the urban population lives today.

4.3. A willingness to accelerate growth which is yet to bear fruit

A series of actions and legislative, legal, financial, administrative social and educational reforms were initiated in recent years to overcome these handicaps. These reforms have to be coordinated in the field and implemented with vigor and diligence. Many problems are still to be addressed with pertinent strategies. This is the price to be paid if additional external investments are to be attracted; if business creations are to be multiplied and if activities with a high added-value are to emerge from the informal sector. The country could thus face the consequences of and benefit from its economic openness. The major challenge of this outburst of reforms is not only to curb an already massive unemployment, but also to take advantage of the demographic opportunity by providing employment to the increasing number of people who will be arriving on the job market. In a word, it is the achievement of a rapid and steady rate of economic growth, concurrently with the development of human capacities that would guarantee the reduction of country's deficits in terms of human development.

5. Standard of living and development of physical potential

5.1 Water:

Since its independence, Morocco has established a strong and energetic policy in the water sector, with the objective of overcoming its vulnerabilities to climatic hazards by controlling and stocking water supplies from wet years for use in dry years. The objectives were designed to respond to the population's growing demand for potable water and to give agriculture large, rapid development to satisfy food consumption needs and to encourage agricultural exports. The challenge, which has been practically met since 1998, was to irrigate a million hectares (around 2.5 million acres) by the turn of the century. The dam policy launched by King Hassan II allowed the country to guarantee water and crop security, to improve agricultural revenues of the irrigated plots and to intensify and diversify agricultural production and to develop agricultural exports.

Apart from the mobilization of water resource, which is considered a true success for the Kingdom, waste water and water pollution did not receive the same interest and success during this period. Among the negative fallouts: water quality in rivers, dams and water tables has been decreasing quickly over the last two decades. This greatly diminished the real water potential owing to the lower quality of these waters. Another aspect held up, in part, the national water policy's success: a clear separation in the approach between the hydraulic and hydro-agricultural infrastructures downstream of the watershed and those required upstream from it.

Since its conception, the water policy carried out was focused on the mobilization of resources. It wasn't until 1995 and the enactment of the water law that a series of fundamental principles were introduced. Among them the uniqueness of water resources, an integrated management style, decentralized by watershed, with the participation of water consumers, controlling waste and economizing resources. Since then, the principle of demand management has become the guiding principle of public water policy. Noteworthy efforts have also been deployed in order to limit demand, with tangible results for potable water. These efforts, which were obtained thanks to the introduction of tariffs by thresholds of consumption, were also brought into irrigated agriculture, the sector that consumes the most water, but the results obtained, up to now, remain mitigated.

5.2 Energy:

The burden of Morocco's energy bill is considerable, even though, average energy consumption per capita is lower than that of several comparable countries. Now, for the same reasons mentioned for water, coupled with the strong trends in the global energy market, the country leaves itself vulnerable to further stretching of resources and a heavier financial burden. The development of renewable energy sources, and of gas, systematic energy conservation, the early recourse to fuel efficient technology and machines, and increased awareness in the population to conserving energy are the only means likely to reduce the strain, with a nuclear option open for the long term, among possible responses.

5.3 Earth, forests and other resources:

Currently and potentially cultivated land, as well as other vegetation coverings, especially forests, suffered natural attacks – such as erosion, desertification, fires- and human attacks, such as overgrazing, excessive logging, irrational urban expansion, and land speculation.

Also, rural populations, often lacking basic infrastructures, with a low quality of life and living in fragile areas, depend in their day-to-day lives on the exploitation of natural resources. The concurrence of this precarious situation with the extreme variability of climatic conditions resulted in ecosystem disturbances and environmental instability, which could in the long term, cause irreversible damage.

Excessive pressure on natural resources beyond their capacity for renewal has exhausted or strongly reduced that capacity. This has in turn aggravated poverty. Such a vicious circle runs the risk of leading to situations where poverty will prevail, with resources irreparably exhausted or degraded. There is a conflict between the immediate individual (the user) and the collective interests; a conflict which has constantly been managed in adversity and which has generated another conflict between the individual who consumes and the administration which controls, protects and sanctions. Now, as long as pressure on natural resources represents the only means for subsistence, and in the absence of alternative means of revenue, this management in adversity becomes ineffective in terms of resource protection. It also remains devoid of any dissuasive effect on the users and with impossible to implement repressive measures.

In a general sense, the overexploitation of water and fishing resources and the degradation of their quality, overgrazing, forest clearing, cultivating marginal land and extending urbanization on potentially rich farmland are often the expression of failed decisions, favoring short term profit; decisions that seem to relieve current problems but in the long term make them more complex.

Only territorialized, integrated and cross-sectorial visions and practices that take into consideration the long term opportunities and risks can contribute to safeguarding the country's natural resources, especially those that are not renewable.

5.4 Standard of living and land management

In Morocco, land management has always been a sensitive issue. Considered one of the major legacies of independence, the management of national space and local spaces was designed for two reasons: first, to ensure strong coordination of territorial structure as a basis for development and as a reinforcement of political, economic and social unity; and second to facilitate administrative, political and social control based on partitioning facilitating especially the supervision of local elites, resources and populations.

As in the case of the protection and development of national physical potential or that of the country's infrastructure, it is only recently that spatial planning became a part of land management strategy: a strategy concerned with fair distribution of space, territorial competitiveness and the coordination of territorial development efforts. The delay in selecting this type of strategy set the stage for spatial management based on short term planning and arbitration. It also established and created

diverse speculations and aberrations. Urban management, often reduced to housing and housing fluctuations, eloquently illustrates this scenario on the city scale. The case of a large city like Casablanca and more generally in the range of its metropolitan centers, perfectly illustrates the equation of spatial planning in Morocco and the serious and heavy implications of hasty planning.

Territorial planning can neither be reduced to an exclusively reparative approach towards territorial inequalities, nor to a simplistic opposition of coastline versus interior, nor urban versus rural. However, these inequalities are still persistent in our country: close to 40% of the national wealth is concentrated in 1% of the territory, including the rural areas. Similarly, 77% of the territory contributes only 10% of the added national value. Territorial solidarity did not constitute a systematic and organized preoccupation with regards to the strategy of territorial development. An innovative approach was set in motion in 2000, with the launching of the great debate on territorial infrastructure, the adoption of a national charter and a National Outline for Territorial Infrastructure (SNAT), opening new perspectives for the country in this area.

6. A future with confidence

6.1 Morocco in 2005: A land for all transitions

Fifty years after its Independence, the country is experiencing numerous transitions: democratic and institutional, economic and social, sociological and cultural. Meanwhile, the underlying demographic transition takes such a rhythm and shape that it should determine most of the public policies to come.

Politically, Morocco is completing its democratic transition, demonstrated by the accumulation of major reforms aiming to deepen and accelerate the democratic process, as well as to affirm the rule of law. This transition is reflected at the level of political practice, at the level of law, and that of the values underlying the functioning of institutions and the relationship between the different stakeholders. It also affects many aspects of the public life: clarification of the ground rules (political alternation, regular legislative and communal elections, the new political party code, the new concept of authority), institutional upgrading, and the emerging results of the (judicial, audiovisual, religious and family law) reforms. The transition also marks the end of the dark days of political tension, thanks to the launching of the National Commission for Equity, and Reconciliation (IER) and the harmonization of national legislation with international conventions on human rights.

Economically, the objective of global economic integration shapes Morocco's economic transition. The process of opening, accelerated in the 1980s, has been marked by successive stages of internal reform and liberalization of exchanges resulting from a number of agreements signed by Morocco. Economic transition has gained pace far and wide: in infrastructure (Tanger-Med, highway network,...), in tourism projects (Plan Azur), in new industrial policies and upgrading of Moroccan enterprises (charter for small and medium-sized firms, upgrade strategy, "Emergence" plan,...), in the consolidation of macroeconomic balances (reduction of external debt), in regulatory and administrative reform affecting various economic sectors (labor code, financial sector, taxation,...), and in the implementation of a better investment framework (Hassan II fund for economic and social development, regional investment centers,...).

At the social level, Morocco initiated a series of major projects that hold much promise. During the last years, major reorientations have characterized the management of social issues. few decisive projects have been taken up again, thus meeting the requirements of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to which Morocco subscribed. These projects include the educational reform through the adoption of the National Charter for Education and Training (Charte Nationale de l'Éducation-Formation); the implementation of Mandatory Health Insurance (AMO); increased resources allocated to and availability of social housing programs (Cities without shantytowns "Villes sans bidonvilles" program); measures to help reinvigorate rural areas (roads, electricity networks, drinking water).

Thanks to the juxtaposition of efforts of different departments, **social affairs are now undertaken through a cross-sectorial vision that gathers,** in a coordinated fashion, the contributions of the different stakeholders. **The National Initiative for Human Development (INDH)** has thus changed the paradigm of social action in Morocco by proposing a new horizon and an unprecedented doctrinal coherence.

These reforms demonstrate unprecedented vigor. They take place in a regional and international context equally marked by a series of transformations. Their implementation and consolidation is central to the current national project which engages both the government and society at large. It is essential that the main actors remain perfectly aware of the range of the current transitions and the importance of reform undertaken, but also of the risks that could compromise them. These include:

- **Not mastering the reform agenda** due to a lack of synchronization or absence of overall coherence;
- **The risk of succumbing to contextual difficulties**, thus leading to slackening of efforts, abandoning, or partial or selective realization of the objectives;
- **A serious external or internal crisis** that would brutally interrupt current dynamics;
- **Incapacity to reach a sufficient intensity and pace of reform action**, capable to lead to an irreversible dynamic of change.

By nature, any transitional gains are fragile and susceptible. **Actors are called upon to persistently consolidate these gains and preserve transition from the risks of regression. The role of these actors, and especially that of the government, is to continuously adapt the national project to potential future stakes and challenges.**

A long road lies ahead for human development, making this collective exigency essential. Today, Morocco is ranked 124th on the Human Development Index but stands 108th in the index of per capita income. **The numerous deficits could amount to prove to be a heavy liability likely to compromise any time efforts for progress. To face this hazard, the country possesses a number of decisive assets. Awareness of these assets and the major deficiencies is undoubtedly essential to contemplating the future with clarity and confidence.**

6.2. Morocco's future: assets and impediments

□ **Assets:**

In the past fifty years, Morocco has secured progress and assets that serve as building blocks for the future. Emerging from a lengthy process of incubation and consolidation, their maintenance is everyone's responsibility. These assets include:

- **A firm base for national belonging:** Fifty years after Morocco's independence, national belonging has been and remains strong, as demonstrated by the vivacity of patriotic sentiment: resistance to occupation, the Revolution of the King and the People (Révolution du Roi et du Peuple), the struggle for Independence, the Green March, and, more recently, the condemnation of the May 16 attacks. This foundation has been spared by the political conflicts which have long prevailed. A keen desire to live together in peace has therefore emerged from this diverse community of belonging, built around the contemporary values of coexistence and linguistic and

ethnic social intermingling. The sense of belonging to the national collective federates the specific identities, sets the base of common values, enriches the shared social capital, and fosters social links and solidarity. All of these elements contribute to human development.

- **Democratic assets built around legitimate institutions:** The ongoing normalization of institutional and political life represents one of the major assets of Morocco today. Morocco's ancestral institutions are now open to the democratic exigencies and universal norms that govern the Rule of Law, public and individual liberties, and human rights. The vast majority of political actors now adhere to the fundamental rules for the functioning of institutions and the organization of public life. These actors agree on clear strategic options affirmed at the highest state level and built around the constitutional monarchy, Islam, and territorial integrity. These options include: democratic choice, universally recognized human rights, market economy, solidarity, and openness to the world.

- **A dynamic society:** In the past half-century, Morocco has been able to maintain internal vigor expressed through political parties, trade unions, representative bodies, the media, civil society, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) active in social affairs, organizations fighting for human rights, women's rights, and cultural and sports associations. Always preserved, this dynamism reinvigorates itself and foreshadows new horizons for the country. A legal framework favorable to freedom of association and the press, and the rise of a professional and vigilant media represent undeniable assets, especially when taking into account our regional norms. Political parties and trade unions are currently preparing to initiate structural renewal and play new roles for the development process. Deepening democratic practice, evolution toward the Rule of Law, and free expression and participation of individuals and groups could not be possible without the key to all freedoms: Security. On this matter, Morocco has overall been able to preserve civil peace, guarantee the security of persons and goods, and avoid violence. This basic asset cannot be overshadowed by certain instances of insecurity or certain local expression of extra-national terrorist plots.

- **Clear progress in human development matters:** Morocco had a low level of human development in the period immediately following its independence. Numerous advances point to certain progress in human development: higher life expectancy and increased schooling, food security, access to health care, water management and infrastructure, and increased per capita income and gross domestic product (GDP) and average salary. Furthermore, Morocco today enjoys a modern framework for economic action: property and private initiative rights, business rights, macroeconomic stability, social dialogue organization, a solid national financial sector, the increasing importance of tertiary and secondary economy in the gross national product (GNP), rise of national champions in various sectors. These various successes have been secured thanks also to an administration that has globally undertaken its missions, despite the significant difficulties that still plague public services. An organized country, Morocco has a strong administration and a body of civil servants ready to undertake reform and modernization initiatives on a global level. Morocco has successfully mastered the natural increase of its population, thus leading to a reconfiguration of age distribution heralding a real opportunity to be exploited..

• **A determined international opening and engagement:** Morocco's assets also lie beyond its own borders. Indeed, the country's regional and international presence has been affirmed ever since the first years of its independence. The country has often played a role in the Arab, African and Islamic spaces. Morocco has been continuously present on the international scene, as demonstrated by its adherence to large-scale agreements and its action within the United Nations. Morocco has exploited economic and commercial opening as a strategic option and, in the past two decades, has been engaged in a number of free exchange agreements. The North African option, the Euro-Mediterranean and Atlantic partnership, Arab and African depth, today comprise the country's fundamental assets. Maintaining them for the benefit of national interests and of the country's development is an ongoing task that requires more than simple official diplomatic action. In a time of parallel diplomacies—those of civil society, of intellectuals, of scientists, of businessmen—Morocco's assets as concerns international opening, action and status, hail of a new dynamism.

□ **Future impediments:**

Future impediments owe to structural gridlocks and deficits linked to the nodal dimensions of human development in Morocco. Unless they are vanquished, these setbacks will most likely compromise the country's development. In light of their complex interdependencies and their decisive impact, their resolution paves the way to alternative futures.

These are fundamental impediments that correspond to deficits and gridlocks identified through a retrospective analysis and in expectation of future challenges:

• **Knowledge:** The production, access, transmission, and diffusion of knowledge today face a number of deficits in many areas: education, training, literacy, cultural production, diffusion of tacit knowledge, scientific research, and innovation. In light of international competition, economic opening, and the globalization of exchanges, the establishment of a knowledge society and of an economy of knowledge represents a major contemporary imperative. Despite agreed efforts, the Moroccan educational system is currently experiencing a legitimacy and credibility crisis that augments difficulties in this area. As demonstrated by the difficulty to transmit the values of citizenship, openness, and progress, and the regression of fundamental learning necessary for the development of capacity and competence (reading, writing, arithmetic, mastery of languages), the school's social and economic functions have naturally been affected.

• **Economy:** In the past half-century, the Moroccan economy has had mitigated results. However, as far as certain sectors are concerned, remarkable progress has been made, and the foundations of a modern economy have been set. This progress is due to a progressive mastery of macroeconomic equilibriums and inflation. Nevertheless, the volatility and poor level of growth have significantly slowed the country's human development. The predominance of the agricultural sector, at the constant mercy of climate changes, is a major reason for the continued vulnerability of Morocco's economy, in addition to the average performances of the non-

agricultural sector. A poor overall growth and an uneven distribution of its fruits have led to inequalities and massive unemployment that continues to hinder the country's human development and to deepen the social divide. Since 1982, Morocco has experienced an unemployment rate in excess of 10%. Although relatively decreased, poverty continues to affect 5 million Moroccans.

- **Inclusion:** Over the past fifty years, Morocco has not always effectively included all elements of society in the development process. Moroccan women have not been given their full place, often dramatically so, in the country's development dynamics. As demonstrated by the schooling rate of girls or female unemployment rate, the level of development of women, especially those living in rural areas, remains an issue of concern. The first act of injustice committed towards women has been that of illiteracy, which has prevented them from full integration in the development process, and deprived the country of the potential of an essential component of its population. The youth is also short of receiving its due place in the development agenda. While young men and women represent the majority of the population, they have experienced a reduced social and economic insertion in the past 50 years in light of the poor state of their training, schooling, political commitment, and cultural and sports activities. Low inclusion rates are repeated at the territorial level, as entire regions have been excluded from development initiatives. Excluded from development and modernization, rural lands have largely been left to face their challenges alone. Depending too frequently on subsistence farming, particularly affected by unemployment, under-employment, poverty, illiteracy, diseases and rudimentary or impoverished lifestyles, rural Morocco is the other face of the country, itself nonetheless in visible progress.

- **Health:** Despite significant progress in the national health system, access to healthcare remains uneven and limited by numerous factors. With a poor level of public health expenditure and of collective and private medical coverage, general health services financing remains insufficient. This situation helps explain deficits in medical and paramedical care, hospital infrastructure, and, of course, in the system's overall performances. Uneven healthcare access is further deepened as households undertake over 50% of general health expenditures. The high cost of healthcare and the unequal geographic distribution of sanitary conditions often present additional obstacles to healthcare access, especially for poor or vulnerable populations. The efficiency of public action in this domain is further hindered by the insufficiencies of the healthcare governance system, namely the lack of coordination and cohesion of public policies and the low level of interest for research and development. These malfunctions exert a negative effect on the country's level of human development, affecting the population's health, mortality indicators and lifespan. They lead to important social costs and reduce workers' productivity.

- **Governance:** Another cross deficit that the country has experienced since its Independence is linked to governance, in terms of public and private sector management leadership and the exercise of authority. Deficiencies in good governance are namely linked to the ways in which the structural principles of human development have been applied. The gaps in governance practices concern the following domains:

- **Participation.** This virtue has too often lacked in the conception or implementation of development programs and projects. However, without direct implication and interest of the populations concerned, even the best conceived creations can grow out of pace with citizens' real needs, be exposed to their hostility and only exert a hypothetical human impact and durability.
- **Planning.** Development projects have often been articulated in the form of plans. Meanwhile, the implementation of these plans has often lacked a number of elements. With the frequent primacy of contextual and short-term considerations over the more pressing structural invariables and the risks or opportunities that could appear in the future, the timeframe has been poorly mastered. Development programs and projects have also at times turned out to be too ambitious, too fragmented, or deprived of their necessary prerequisites or complements in order to be achievable and sustainable.
- **The decision-making system** has too often been marked by improvisation, precipitation, or the opposite: sluggishness and the lack of reactive and proactive initiative. In addition, decision-making has not been systematically based on knowledge and the rational, scientific, and rigorous mastery of the stakes at hand. Too few important decisions were preceded by an open debate based on pertinent alternative quantitative and qualitative studies, of their approach, or of their impact.
- **The culture of evaluation** has been insufficiently practiced and thought through in organizations. The public policies of those in power and those elected in particular have not always been evaluated or readjusted for their impact or for the population's well-being. When audits take place, they are rarely made public or made known to those citizens directly concerned. The credibility and pertinence of a number of projects and institutions has thus been reduced.
- **Accountability** and its corollary, administrative, judiciary, or electoral sanctions, have not yet been fully integrated into Morocco's governance culture. A sense of impunity has led to numerous cases of embezzlement of funds and the repetition of errors or negligence such as maintaining and unduly gratifying incompetence. Since the country's Independence, citizens are perhaps not engaged enough in a "social contract" with the administration. While they have duties as citizens, they also have rights, including that to demand and receive accounts from public mandate holders.

These deficiencies have led to major malfunctions, namely as concerns justice, decentralization and relations between the administration and citizens. Corruption is another example of poor governance as it threatens accountability (by distorting ground rules) and inclusion (by denying the right of citizens to fair and equal treatment). The diffuse presence of corruption, as well as its acceptance or resignation by some, continues to endanger confidence between citizens and the administration while also affecting the business climate.

If it does not intervene on the problems predicated by future impediments, the country will continue to suffer their effects as they increase in breadth. However, leveraging them for development will pave the way toward new possibilities.

Morocco will nonetheless need to acknowledge the difficulties related to the evolution of its regional and international environment. In light of its international commitments, strategic alliances, reduced amounts of certain natural resources, and participation in global exchange networks, the profile of Morocco in 2025 will necessarily be influenced by its international environment and climate change. This environment will always be structured by American power but will bear witness to the rise in influence of new regional powers such as China, India, or Brazil. The evolution of the European political project will also continue to have an important impact on our sub-region. While generally considered beneficial thanks to its positive results (liberalization of commercial and financial flows), globalization is also the origin of more acutely felt challenges: environmental degradation, depletion of certain energy resources, tensions related to migration. Societies would experience significant changes, namely concerning the ageing of populations, the preponderance of information technologies, and the strengthening of civil societies. Major climate changes could also accentuate economic disequilibrium, with major human consequences. A country of both legal and illicit migration, Morocco has, in the past few years, become a host and transit country for a pronounced sub-Saharan migration. Contemporary challenges threaten to further increase this phenomenon. Pressured on both sides, Morocco will need to find means to find structural responses to this problem beyond the requisite human treatment and with its European neighbors, namely Spain.

The growing role of the media, the universal demands for democracy, transparency, and respect for human liberties are some of the factors that will help dissolve borders and introduce common norms for all.

These stakes will bear transnational consequences directly affecting Morocco.

6.3. Morocco at crossroads

Morocco is at a crossroads. The country is facing a historic situation of major choices and major plans that lead to two fundamental but contrasting options. On the one hand, the country can resolutely engage a virtuous renewal and development dynamic by seizing opportunities that present themselves and by making the reform process a permanent and structural process. On the other hand, resolving future impediments to development would be postponed to an undetermined date.

These are the two courses of action possible for Morocco over the next two decades: a regressive course, one of demobilization and negligence, and a course following a more ambitious and voluntary vision, built to measure for the Moroccan public's assets. **The success of future generations and the consolidation of human development assets will necessarily require adherence to a voluntary vision**

founded on triumph over tomorrow's impediments, a vision of a desirable and possible Morocco.

□ **Morocco in 2025: the regressive course**

If Morocco is unable to act today to bypass those weights that prevent it from moving forward and to transform the future impediments described above into true leverages for development, it will be confronted with a regressive scenario. The regressive course remains a possibility if ongoing reforms are not strengthened, if they are not brought to term, or if they are overtaxed so as to weaken collective engagement. Should the country be unable to adapt its intelligence to new stakes and to changes in the international arena, it will also face the regressive course.

An unacceptable option, the regressive path would have the following features:

- An increase of the governance system's inherent insufficiencies which could prevent democratic advances and hurt the development process.
- Generalized primary education but with problems of quality and low return. Secondary education will continue to exclude more than a third of its potential clients. .
- Uneven access to healthcare, due to poverty and to the marginalization of large fringes of the population despite potential progress in medical coverage, reduced mortality of mothers and newborns, and control of certain infectious diseases. Emerging diseases and pandemics (AIDS, Creutzfeld-Jacob, avian flu, etc.) represent a real danger for a large section of the population,.
- A poorly competitive economy whose insufficient growth rate would engender an unemployment rate in excess of 20%, the increase and spread of poverty, vulnerability, and exclusion.
- Degradation of natural resources that could accelerate in light of growing demographic pressure and inadequate management methods. Morocco would lack sufficient water supplies and some 2,320 square miles (600,000 hectares) of forestland could disappear.
- Weakening of the agricultural sector in light of, amongst others, the constraints of globalization, which would intensify the rural exodus and aggravate the unregulated development of cities and their surroundings, as well as exert much pressure on the labor market.

The combination of these factors could plunge the country in a regressive spiral and lead to an untenable situation.

This unacceptable scenario must call upon leaders, elites and the nation as a whole. **Indeed, while progress as an alternative does exist, it requires more than**

words for its implementation. It requires ambition, determination and engagement.

□ Morocco: The best is possible

Envisioning a desirable future is based upon observed seeds of change and requirements of the desired development course. This perception centers on consolidation of the democratic process, successful decentralization, reduced inequality and exclusion, and with harmonious insertion in globalization.

Desirable Morocco around 2025 will be:

- A country open to universal values, attached to its roots, valuing its cultural diversity, and sharing progress values.
- A country with more solidarity and less inequality, with universally available basic services and infrastructures, and a guarantee of decent standards of living for all citizens.
- A decentralized country where all elements of society contribute to the human development process by making full use of their diversity and their material and immaterial potential. Morocco's commendable democratic engagement will then present itself as a determining asset that offers what, to the Southern provinces, constitutes the only solution out of the deadlock: autonomy for populations to democratically manage their own affairs, with absolute respect for the sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of the Kingdom.
- A country widely integrated in the knowledge society.
- A country where good governance is solidly anchored in the practices of all development actors.
- A country where the liberalization of human capacities and the corollary reinforcement of individual responsibility would develop in an encouraging environment that neither hinders nor thwarts the efforts of individuals seeking to take control of their own destiny.
- A country that enjoys a strong, integrated, competitive and open economy that generates both employment and wealth.
- A country that will satisfy the Millennium Development Goals well before 2015.
- A country well integrated in its North African, African, Mediterranean, and global environment.

An exceptional global situation presents considerable opportunities. In order to seize them, Morocco needs willingness, intelligence, and reactivity.

Through an alignment with its regional and international benchmarks, skillful integration to the knowledge economy presents an "exit by the top" for the Moroccan economy. The country could thus legitimately ambition for the next twenty years a transition from an intermediary country to an emerging country, securing a fixed revenue in excess of 8,000 US dollars per capita. Morocco could also reasonably aspire to:

- Reduce the adult illiteracy rate to less than 5% on the national level and to eliminate it within firms
- Reduce the unemployment rate to less than 10%
- Bring 70% of students in a given age group to high school completion
- Make research and development account for 5% of the GNP
- Increase by five times the number of engineers trained annually in order to secure a figure of 40 engineers per 10,000 inhabitants in 2025, thus reviving the interest of young Moroccans for the currently forsaken scientific and technical sectors.
- Bequest 40% of management-level job posts to women
- Use renewable energy for 15% of all energy needs.
- Secure equal access to basic services for all Moroccans

6.4. The road to 2025: Stakes of a desirable scenario

Reflecting upon a half-century of human development, the country can today observe its past with serenity and envision its future with confidence, with a view to reconcile introspection with rigor, voluntarism and perspicuity. The country must avidly rally around a specific target and build the future to which it aspires: one that is planned rather than fatally endured.

In order to move toward this desirable future, the country must first put a definite end to the broadly diagnosed predicaments that have instigated delays and continue to hinder its future. Morocco must make levers out of future impediments in the areas of knowledge, governance, economy, integration, and health and lifestyle. These are privileged reform and action areas featuring new stakes.

Those courses of action likely to give life to such a vision are detailed hereafter. While this vision can be shared, the roads leading to it remain numerous and the very object of political practice. However, while reflection on the national agenda must remain open to diverse and alternative contributions, the country must also be able to focus on specific reforms and playing fields that transcend situations or political change by their very nature and the stakes they engage. Political figures must then work so that these agreements do not in any way hinder democratic practice. National treaties must be signed on such crucial issues as educational reform and integration into the knowledge society, city and rural planning, the fight against poverty, or water resource management.

The road to 2025 requires that Morocco be successful on five major points:

- **Consolidate political normalcy, reinforce national cohesion and improve the system of governance;**
- **Combine the conditions for a rigorous integration of Morocco into the knowledge economy and society;**
- **Rebuild the bases for a competitive economy while taking advantage of the country's demographic situation;**
- **Overcome exclusion and poverty, and reorganize solidarity;**
- **Seize the opportunities of an open economy, overcome its threats and work toward new strategies for regional positioning.**

□ Consolidate political normalcy, strengthen national cohesion and improve the system of governance:

Morocco will not only have to complete its transition but will also have to secure political normalcy. Stakeholders deeply attached to democracy are essential for this development, with a constitutional Monarchy that, in pursuit of its historic role and in agreement with the nation's agents of change, will direct the various stages of this political progress. The electoral process will be able to

make the transition from a quantitative plurality of political formations to a plurality of projects and alternatives, thus paving the way toward renewal of the national political field around clear ideological blocks as well as of the role of elites.

Political engagement thus becomes an act of citizenship. Much like the media and civil society, political parties must be reintegrated in public life. These three groups of actors are called upon to envision future challenges and adapt themselves to changes in society as well as in knowledge, ideas and techniques. The definitive transition to political normalcy fundamentally requires security, stability, and a recognized, perhaps even institutionalized role for the opposition.

Decentralization should gain new momentum as a space for the diffusion of democratic practices, expand the elite base, organize surrounding areas and the participation of populations, as well as to clear up the decision process. The efficiency of government interventions will be improved by expanding political territory and through public programs. Decentralization and inter-ministerial cooperation should be reinforced as ground rules for the implementation of State action across the national territory.

The region also presents democratic and economic imperatives for the future. Resolutely engaged in this process, the country will have to secure the means for the region to effectively grow into a space of expression and political representation, and affirm itself as a pertinent echelon for the implementation of coordinated, integrated, and public policies. Through their different communities, regional institutions should gain large transfers of funds and competencies, especially in terms of territorial management and economic development. Stabilization of administrative task distribution through a more rational division of the national territory and consecration of the role of communities and regions—two strategic levels of decentralization—, are thus two pilot projects both for democracy and for the efficiency of development policies.

Finally, operating political renewal requires a renewal of public governance, a necessary condition to place Morocco on the path to a sustainable and high level of human development. The public decision-making system will thus have to become more rational and more interactive: government action will have to be more efficient once it fully assumes its missions as a strategic and regulatory State and offers maximum visibility to political, social, and economic actors. In the next two decades, Morocco will have to put a definite end to corruption and poor management of public resources. Public management will have to make standard practices out of merit, justification, transparency, and evaluation. Administrative and financial control institutions will have a determining role to play in this regard, much like the media. The quality of services rendered to citizens (users, clients, and contributors) will have to become main criteria for the reimplementation of its public services and use of funds mandates.

□ **Combine the conditions for Morocco's forceful integration to the knowledge economy and society**

Reinventing the schooling system: a major stake. A successful future for Morocco means a school that creates meaning, transmits citizenship values, and is a vector of social mobility. The school of 2025 is a school that shines upon its environment, circulates ideas and progress, and is well integrated. It is a quality school that will have responded to the challenges of the twenty-first century. In this school, rehabilitated, credible, and respected teachers will assume all their responsibilities toward their students. This school will provide sufficiently qualified human resources for the countries to fully participate in the knowledge society and win the development battle. Political and social elites would also emerge from this school, thus guaranteeing the success of the national democratic project.

A nation engaged in the knowledge society cannot be satisfied with technology transfer alone, but would require research and development tools and competencies. To ensure its proper function, a successful integration to the knowledge society would require information and communication technology assimilation in firms, but also in households and administrations.

□ **Rebuilding a competitive economy by exploiting demographic assets**

Economic growth remains necessary to improve living conditions, facilitate socioeconomic integration and respond to citizen's needs. Morocco must respond to the demographic challenges of the years to come, thus stressing once more the primacy of this growth.

The challenge is sizable. Demographic variables and the employment stakes they underlie might well condition the country's future human development. Indeed, Morocco will need to move from the current average level of 200,000 new jobs per year to 400,000 in the years to come. It will be a historical challenge, the first of the century, for Morocco to seize this opportunity to generate a "demographic dividend."

Economic and sector-related policies should be directed toward more ambitious goals for growth, employment, and well-being. Over the next two decades, efforts will focus on building a new rural economy that is diversified but enacted through a reconverted agriculture. Should Morocco succeed in better integrating to the knowledge economy within the exceptional perspectives offered by the globalization of exchanges, industry and service activities will gain renewed vitality. The stated fiscal system reform will need to be completed with an aim to secure social and tax payment equity for all, competitive national firms, and attractive territories.

The country will therefore need to improve its competitive edge in order to make new gains on the regional and international markets, while benefiting from the removal of tariff barriers and the reduced logistic costs of new markets. A

more aggressive export strategy will thus need to be formulated, which would benefit from attracting foreign capital and investments by promoting Morocco and Moroccan products abroad. With an aim to reposition itself on the global markets, the country must quickly endorse such a renewed global strategy, one that namely calls for an end to current containment situations and for their replacement with flexible and efficient structures. Similarly, Morocco could gain from a competitive vision of its territories by inciting the emergence of “regional poles of competition,” which should be a central concern for any strategy of territorial management within the globalization context.

Morocco will also need to reorient its water and energy policies. Indeed, the primordial issue of water calls for reorientation toward less conventional resources and progressively mastering demand. The country will be unable to forego a more rational and even management of water resources or a true undertaking of the upcoming environmental dimensions that will generate the predictable scarcity of hydrologic resources. As far as energy is concerned, the continued rise of the price of oil will force Morocco to control its oil consumption, diversify its energy agenda, and to explore new avenues, that, while perhaps more costly, will better preserve the environment. The country will also need to raise awareness of its population for energy-saving measures and for clean and renewable energy sources. Morocco will also be able to benefit from a bilateral cooperation to develop civil nuclear energy within a “strategic partnership of confidence.” In order to ensure the safety of such undertakings, the country would build adequate industrial and scientific infrastructures. For decades to come, the civil nuclear option will have to be a serious consideration for Morocco, while remaining conscious of the uncertainties that will become more pronounced on the global energy market.

□ **Vanquishing exclusion, reorganizing solidarity and putting a stop on poverty**

The two decades to come will be namely marked by an urban shift of the great human development stakes. By 2025, 7 out of 10 Moroccans will live in cities. The rise of true urban politics and the reorganization of solidarity in these spaces will thus become two decisive focus areas. Anticipation of urbanization and preparation of urban milieus will first traverse a better integrated and more inclusive urban policy. City management can no longer be reduced to the mere concerns of urbanization and housing.

Cities are strategic places of change and wealth creation, but also spaces where exclusion and poverty manifest themselves. As such, the “urban battle” will need to extend to lifestyle, housing, security, cultural action, organization of urban services, and to a better articulation of cities’ residential and productive functions. The potential of inclusive cities cannot be disassociated from local democratic options. It cannot be realized without democratic participation mechanisms for populations toward the life of their cities and neighborhoods, nor without a renewed, partnered, and responsible urban planning model.

Similarly, the future of urban lands will remain inextricably attached to agricultural evolution. Indeed, the diversification of rural activities requires first and foremost a clear vision of the very future of agricultural activity. The potential for reducing soil taxation is a rather positive perspective. Land must not, therefore, be perceived only as a space for social follow up and a constant means of last resources. Rural areas need a clear and coherent economic perspective, one that requires a well-thought out relationship with cities (through urban centers, smaller cities, and towns) in the framework of a state-sponsored concerted territorial vision, which could even go as far as affirmative action for the benefit of rural areas with a sizeable potential.

The National Initiative for Human Development (INDH) now offers a potential framework to reorganize solidarities and accelerate the fight against poverty and exclusion.

Significant improvement in human development can be secured in the choice period presented by the next ten years. The INDH, which made a goal of such efforts, must avoid being reduced to a mere poverty reduction program and rather affirm itself as a potential framework to reorganize social and territorial reorganization and to guarantee efficient policies and public programs. In operational terms, the initiative should be the main strategic framework to implement such efforts and enable the convergence of programs and projects as well as innovation for social engineering and partnership management of population needs.

In the next two decades, strategic social issues will also need to find exit strategies and realize more ambitious results: the future of the payment system, namely in light of the identifiable potential shifts in national agriculture and future tensions as concerns energy resources; effective expansion of medical coverage to those with limited resources; and viability of distributed retirement plans.

□ Seizing open market opportunities overcome its threats and move toward new regional positions

Morocco should position itself as a regional actor, by establishing a zone of peace, stability, and prosperity in the Mediterranean region. Its integration into the European Union framework and the development of its relations with the United States will have to be consolidated despite economic difficulties and the level of engagement of its partners across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Morocco should also maximize its efforts to affect a Greater North African Union (Union du Grand Maghreb). While it reinforces its partnership with Europe, Morocco should also strengthen its relations with Africa on the political, commercial, and scientific levels. The rise of an Asian economy (namely with China and India), political and economic change of the former Soviet blocs, and the rise of new giants also require a diversification of the country's strategic forecasts.

Tomorrow's stakes are essentially embodied by Moroccan youth. They will help bring about the country's renewal and development. They are the ones who will dream of Morocco's future and build it. Young men and women must affirm themselves as principal actors and as a primary target for public policies. Today, Moroccans must have confidence in their country's future and their own ability to contribute to progress and development, so that the road leading a possible Morocco can converge with our dream of the Morocco we all wish for.

Epilogue: Invitation to debate the 2025 Agenda

The courses of action proposed here aim to enrich the debate on the necessary measures and conditions to make the favored course for Morocco a reality. Extracted from the Executive Summary, they contribute to the elaboration of the 2025 Agenda, which aims to set the major reforms and strategies as a whole that will serve as a basis for the country's public policies.

The strategies detailed below respond to human development-related issues. Enhanced by public debate, these options could encourage reflection amongst policymakers and political actors. Those summarized here relate to the four main points identified in the Report: political normalcy, integration to the knowledge society, the bases for a competitive economy, and the fight against exclusion.

In addition to the opportunities offered by an open policy toward the rest of the world community, these main points are further developed in the General Report.

Consolidate political normalcy, strengthen national cohesion and improve the system of governance:

• Political engagement and a feeling of belonging to the nation:

- Enforce national service for all, which would involve youth from various backgrounds in large-scale collective projects, thus helping reinforce the feeling of belonging to a same and single national community.
- Explore the possibility to implement mandatory voting for communal and legislative elections starting in 2009.
- Limit the accumulation of public mandates and fight against the incompatibility of various charges.
- Exercise great caution toward the content of educational programs so that they may transmit the values of good citizenship, tolerance, and democracy. Revisit and renew, for example, history teachings.
- Anchor democratic practice in schools and educational establishments through the students' practice of responsibility and democratic practice.

• Institutional issues:

- Intensify and bring to maturity collective reflection, by reiterating lessons learned from past experience, on constitutional reform, the stakes of regionalization, translate into action the heterogeneous character of Morocco's society and the imperatives of good governance and respect for human rights as they are universally recognized

- **Monitoring, anticipation, evaluation:**

- Organize strategic monitoring and prospective analysis that covers as wide a spectrum of competence as possible around economic and geo-strategic monitoring and intelligence centers and think tanks.
- Increase opportunities and venues for expression and confrontation of ideas (media, think tanks) in order to enhance collective reflection and the quality of public debate.
- Develop the habit of organizing major citizenship debates on the most central topics affecting public life.

- **Governance:**

- Create an independent body that evaluates public policies (impact, efficiency, cost, delays, etc.) and makes its reports public.
- Reinforce the role and breadth of action of government branches in charge of control.
- Set definitively the number and responsibilities of the different ministries. Stabilize administrative organization in order to make governmental action clearer and more visible for all.
- Reinforce the role and responsibilities of out-of-center government services. Stabilize these structures by bringing together a reduced number of regional poles.

- **Corruption:**

- Ratify the United Nations convention implemented in 2005 that sets the pace to establish an international standard for the country's appropriate judicial arsenal.
- Adopt a law that extends national functions to all those holding public mandates or key administrative responsibilities, both civil servants and elected persons.
- Create an appropriately autonomous agency that fights corruption and is responsible for observing and studying this phenomenon, propose appropriate solutions and follow their implementation, and to exploit the stakes at hand as concerns public policies.
- Facilitate and provide universal public access to information on government administrations, public services, and territorial groupings.
- Heighten public awareness about the problem of corruption through schooling but also the media, through especially frequent, short, didactic, and original programs.

Rebuild a competitive economy:

- **Innovation:**

- Create a specific framework for research and development firms, following the example of European programs for innovative firms.
- Encourage the creation of firms by Moroccan expatriates (MRE), which would make the country gain from their experience, management and

technology know-how, and their belonging to the networks of their host countries.

- Place the country on new fruitful research directions and develop parallel jobs with teams involving both expatriate and local Moroccan researchers with an international standing in these fields. These research directions could include: information technology, nanotechnology, biotechnology, materials and the environment, cognitive sciences, water, and energy.

- Implement mechanisms that incite training and innovation within firms.

- **Fiscal reform:**

- Make compatible the demands of international competition, attractive territories, investment promotion, and high value industrial slots, with a strong social orientation of fiscal policy.

- Simplify and stabilize the system of mandatory taxation.

- Refocus the fiscal apparatus on helping the emergence of a homogenous and enlarged middle class.

- **Land:**

- Integrate into the market, as appropriate, special regime land ownership reserves.

- Make land registration mandatory.

- **Informal:**

- Extend the amplitude of micro-credit by varying financing sources and fields, in cooperation with banks.

- Encourage the formalization of informal money markets through fiscal simplification and the organization of the informal job market.

- **Agricultural, fishing, and maritime economy:**

- Build a new rural economy that redefines the role of agriculture in a wealth creation system that includes other specific activities.

- Reinforce over time the role of new competitive cultures that better resist dry season and consume less water (arboriculture in particular) and reduce the importance of traditional cultures that are more vulnerable to the risks and occurrences of free exchange agreements the country has signed.

- Develop territorialized agronomic research and mechanisms for the dissemination of knowledge and technology in rural areas.

- Envision new forms to finance agriculture targeting activities with a strong added value and/or that provide numerous employment opportunities.

- Explore new forms of valorization, protection, and preservation of coasts, maritime areas, and fisheries, based upon the visions of the National Scheme for Territorial Management (Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire).

- **Industry and services:**

- Capitalize on the “Emergence” program and the “Azur” plan and provide them with the possible conditions for success in the creation of wealth and employment

- Establish standards for jobs with the generalization of certification procedure and by imposing criteria for the exercise of certain jobs.

- Favor the development of national leaders that can encourage progress for entire sectors.
- Engage reflection on the country's monetary system.

Assemble the necessary conditions for Morocco's decisive integration into the knowledge society and economy:

- **Education, culture, and training:**

- Assemble the necessary conditions to guarantee the success of the ongoing reform process.
- Focus schooling on fundamental knowledge, the spread of good citizenship values, and socialization.
- Bring more sports activities to schools and universities.
- Adhere to the Open University concept, which allows for each and every one to access quality and flexible training at any point in one's career in order to facilitate professional and social mobility.
- Render culture a preeminent component of education and media while also stressing the value of the country's heritage and of Moroccan cultural production in all its forms, as well as by opening to other world cultures.
- Secure public financing of culture through a significant budget that is a set percentage of the GNP.

- **Languages:**

- Bring a clear and coherent solution to the linguistic equation in Morocco, based on classical Arabic, Amazigh, and Arabic dialects.
- Mend linguistic divides and require that by 2025, Moroccan university graduates master at least two foreign languages.

- **Technology:**

- Institute technological centers comprised of several schools and universities and that can assemble the critical mass necessary for centers of excellence with international ambitions.
- Accelerate the generalization and diffusion of information technologies at home and at work.
- Focus on Morocco's adherence to the Galileo project in order to structure a national industry for information technologies and convert them into a leading exportation niche.

Winning the battle against exclusion, reorganizing solidarity, and overcoming poverty:

- **Urban and political management of the city:**

- Introduce a true urban policy that is more inclusive and anticipative of migration flows.
- Place all collective urban services (traffic, public transportation, management of public sports and cultural centers, public parks, garbage

collection and treatment, creation of property reserves, etc.) under the responsibility of a single authority while allowing for outsourcing.

- Strengthen the incitement for housing access (financing, credit, property) and reinstitute large-scale local rental programs in order to facilitate mobility and access to housing.

- Reorganize neighborhoods through the democratic participation and engagement of youth, by making them responsible for the management of nearby sports and cultural centers and of social services for the community.

- **Territorial management and solidarity:**

- Envision new regional divisions based on natural geography and the competitive qualities and assets of territories.

- Introduce a holistic alpine policy that integrates economic, social, and environmental dimensions, based on the management of interrelations and solidarity across classes.

- Use the National Territorial Management Scheme (SNAT) as a tool for territorial prospects and provide a strategic role for regions affected by its implementation (contracts, programs between the government and different regions, and efficiency of the interregional balance).

- **Social protection and the fight against poverty:**

- Organize a convergence between social, state, local, and associative action built around the vision and approach of the National Initiative for Human Development, with reorganization and integration of existing bodies and social safety nets.

- Reconsider deeply the system of compensation along with the implementation of free trade agreements signed by Morocco.

- Increase considerably the rate of household banking.

- Extend medical coverage effectively to unsalaried persons and choose retirement plans adapted to the demographic evolution and the employment situation.