## **APPENDIX 6**

## Chronology

- 1880-The International Agreement of Madrid accorded all the signing powers most favored nation treatment.
- 1902—November 1: The Franco-Italian Agreement. Freedom of reciprocal activity between Morocco and Tripolitania.
- 1904—April 8: The Franco-British Agreement. France agrees not to hinder British activity in Egypt and in return obtains free rein in Morocco.
- 1906—January 15: The Algeciras Conference recognized the sovereignty and independence of the Moroccan sultan and commercial equality between the 18 powers represented at the conference.
- 1911—November 4: The French-German Treaty. Through cession of Togo to Germany, France obtains free rein in Morocco.
- 1912—March 30: The Fez Treaty that instituted the Protectorate Treaty.
   April: General insurrection. 20 000 Moroccans besieged Fez. Lyautey is named resident-general.
   May: Moulay Hofid abdicates in favor of his brother Moulay Youssef.
- 1921-July: Resistance by Abd-El-Krim and war in Rif.
- 1927-The death of Moulay Youssef. His son, Sidi Mohamed succeeds him.

- 1930—May 16: The signing of the "Dahir Berebere" intented to remove the Berebere tribes (3/5 of the population) from the Moslem jurisdiction of Makhzen. The beginning of nationalism.
- 1934—Creation of the Committee of Moroccan Action that publishes a plan of reforms demanding the strict application of the Protectorate Treaty, suppression of all direct administration, participation of Moroccans in the exercise of power in the diverse branches of administration, and the separation of executive and judicial powers for the sheiks, etc.
- 1936-October: Nationalist demonstrations in the major cities.
- 1937—September: Violent outbreaks in Meknés over the plans of the colonialists to alter the course of the city's water supply. Protest demonstrations against the project break out all over Morocco.

October: Leaders of the National Party are arrested.

- 1942-November: Allied troops land in North Africa.
- 1943-December: Roosevelt meets with the sultan in Anfa.
- 1944—November 11: Istiqlal Manifesto is secretly approved by Sultan Mohamed V.

January-February: Sanguinary incidents in the cities.

1947—April 7: Incidents in Casablanca between Moroccans and Senegalese troops, resulting in numerous casualties among the people.

April 10: The sultan delivers a patriotic address in Tangier.

May 14: General Juin replaces Eric Labonne.

1950—October 11: The sultan makes an official visit to France, where he delivers President Auriol a memorandum setting out some national demands. Negotiations fail.

December: Incidents in the Government Council (Consultative Assembly).

1951—January 26: General Juin asks the sultan: 1) to countermand the Istiqlal Manifesto; 2) fire the members of the imperial cabinet. He threatens the sovereign with deposition. He leaves Morocco on an official visit to the United States.

February 28: Ben Barka begins his exile which will last until October 1954.

August 28: General Guillaume is named residentgeneral.

October 4: The Arab-Asiatic group requests entry of the Moroccan question on the UN Agenda. November 18: Again the sultan demands structural

reforms in an address from the throne.

1952—January 11: A national front rallying around the Istiqlal Manifesto calls for abrogation of the Protectorate Treaty. March 14: A new memorandum from the sultan to the French Government demanding:

- 1) A clearing of the political atmosphere;
- 2) The granting of public and private freedoms, particularly trade union freedom;
- 3) Formation of a provisional Moroccan government charged with negotiating the terms of a new Franco-Moroccan treaty with the French Government.

September 10: The Arab-Asiatic group once again requests inclusion of the Moroccan question on the UN agenda.

September 17: The French Government totally refuses discussion of "the objectives and powers specifically determined by the March 30, 1912 Protectorate Treaty."

December 5: Tunisian labor leader Ferhat Hachad is assassinated.

December 7-8: Sanguinary demonstrations in Casablanca. Numerous Moroccan victims. Thousands of patriots arrested or placed under house arrest. The nationalist press is banned.

- 1953—January: Organization of the Mounaddama Serriya is begun (the underground resistance movement). August 20: Sultan Mohamed V goes into exile.
- 1954—June 18: Arrest and suicide of Mohamed Zerktouni, chief of the Mounaddama Serriya. Mohamed Basri is named to replace him.

October 1: Release of the labor leaders and leaders of Istiqlal. Armed fighting breaks out in Rif initiated by the liberation army of the Mounaddama Serriya.

November 1: The Algerian Revolution breaks out under the guidance of the FLN.

1955—March 20: Reconstitution of the trade unions under the name of Moroccan Union of Labor.
June: G. Grandval suceeds R. Lacoste as Governor-General of France in Morocco.
August: Negotiations at Aix-les-Bains.
October: Mohamed V returns from Madagascar.
November: The Celle-Saint-Cloud Agreement is signed by Mohamed V and the government of Edgar Faure. Mohamed V returns to Rabat.
December 1: First Congress of the Istiqlal Party.
December 7: The First Bekkai Government is

1956—March 2: France recognizes (Moroccan) independence.

formed.

April 7: Spain recognizes (Moroccan) independence. May 15: Conversion of the Tabor sector of the Goums into the Royal Armed Forces.

July-August: Dissolution of the northern liberation Army integrating it into the Royal Armed Forces. August: Second Congress of the Istiqlal National Council of Resistance.

August 20: First public address of Mohamed Basri on the anniversary of the king's exile.

October: Seizure of the plane on which Ben Barka is travelling. Formation of the second Bekkai Government with Bouabid as Minister of the National Economy.

November 18: Mohamed V announces that the process for obtaining democracy "will pass to the Constituent Assembly." Ben Barka is elected president of the National Consultative Assembly.

1957—January: Rebellion and defeat of Addi Ou Bihi. Uprisings in Ifni against Spain and action by the southern liberation army in the Sahara area.

July 5: The Unity Highway. The King swung the first pick.

August 20: On the occasion of the commemoration of the "Uprising of the king and the people," Mohamed Basri expresses in his address the fears of the resistance movement in the face of the upsurge of neocolonialism.

October 5: The king inaugurates "Operation Ploughing" in Sidi Ismaïl, prepared by Bouabid. November 13: Proclamation by the General Consultative Assembly of the principles of non-dependence in foreign policy and the need to press for evacuation and the achievement of national liberation in a spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, especially with the Arab countries.

1958—April 15: The Accra Conference of the African states.

April 17: The second Bekkaï Government collapses. April 27: The Tangier Conference (attended by the FLN and Istiqlal and Neodestour parties), on formation of the Maghreb, holds its first session.

May 1: The palace rejects the Istiqlal Plan calling for election of a constituency within a 6-month period. Proclamation of a Royal Charter on the organization of powers, in which the king defines the lines of evolution toward a constitutional monarchy, without specifying its contents.

May 10: Constitution of the Balafrej Government (composed of the Istiqlal party and independent liberals). The palace names the Minister of the Interior. The left wing abandons the political commission of Istiqlal.

July 25: Opening of the Third National UNEM Congress in Tetuan. Its resolutions set out institutional problems.

August: El Mehdi ben Barka makes public the conflict between the reactionary faction of the leadership of the Istiqlal Party with the intention of orienting the party press.

September 3: The congress of Mauritania and Sahara, and the first attempt at dissolution of the southern liberation army.

October 17: Separation, devaluation and control of foreign currency.

October 23: Outbreak of rebellion directed from Rif and Zemmoures.

November 22: Bouabid's resignation from the government in the face of hidden obstructionist forces. December 24: A. Ibrahim named to replace him and coalition formed between the popular forces and the palace.

1959—January 10: Publication of the failure of the Istiqlal Congress and attempts at conciliation between the progressive forces and the reactionary elements within the party.

January 25: Split within the Istiqlal Party, creation of autonomous federations of the Istiqlal Party and the holding of popular congresses in the different provinces of Morocco.

July 1: Creation of the Bank of Morocco.

July: UNEM Congress in Agadir. Students violently attack the regime's policy of prestige, detrimental to the vital sectors of the country's economy.

September 6: The founding of Congress of the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP) in Casablanca.

October: Trial of the Moroccan Communist Party. The Royal Cabinet declares its dissolution.

December 6: First National Council of the UNFP in Casablanca.

December: At-Tahrir, organ of the UNFP seized. Mohamed Basri and Abderrahmane Youssefi arrested.

1960—January: Second Conference of the African Peoples held in Tunis. UNFP elected a member of the Executive Committee.

> February: Arrest of national and regional leaders of UNFP on the pretext of having discovered a plot against the crown prince. Ben Barka, one of the accused, had to remain abroad. Dissolution of the Liberation Army of the South. Disturbances in Tadla and Atlas.

> *March 20:* Creation of the General Union of Moroccan Workers by the royal police. Protest strikes by the UMT backed by the craftsmen and small merchants' unions.

> April 2: The National Council of the UNFP calls for a Constituent Assembly. Participation of the UNFP in the Second Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples in Conakry and election of the Executive Committee.

> May: Draft resolutions on economic and monetary antimperialist reforms are blocked by the royal cabinet.

May 20: The Abdallah Ibrahim regime is ousted. May 27: Mohamed V takes power. The crown prince practically became president of the council, usurping legislative, executive and judicial power. July: V Congress of the UNEM in Casablanca.

September 1: Agreement to maintain French troops in Morocco until the end of 1963.

October: III National Council of the UNFP (evacuation).

November 3: The Constitutional Council takes power. The UNFP refuses to participate. Internal conflicts from the onset lead to its eventual dissolution.

November 7: The first five-year plan that revives the Bouabid project, and suppresses the agrarian reform measures.

1961—January: The Casablanca Conference attended by Guinea, Ghana, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Libya (an observer). Resolutions passed on the Congo, Palestine, and the African Union Charter.

> February: Mohamed V withdraws General Kettani from the Congo for complicity in Colonel Mobutu's plot against Patrice Lumumba. General Kettani states on landing at Orly his disagreement with the official position of the Palace.

> February 26: Mohamed V dies while undergoing surgery. Hassan II succeeds him to the throne.

April 26: Hassan places power in hands of Guedira (general and permanent delegate), the director of the cabinet who had been in disgrace during the reign of Mohamed V.

June: First Franco-Algerian negotiations take place at Melun.

June 2: Constitution drawn up for the Kingdom of Morocco.

June 4: The IV National Council of the UNFP to analyze the situation and prepare the Congress.

July: The United Arab Republic announces socialist legislation, which is followed by the reactionary secession of Syria.

August: The VI Congress of the UNEM. Announcement of a political charter that states the problem of the absolute monarchy.

November 1: Ben Bella and other Algerian prisoners in France initiated a hunger strike. Demonstrations in support of Algeria organized by the UNFP. Demonstrators destroy the French embassy in Rabat. *December:* General strike of mail and telegraph workers. Strike in solidarity staged by functionaries from the Ministry of Foreign Relations, who are fired.

1962—April: Negotiations and agreements of Evian between the FLN and the French Government. Ben Bella and other Algerian prisoners released.

> May 16: El Mehdi Ben Barka returns to Morocco. May 25-27: II Congress of the UNFP in Casablanca. May: The Charter of the Socialist Arab Union of the UAR is announced.

> June-July: The Tripoli Congress. The ALN-GPRA conflict. Algerian independence is announced. Failure of neocolonialist attempts to transfer powers to a third force.

July: A campaign organized by the UNFP around the motto: "Before October 15 we must have at least one cell operating in each electoral zone and a subsection in every rural commune."

August: UNFP campaign organizes small peasant and agricultural workers of Morocco. Constitution of the regional federations. Certain leaders of the Union of Agricultural Trade Unions obstruct celebration of the National Congress of Peasants.

*November 4*: Dahir supports the organization of the referendum with regard to the ready-made constitution.

November 14: The Central Committee of the UNFP decides to boycott the referendum. Communique of the Secretariat of the UNFP.

November 15: Attempt against Ben Barka on the Casablanca Rabat highway.

November 19: Hassan II announces the text of the "Constitution."

November 25: Extraordinary session of the National Council of the UNFP.

December 7: Constitutional referendum.

1963—January: The palace dismisses the Istiqlal ministers in the government. III Congress of the UMT. Appearance of an apolitical tendency in the direction of the trade unions. Conflict with the mail and telegraph federation that denotes the antidemocratic character of the Congress and its deviationist orientation. Letter from Aomar Bendjelloun to Manjoub Ben Seddik.

January-March: The Baas Party successfully organizes a double coup d'état in Iraq and in Syria. Proposed Union of UAR-Iraq-Syria established in Cairo.

February: Third Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples. Ben Barka elected coordinating Secretary. UNFP is member of the Executive Committee and receives the vice-presidency of the Funds Committee, with headquarters in Conakry.

March: Socialist decrees in Algeria.

May 2: UNFP decides to participate in the legislative elections and publishes a Manifesto to the Moroccan People.

May 17: Legislative elections (House of Representatives). UNFP denounces administrative conniving in favor of the Front for the Defense of Constitutional Institutions (palace party).

June: UNFP militants begin to be arrested with a view to the fabrication of the July "conspiracy" case.

July: Mediation mission by Ben Barka between President Nasser and the Baas Party.

July 16: General Secretariat of the UNFP occupied by the police. The National Council, while holding a meeting, is arrested. The National Council shortly before had decided on boycotting the municipal and communal elections (see pamphlets *The truth about* the "conspiracy").

July 26: Elections boycotted by the UNFP and the Istiqlal.

July 25-27: Eighth National Congress of the UNEM in Casablanca. It supports the UNFP and protests against the plotting of the conspiracy. Severe political resolution against the regime. Elected president, Berrada, persecuted by the police, has to leave the country.

October 15: Algerian-Moroccan border conflict.

October 16: El Mehdi Ben Barka denounces this fratricidal conflict as a neocolonialist plot, as a result of which he is condemned to death in absence by the Royal Military Tribunal which metes out the same sentence to Berrad.

1964—January: The trial for the so-called July conspiracy against the UNFP opens in Rabat.

March 14: Death sentence decreed for all 11 leaders and militants of the UNFP; 8 in absence and 3 present. The three: Mohamed Basri, Aomar Benjelloun and Moumen Diouri.

*February-June:* Student strikes in the majority of schools throughout Morocco. Student demonstrations against the regime's policy.

April: FLN Congress. Proclamation of the Algiers Charter.

May 12: The Supreme Court turns down the appeal for clemency by those condemned for the so-called July plot.

June: Provocations along the Algerian-Moroccan border following the arrest and death sentence of "commando" suspects.

June: Motion of censorship proposed by the UNFP group in parliament brings forth a call for amnesty. July: Cheikh El Arab, condemned to death in continuation of the so-called July "plot" trial, is assassinated by the police in Casablanca.

August-September: Governmental changes initiated with the appointment of Generals Oufkir and Mezziane as Ministers of Interior and Defense, respectively. Hassan II pardons those arrested and condemned to death in connection with the so-called "plot."

September 9: IX UNEM Congress in Rabat. Political resolution issued by the meeting sums up the situation and calls for the release of political prisoners.

September 16: Haloui, the new president of UNEM, is arrested.

October-December: Great social upheaval, student and worker strikes.

December 2: The process of dissolving the UNEM ends in failure.

December 5: The King makes a trip to Tunis and returns via Paris.

1965—January-February: Mass lay-offs in business and industry.

March 3: The king in a speech admits that the "economic and financial situation is grave." Hassan II calls on the National Union for assistance.

*March* 7: Four thousand students from the Karaouyene de Fez stage a 24-hour general strike. Police repression unleashed.

March 18: The teachers' union turns down the three-year plan and the vague policy of the Royal Government.

March 22: Decision passed by the Ministry of National Education to remove all students older than 17 from the nation's high schools.

March 23: Bloody outbursts in Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, and other cities resulting in more than a thousand dead.

March 27: The execution of 14 persons condemned to death for July 1964 border incidents.

March 29: Hassan II announces amnesty for all political prisoners and admits the seriousness of the situation.

April 1: The UNFP turns down the three-year plan. April 10: Hassan II receives Abderrahim Bouabid. April 14: Release of those arrested for the so-called July 1963 "plot."

April 20: A royal memo to all political parties and trade union organizations and talks in search of a solution to the crisis created by the events of March 23. The UNFP proposes a public health policy and accepts the responsibility for it.

May 6-19: IV Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples in Accra. The UNFP, established in its functions, is elected to preside over the Preparatory Committee for the Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America scheduled to be held in January 1966 in Havana.

June 7: Hassan II decrees a state of emergency. He suppresses parliamentary institutions and sets up a government which he heads, composed in its majority by ministers of the former regime.