PN-ABY-777

DIS دعم المؤسسات الديموقراطية

Democratic Institutions Support Project 91000

INSTITUTIONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MOROCCAN PARLIAMENT

August 1994

GLOBAL BUREAU
CENTER FOR GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY

Prepared under the auspices of the Democratic Institutions Support (DIS) project. This report is for discussion within USAID; it is not for general distribution and is not to be quoted. This report's contents do not necessarily represent the views or interpretations of USAID or the U.S. government.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was carried out and organized by the Global Bureau's Center for Governance and Democracy under the auspices of its Democratic Institutions Support project. This report was prepared by Robert Figueredo of USAID Global Bureau's Democracy Center, Dr. Guilain Denoeux, and Dr. Abdo Baaklini.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years it has become apparent to the leadership of the Moroccan Parliament that its operational effectiveness is limited by the lack of information and technical analysis available to members. Through its leadership, the institution has expressed strong interest in USAID support for a comprehensive program of training, technical assistance, and equipment to improve its operations. This interest led to an invitation for a USAID team to assess Parliament's technical and administrative structure. Responding to the request, the team carried out a detailed institutional assessment. Its findings are presented in this report.

The report provides a very brief summary of the historical and political development of the Moroccan Parliament, followed by a more extensive analysis of current administrative and operational capacities. The objective is to provide decision makers with a better understanding of the structure and operations of that body; to identify major constraints that impede its functioning; and to recommend a comprehensive program for assistance.

The suggested package of assistance has been designed to maximize the return on investment and achieve programming flexibility. Each individual activity could become operational as a freestanding effort, and would, by itself, improve the functioning of Parliament. Taken together, these activities constitute building-blocks for a comprehensive technical assistance program to strengthen the institution.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Moroccan Parliament has over the past 32 years become increasingly important to the political system. A new developmental stage of that institution commenced with the promulgation of the fourth Moroccan constitution in 1992. That constitution contains numerous provisions that will make possible a more equitable balance of power between the executive and legislative branches. The 1993 elections brought into Parliament eight political parties with sufficient deputies to achieve official recognition as Parliamentary Groups, hence the resources that recognition entails. Both constitutional and political changes have thus made Parliament the main venue in which government and opposition engage in ongoing dialogue about the rules governing political participation and decision making in Morocco. Hence, Parliament is the primary institution that will determine both the pace and extent of democratization.

Morocco has already accomplished the difficult transition from single to multi-party legislature currently being faced by most other parliaments in the region. Activities intended to strengthen the capacity of the institution do not, therefore, have to confront problems associated with that transition. They do have to take account of sensitivities and expectations of deputies that resources will be allocated, at least in part, on the basis of partisan identifications. For parliamentary strengthening activities to be successful, they will have to strike a balance between support for the central administration of the institution, on the one hand, and Parliamentary Groups and other manifestations of internal pluralism, on the other.

The Parliament is now attempting to develop its capacities to perform basic functions of contributing to public policy formation, participating in the budgetary process, overseeing the executive branch, and contributing to the strengthening of political parties. Various obstacles continue to impede that development. The Parliament lacks organized programs for human resource development. Its office equipment is inadequate and dated. Production of minutes of debates is delayed by inadequate resources. Bill tracking is difficult because a modern system is not in place. An automated retrieval system for existing legislation and judicial decisions is lacking. Parliament's ability to participate in the budgetary process is impeded by the lack of adequately trained staff and appropriate information. The institution as a whole requires better access to information and the capacity to generate and analyze it. Finally, the Parliament is not linked intensively or extensively to public constituencies in the country as a whole, or to other social, economic, or governmental organizations, including universities, think-tanks, lobby groups, municipalities, ministries, or the media.

The primary effort to develop the institutional capacity of the Moroccan Parliament should be concentrated on an integrated, "cellular," management information system (MIS). The proposed system is comprised of self-standing units, or cells, that can perform discrete functions, but are linked to the overall MIS. The package consists of discrete components that can be independently financed by USAID, other donors, or by the Parliament itself, while contributing to the development of the Parliament in the context of an overall strategy of institutional strengthening.

The chief components of the system are intended to improve the Parliament's management of its legislative business and of its internal finances and record keeping. Those components are also intended to stimulate the development of linkages between Parliament and Moroccan civil society, especially through the medium of political parties. Activities to develop legislative management, to enhance the management information system for finances and administration, and to establish linkages by strengthening political parties, can be conducted simultaneously.

The procedure of legislative management will be enhanced through assistance to establish a bill tracking system, and provide additional resources to expedite the recording and distribution of parliamentary proceedings, whether in plenary session or in committee. A third, major component is an electronic database for the retrieval of relevant legislation and possibly judicial interpretations.

Information resources relevant to legislative functions need to be upgraded. Those resources include the library, which needs to be expanded and to begin to be transformed into a modern information unit. Secondly, a research unit with the capacity to undertake public policy research should be created. That unit would operate in cooperation with staff of Parliamentary Groups. Finally, a public information unit housed in the office of the Secretary General should be created. Its task would be to disseminate information about Parliament through various channels to the public.

Upgrading the MIS will focus on activities to enhance Parliament's financial management and accounting systems, as well as its general internal administration.

Finally, political parties and the Parliament exist in a symbiotic relationship. Strengthening one necessarily strengthens the other. The outreach capacities of political parties need to be enhanced in order to foster linkages to civil society. Those outreach activities that are particularly important and should receive support are electoral campaign management, performance of services for constituents, and dissemination of partisan views on public policy issues. By strengthening the capacity of political

parties better to perform in Parliament the appeal of those parties to the electorate will also be enhanced. That performance should be assisted by upgrading the staff and information resources of Parliamentary Groups and by providing those Groups with appropriate information on constituencies and governmental programs for which constituents are eligible.

SECTION I
WHY PARLIAMENT MATTERS

A. Historical Evolution of Parliament's Political Role

Morocco's parliamentary development has occurred in three main phases—from the adoption of Morocco's first constitution in 1962 to 1977; from 1977 to 1992; and since the promulgation of the 1992 constitution until the present. Each phase has seen Parliament playing a more important role within the political system.

Between the promulgation of the 1962 constitution and the election of the third parliament in 1977, the Kingdom experimented twice with parliamentary politics. The relatively brief duration of both experiments suggests their ultimate failure. From 1965 to 1970, and then again from 1972 to 1977, the King governed without a Parliament. Throughout this first phase, therefore, the Chamber of Deputies played either a marginal or no role at all in the country's politics.

Morocco's first parliamentary experience was difficult and short-lived because the Chamber was divided almost equally between two antagonistic blocs, and because the Cabinet could not count on the undivided support of a parliamentary majority. Political deadlock prevented legislation from being passed and impeded the smooth functioning of the institution. After riots in 1965, King Hassan II declared a state of emergency and suspended Parliament. For the following five years, the King assumed full legislative and executive powers and governed by royal decrees (*dahirs*).

In 1970, a new constitution was ratified that reduced the power of the Parliament and the cabinet and gave the King more power over day-to-day policy-making. To replace the bicameral Chamber that had been established by the 1962 constitution, the new constitution provided for a unicameral legislature, only one third of which was to be directly elected. In short, a less representative Parliament was now given more limited authority than before.

Morocco's second parliamentary experience was briefer than the first one. On July 10, 1971, a coup attempt put an end to it. In an attempt to revive political life in March 1972, a new constitution was ratified that made limited but nevertheless significant concessions to the demands of the opposition. Two-thirds of Parliament's members, for instance, were now to be directly elected. Similarly, the responsibilities of Cabinet were somewhat expanded. However, another coup attempt a few months later and continuing political tension led the King to postpone parliamentary elections for several years. Not until

1977 would these elections take place. Thus, from 1972 to 1977—as from 1965 to 1970— the King governed without a parliament.

The parliamentary elections that took place in 1977, and which began the second period of parliamentary development, ushered in a Parliament that rapidly became the scene of agitated debates. In May 1980, a referendum approved a constitutional amendment extending Parliament's term from four to six years and the President of Parliament's term from one to three years. The 1984 elections were marked by the emergence of a still more active Parliament, which did not give unconditional support to the Cabinet. In May, 1990, a no-confidence motion was given serious consideration in the Chamber. In Parliament as elsewhere, the opposition displayed greater confidence and more forcefulness in voicing criticism of the Cabinet's policies, and in pressing for greater governmental accountability and transparency.

Several considerations justify looking upon the period that began with the inauguration of Morocco's fifth Parliament in October, 1993 as a new phase in the Kingdom's parliamentary history:

- The current Chamber of Deputies is the first one to operate under the 1992 constitution, which significantly increases Parliament's prerogatives.

- This legislature was also elected in the midst of Morocco's ongoing democratization experiment, and it features the strongest opposition since 1963-65. The fact that the opposition captured almost 45 percent (99 out of 222) of the directly contested seats gives it a legitimacy that was not erased by the overwhelming victory of the pro-government parties during the indirect election for the remaining third of Parliament's deputies. Opposition deputies seem determined to see Parliament play a more active role.

- The profile of current MPs constitutes another reason to believe that Morocco has entered a new era in its parliamentary history: 249 out of 333 (or close to 75 percent) had never been elected to the Chamber before 1993, and 36 percent of all current deputies are less than 44 years old. For the first time in the Kingdom, two women sit in the legislature. These two women were among the 33 who ran in 1993 (as opposed to 15 who contested the 1984 elections). Finally, the Chamber elected in 1993 features the best educated group of politicians ever to sit in Morocco's Parliament: 202 out of 333 (almost 61 percent) hold a university degree, and 91 (or 27 percent)

are high school graduates. School teachers and university professors alone represent 21 percent of all current MPs.

- Observers agree that parliamentary sessions have become far more lively than they were in the past. Questions asked of government ministers have raised sensitive topics that previously were not discussed in Parliament. At the insistence of the King, the oral questions session, which is held every Wednesday afternoon, is now broadcast live on Moroccan TV.

- Finally, the change of prime ministers in May, 1994, may be yet another indication of the newly elevated role of Parliament. There was a widely shared feeling in the Kingdom that the Cabinet had handled relations with Parliament in an inappropriate, heavy-handed manner. The appointment of a new prime minister was interpreted, in part, as an attempt to improve relations between government and Parliament. In several press interviews given in late May and early June 1994, the new Prime Minister explicitly emphasized his desire to strengthen the dialogue between the Cabinet and the legislature.

The preceding overview suggests a clear trend toward the expansion of Parliament's role since independence. During the first phase (1963-1977), Parliament was in session for less than three years altogether (1963-65 and 1970-71). Ideological polarization, domestic unrest, and the struggle between the monarchy and opposition political parties, prevented the consolidation of Morocco's experiment with parliamentary politics. On two occasions, the King dissolved the legislature and assumed full legislative powers. During that period, therefore, Parliament played either no role or a highly disruptive and short-lived one in the Kingdom's politics.

The period stretching from 1977 through 1992 saw a revival of parliamentary politics. Unlike the first phase, Parliament was not dissolved, and it thus developed as a genuine component of the Moroccan political system. Debates in it were frequently lively, and the Chamber therefore provided an important forum for the expression of political opinions, including dissenting ones. The legislature elected in 1984, furthermore, was more politically diverse than that elected in 1977.

Finally, the period beginning in October 1993 constitutes a new era in the Kingdom's parliamentary history—one in which actors ranging from the monarch to opposition parties are seeking to increase the visibility and effectiveness of Parliament in the political system. Although Parliament still has limited influence over decision-making, it has experienced a sharp increase in its role as one of the means through which public opinion can call the cabinet to account for its actions, expose

government corruption and abuses of authority, and criticize policies and propose alternatives to them.

Government and opposition alike realize that the system is becoming more open, more tolerant, and more receptive to societal pressures. They know that the rules of the game are being slowly transformed. The opposition is aware of the destabilizing potential of demands for radical changes in the present rules. It is willing to accept incremental changes in the rules of the game so as not to endanger the democratization process. At each step of the way, however, the opposition stretches the rules, thereby attempting to negotiate new, more liberal ones. In this type of negotiated transition to a more democratic political system, regime and opposition alike are interested above all else in "keeping the game going. " While the opposition is afraid of pushing the government too far, the government is anxious not to cut its bridges with the opposition. It is determined, for the sake of maintaining social peace and political stability, to keep alive the dialogue with the opposition. That dialogue is now concentrated in the Parliament.

B. Evolution of Parliament's Constitutional Role

Morocco has undergone frequent constitutional changes. Its first constitution, adopted in 1962, was followed by three others, promulgated in 1970, 1972, and 1992. Over a 30-year period, therefore, the Kingdom experimented with four different constitutions. Hidden behind this appearance of discontinuity is a clear trend toward a slow, but genuine process of democratization, especially since 1977.

This is not to suggest, however, that all constitutional restrictions on the effective exercise of power by the Parliament have been lifted. Indeed, several such restrictions remain in the 1992 constitution, including the following:

- Parliament may only legislate in certain areas. Article 45 of the Constitution indeed describes specifically those areas in which the Chamber may pass laws. All others areas are thus put outside Parliament's legislative authority. As a result, the government can oppose legislative initiatives which it believes lie outside the Chamber's domain (in which case the issue will be decided by the Constitutional Council).

- Even after it has been passed by Parliament, a law does not take effect until it has been officially promulgated by the King through a royal decree, or *dahir*. Should the King disagree with a law passed by Parliament, or should he want modifications made to it, he can return the law to the Chamber, with his comments about it. Unless the law is then adopted or rejected by a two-thirds majority, the King may decree that the issue will be decided through a popular referendum. These provisions make it difficult for Parliament to pass any law without the endorsement of the palace.

- Ultimate legislative authority lies with the King. Unlike Parliament's, the King's legislative authority knows no functional boundaries. According to Moroccan political practice and theory, therefore, the King merely "delegates" some of his legislative powers to Parliament. Even then, Parliament's legislative powers are subject to the King's ultimate authority, as was shown above. Furthermore, Article 27 of the Constitution enables the King to dissolve Parliament and rule by decree, after proclaiming a "state of exception." The fact that this has happened on two occasions (1965 and 1971) under the present King gives this provision added deterrent power.

The independence of the legislative branch is also weakened by the King's ability to set the date of parliamentary elections. Elections were postponed in 1983 (for one year) and in 1990 (for

three years). In both cases, the extension was decided at a time of domestic unrest, and is believed to have worked to the advantage of pro-government parties. No Parliament so far has run its normal term.

So while the 1992 constitution, like its predecessors, favors the executive over the legislature, it nevertheless achieves a much more equitable balance of power between the executive and legislative branches than did preceding constitutions. The main innovations which redress the imbalance of power between the two branches are as follows:

B.1 Parliamentary Vote of Investiture (Article 59)

One new power that the 1992 Constitution grants Parliament is the authority to endorse or reject the new government after it has been formed. This practice did not exist in previous constitutions. Article 59 now stipulates that, after the cabinet has been appointed by the King, the Prime Minister must present his program in front of Parliament. This presentation is followed by a parliamentary debate over the program, and then by a vote over it. If the vote is negative, the entire cabinet must resign. To compel governments to submit their program to a vote of confidence is an important innovation that highlights the cabinet's responsibility to Parliament.

B2. Oral Questions (Article 55)

As in the previous constitution, one parliamentary session a week is devoted primarily to the questions that Deputies have for government. However, as specified in Article 55 of the new constitution, ministers must now answer Parliament's questions within 20 days of the submission of the question. This is an important innovation, since in previous parliamentary sessions, many questions asked by parliamentarians had remained unanswered by the government. The proportion of unanswered questions was as high as 90 percent for questions addressed to the Ministry of Interior and Information, which presumably were on the more sensitive subjects (including civil liberties, human rights, and governmental control over information). Furthermore, even when questions were answered, the answer sometimes came months—and in some instances a couple of years—after the question had been asked.

By mandating the government to answer Parliament's questions within 20 days, the 1992 Constitution improved the effectiveness of one of the major means (the interrogation of ministers) through which parliamentarians can exercise some oversight over the executive branch. Significantly, the 1993-94 session of Parliament has witnessed a significant increase in the number of oral questions. This new provision thus represents a major step toward greater governmental accountability.

B3. Speedy Promulgation of Law after Adoption by Parliament (Article 26)

A law passed by Parliament takes effect only after its promulgation by the King. Previous constitutions did not set any time limit on the King's promulgation of a law adopted by Parliament. As a result, there were frequently lengthy delays between the adoption of a law by the Chamber and the time when this law would take effect. Such delays contributed to Parliament's image as an institution endowed with only marginal importance. By contrast, Article 26 of the 1992 Constitution states that the King must now promulgate a law passed by Parliament no more than 30 days after Parliament has forwarded that law to the government.

B4. Parliamentary Commissions of Investigation (Article 40)

The right of Parliament to create commissions of investigation had been a longstanding request of opposition parties. Previously the government had been unwilling to concede that power to MPs. The new Constitution has done so. Article 40 states that a majority of the Chamber of Representatives can call for the creation of commissions of investigation designed to gather information on specific facts or events. They provide yet another avenue for parliamentary control over the executive. Parliament now has the authority to compel state officials to account for their involvement in events believed to be controversial enough to justify the creation of a parliamentary commission of investigation. In the past, commissions of investigation were formed (the last one to look into the December, 1990 riots in Fez), but always at the initiative of the King, since Parliament had no constitutional mandate to form such commissions.

B5. Dissolution of Parliament (Article 35)

Although the King retains the power to dismiss Parliament, his declaring a state of emergency no longer automatically results in the disbanding of the Chamber of Deputies, as was the case in all previous constitutions since 1962. The 1992 Constitution thus opens up the possibility of Parliament remaining in session and making its voice heard even after a state of national emergency had been proclaimed.

B6. The Constitutional Council

The 1992 Constitution provides for a Constitutional Council, which decides the constitutionality of the laws passed by Parliament. Parliament can influence the functioning of that Council in two main respects. First, after consulting with the Parliamentary Groups, the President of Parliament appoints four of the Council's nine members (the other five, including the

Council's President, are appointed by the King; all members serve six-year terms). Second, Parliament can seize the Constitutional Council whenever its President or one-quarter of its members agree to do so (Article 79; the King and the Prime Minister also can seize the Council). One should emphasize therefore the relative ease with which Parliament can challenge the constitutionality of a law by calling for a ruling of the Constitutional Council.

C. Parliament and the Process of Democratization

Beginning in the late 1980s the government initiated political reforms, adopting measures to expand and defend human rights, such as by releasing political prisoners and amending the Penal Code. It also allowed greater freedom of political expression. More recently, and increasingly at the center of the process of political reform, are a series of measures to reinvigorate parliamentary life. From the government's perspective, a more dynamic and effective parliament provides a way to broaden political participation and public debate, which it sees as necessary to enhance its legitimacy, widen its political base, reduce widespread popular apathy, and ensure that political demands will be channelled through the official institutions of the political system.

Evidence that the government has the political will to strengthen Parliament as part of a long-term strategy of gradual democratization includes:

- The 1992 Constitution, which provides the legal framework for the enhancement of Parliament's power;

- Measures designed to increase the visibility of the Chamber of Deputies and its status as a national forum for debates over public policy issues, including the live TV broadcasting of oral questions;

- Efforts within Parliament to make the institution more effective, as suggested, for example, by the issuance in 1993 by the Office of the Secretary General of Parliament of a document which presents the results of a self-examination. The document identifies current organizational and procedural flaws, and proposes ways to remedy them, based in part on the study of the organizational charts and internal operations of more than one hundred parliaments around the world. The existence of such a serious study suggests that Moroccans are aware of the need to improve the organization, procedures, and overall capacity of Parliament, and that they are determined to do something about it.

In sum, Parliament is now the arena within which government and opposition are seeking to define on an ongoing, legal, and institutionalized basis, not only the substance of public policy, but the constitutional procedures that regulate political decision-making of all types. Having become central to the Moroccan political process, the Parliament is now in need of a significant upgrading of its capacities if it is to expedite, rather than hinder the country's transition to democracy.

SECTION II
ASSESSMENT OF PARLIAMENT

A. The Functions of Parliament

Political development in Morocco has reached a stage wherein Parliament has become a key forum for government and opposition to negotiate a transition to democracy. To accomplish the transition, Parliament itself has to assume greater responsibility for the performance of several vital functions in the political system:

- Parliament needs to contribute more effectively to the making of public policy, which in turn demands that it have the capacity to review, comment on, and initiate legislation.

- Parliament must have the capacity to analyze the budget to fulfill its constitutional obligation to study and approve it.

- If Parliament is to play its proper role in a democratizing polity, it must exercise more active oversight of the executive branch. Oversight depends on information from audits and evaluations, investigations by standing and special committees, requests for information by legislators, and the performance by members of services for constituents.

- Political parties, which play important roles in aggregating and representing societal interests, cannot function as effective instruments of democracy unless Parliament itself operates openly and with fair and institutionalized procedures to make participation meaningful. Thus Parliament can play a key role in stimulating the growth and maturation of political parties. It can also make a major contribution to political education at the elite and mass levels.

The political context in which a legislature works, its representativeness, internal dynamics, and organizational/informational capacities, determine how well a legislature performs. Even long-established legislatures in mature democracies do not discharge all functions in a uniformly effective fashion. Legislatures that have recently assumed new authority typically need to undergo a period of capacity building before they can contribute to public policy and budgetary formulation, perform executive oversight, public education, etc. The Moroccan Parliament, which has functioned throughout the independent history of the country, and has for the majority of that time been a forum for the interaction of government and

opposition, is better placed than most transitional parliaments to assume a new and expanded role, as is suggested by the review of the manner in which key functions are currently performed, which is contained in Appendix A.

B. Political Organization of Parliament

The most distinctive feature of the political organization of the Moroccan Parliament is that it accords institutional legitimacy to political parties represented within it. Unlike other legislatures in the region, or the U.S. Congress, the Moroccan Parliament through various means, including the recognition of Parliamentary Groups, assigns major roles and awards significant resources to political parties. This practice is based on continental European prototypes, a model which has guided the development of the Moroccan Parliament since its inception.

The difficult transition from single to multiparty legislatures currently being faced by most other parliaments in the region, has already been accomplished in Morocco. Activities intended to strengthen the capacity of the institution do not, therefore, have to confront problems associated with that transition. They do, however, have to take account of sensitivities and expectations of deputies that resources will be allocated, at least in part, on the basis of partisan identifications. For parliamentary strengthening activities to be successful, they will have to strike a balance between support for the central administration of the institution, on the one hand, and Parliamentary Groups and other manifestations of internal pluralism, on the other. Appendix B contains a description of the political organization of Parliament, including the role of Parliamentary Groups and their current resources.

C. Administrative Organization of Parliament

Parliamentary staff are organized in a hierarchical manner, under the leadership of a secretary general who is nominated by the Cabinet but appointed by the King. The parliamentary staff provides clerical and operational and administrative support to MPs, but are not involved in making decisions on matters of public policy. Members of the parliamentary staff are civil servants. They are recruited and promoted in accordance with a special personnel law, similar to that regulating civil servants in the executive branch. The parliamentary personnel law was enacted only recently, in 1986. (Until then, the status of parliamentary employees had been left undefined, and as a result, parliamentary staff did not enjoy the benefits available to other civil servants.) A description of the administrative organization of Parliament is contained in Appendix C.

D. Role of Political Parties

The Moroccan Parliament, in which 10 parties are currently represented, reflects the fact that the Moroccan polity is quite pluralistic by Arab standards. Parliament gives representation to

a wide variety of social and political forces that engage in intense debates over public policy issues. There are two important categories of parties in Parliament: those that have at least 12 MPs, and therefore are allowed to form a Parliamentary Group, and those that do not. In addition to political parties, the Parliament includes three representatives affiliated with a trade union (the UMT, or Moroccan Labor Union) and one representative without affiliation. The eight Parliamentary Groups built around the eight largest political parties are the key political players in Parliament.

Since independence, the main line of division in the Moroccan polity has been between individuals and groups close to the Palace and political parties that evolved out of the nationalist movement. The historical rivalry between the two dominant forces or blocs has materialized today in a Parliament that remains divided between "pro-government parties" and the parliamentary opposition. The *kutla* (the USFP, the Istiqlal, and the OADP, having 108 seats out of 333) represents the latter grouping. When, in preparation for the 1993 legislative elections, the opposition formed the *kutla*, the three pro-government parties—the CU, the Popular Movement, and the PND—responded by forming the *wifaq* (entente). Although the *wifaq* did not do well in the first (direct) round of elections in June 1993, it scored an overwhelming victory in the second (indirect) round of elections, and enjoys a comfortable majority in the current Parliament. Three parties (the RNI, the MNP, and the Parti du Progres et du Socialisme (PPS) belong to neither the *kutla* nor the *wifaq*.

Although some of these parties are more influential and better organized than others, all suffer from weaknesses, such as:

- A very limited audience. Only a small minority of the population is involved in party activities and cares about party politics.
- Weak internal structure. This is particularly true of the parties of the majority, which are more accurately described as political clubs or informal electoral fronts than as organized political parties.
- Strong interpersonal rivalries, which lead to internal disunity and paralysis.
- Absence of clear programs.

These weaknesses are characteristic of political party development in transitional systems. The fact that political parties organize and contest elections, that they are represented in Parliament, and that they have direct access to parliamentary

resources bodes well for their future development. Appendix D contains a description of political parties represented in Parliament.

E. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Moroccan Parliament

The Moroccan Parliament is in the process of developing its institutional capacities to discharge its increasing responsibilities. Like legislatures in other transitional systems, the capacities of the Moroccan Parliament are considerably more developed in some areas than in others. Over the past several years it has developed a comparatively elaborate political organization that facilitates interactions and communications among the political groups represented in the institution. It has institutionalized the practice of providing professional staff to these groups to enable them to perform parliamentary functions more effectively. It has established the principle that parliamentary staff, whose duties are comparatively complex and demanding, should be remunerated more generously than comparable staff elsewhere in the government administration. Parliament is housed in an impressive building; its plenary hall is spacious and decorous; committees have their own rooms; and political groups have space in which to conduct their business.

On the other hand, weaknesses persist. The Parliament lacks organized programs for human resource development. Its office equipment is inadequate and dated. Production of minutes of debates is delayed by inadequate resources. Bill tracking is difficult because a modern system is not in place. An automated retrieval system for existing legislation and judicial decisions is not in place. Parliament's ability to participate in the budgetary process is impeded by the lack of adequately trained staff and appropriate information. The institution as a whole requires better access to information and the capacity to generate and analyze it. Finally, the institution is not linked intensively or extensively to public constituencies in the country as a whole, or to other social, economic, or governmental organizations, including universities, think-tanks, lobby groups, municipalities, the media, and so on.

In sum, the Moroccan Parliament is in the process of developing its internal capacities and expanding its role within the political system. The fact that leadership and members of the institution are keenly aware of needs and are desirous of overcoming deficiencies, suggests that the prospects for success are high.

SECTION III
RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary effort to develop the institutional capacity of the Moroccan Parliament should be concentrated on an integrated, "cellular" management information system (MIS). The system would be comprised of self-standing units, or cells, that can perform discrete functions, but are linked to the overall MIS. The package consists of discrete components so that various providers of assistance will be able to contribute to the development of the Moroccan Parliament in the context of an overall strategy of institutional strengthening. USAID's desire to outline a comprehensive approach to institutional development does not imply that it intends to assist in all aspects or phases of development. Subject to available funding, USAID will finance as many activities as possible.

The chief components of the system are intended to improve the Parliament's management of its legislative business and of its internal finances and record keeping. Those components are also intended to stimulate the development of linkages between Parliament and Moroccan civil society, especially through the medium of political parties. The components described below are listed within each category in order of priority. No prioritization is implied in the listing of the categories themselves. Activities to develop legislative management, to enhance the management information system for finances and housekeeping, and to establish linkages by strengthening political parties, can be conducted at different intervals if the limitation of resources so mandates.

A. Legislative Management—Procedural

Bill Tracking. Modern legislative management requires accurate tracking of bills as they pass through various stages. At present the Moroccan Parliament has no capacity to track proposed legislation. Members and staff noted the absence of such a system and their desire to obtain one. Bill tracking will include the capacity to identify bills being considered by committees, note action that has been taken on them, and incorporate approved amendments. Such a bill tracking system can be operated by the Secretariat of Sessions and Committees. Bill tracking software is widely available that operates simply and effectively on networked personal computers. Training programs for the utilization of that software have been developed and employed in a wide variety of parliamentary settings. Six persons will need to be trained to operate the system. Hardware required will include three computers, a server and a printer.

Recording and Distribution of Parliamentary Proceedings. Rapid, accurate, and impartial recording, transcribing, printing

and distribution of plenary sessions and committee hearings is vital to various parliamentary functions, as well as to enhancing the role of Parliament within the political system. At present the Secretariat of Sessions and Committees records and transcribes committee hearings and plenary sessions. That Section has inadequate equipment and human resources to perform its tasks in a timely and efficient manner. The Official Gazette's record of plenary sessions is at least half a year behind the sessions themselves. Computerization would greatly expedite this task. Requirements for the performance of the task include five computers, three printers, appropriate software, and a desktop publishing capability. Training for 15 persons will also be needed.

Retrieval of Relevant Legislation. The capacity to draft legislation is dependent upon the ability to retrieve previously existing relevant laws and regulations. At present the Moroccan Parliament does not have that capacity, which undermines its capacity to contribute effectively to the making of public policy. In the U.S. two major enterprises provide indexed databases upon which legislative bodies depend when retrieving relevant laws, regulations, and judicial decisions. Similar, although generally more limited databases have been constructed in various Asian, Africa, and Latin American countries. Compilation of such an indexed database will significantly enhance Parliament's ability to make public policy. An assessment by a management information specialist is required to determine the types of hardware, software, and training required to establish and maintain the retrieval system.

A1. Legislative Management: Information Resources

Information Unit. The parliamentary library needs to be transformed into an information unit capable of serving the needs of an increasingly active legislative institution. Necessary changes include additions to present holdings of books and periodicals and provision of modern electronic data management systems and capacities to access on line databases. Library staff will require training in the management of information technologies. Specifically, in addition to books and journals, 5 personal computers, 3 printers, one copier, one server, a LAN, 2 fax machines and a microfiche machine would be required. Training of six persons for two weeks each and provision of a technical specialist for up to three months would also be required.

Research Unit. Legislative research capacities can be housed in various locations within legislative bodies. The Moroccan Parliament, modeled more on European than on the U.S. prototype, has placed limited research capacities within Parliamentary Groups. In many parliaments such capacities are to be found not only with political parties, but also within the central administrative structure of the institution itself. The

Moroccan Parliament would benefit from having this additional research capacity in the form of a research unit attached to the parliamentary library. That unit would provide relevant research on public policy issues to members and would assist the efforts of staff attached to Parliamentary Groups.

Creation of a research unit would require training of personnel in legislative research. That training would include familiarization with research methods in other legislative settings, development of information management skills, and the creation of expertise in specific public policy issue areas. Specifically, long term training would be provided for three individuals at the graduate level. Two would be trained as a legislative policy analysts, and one as a legislative reference librarian. Two week overseas training sessions for four staff members would also be provided.

Public information Unit. The Secretary General of Parliament is aware of the need to upgrade the quantity and quality of information about Parliament that is made available to the public, which presently is poorly informed about the institution and its activities. A small public information unit attached to the office of the Secretary General would be able to provide appropriate materials for public release through various channels, including the media. The needs of that unit would include a desktop publication capability and appropriate training for staff to acquire the necessary skills to compose, process, format, print and disseminate information produced to the media, educational institutions, and the public at large.

A2. Legislative Management: Orientation

Members and staff of Parliament expressed their desire for orientation sessions in which the legislative process and support services would be explained. An appropriate activity would be four orientation sessions of two days each held on the premises of the Parliament. An orientation booklet outlining legislative procedures and support services should be prepared and delivered to all members and staff.

B. Management Information System

Financial Management and Accounting System. Parliaments require efficient financial management and accounting systems not only for effective management, but also to ensure the reality of financial propriety of officials and the perception that this reality obtains. The Moroccan Parliament has already embarked upon an upgrading program of its financial management and accounting systems. It has purchased a few computers for this purpose and trained some staff. An activity intended to assist in this process would be limited in scope and could be completed in a relatively short period. It would not be affected by other

activities or developments elsewhere in the institution. What is required is LANs, standardized software, and appropriate short-term, local training for personnel salaries and benefits, inventory, purchasing, budgeting and accounting, and other related functions. Specifically, 8 new personal computers are required, in addition to a server, 4 printers and a photocopy machine. Computer training for 10 staff members would be provided in country.

Internal Office Management. Internal administration currently is impeded by lack of access to modern office equipment and procedures. Word processing on networked computers is required to facilitate such management, especially within the office of the Secretary General and the Bureau. An assessment by a management information specialist is required to reveal what hardware, software, and training is required to provide this capacity. Required training would be of a short duration and provided locally.

C. Strengthening Political Parties

Strengthening through Outreach. The primary linkage between Parliament and civil society in democracies is provided by political parties, which aggregate the interests of constituents and seek to act on those interests in the legislative arena. The capacity of political parties to represent interests is determined both by their ability to "reach" constituents, and by their ability to perform adequately within the legislature. Adequate outreach capacity depends on establishing a presence in constituencies; projecting an image of the party and mobilizing support for it and its policies through election campaigns; and creating the impression that the political party can and does serve constituents' interests. Relevant assistance thus includes facilitating the establishment of local offices for members of Parliament and providing them with other means that enable them to interact with their constituents. Appropriate assistance also includes training in electoral campaigns.

Strengthening through Internal Capacity Building. The more effective political parties are at serving their constituents' interests, the stronger they are likely to become. Serving those interests in turn depends on the ability to contribute effectively to the making of public policy and to deal with individual constituent's needs. Activities within Parliament can bolster those capacities. Upgrading the staff and information capacities of the Parliamentary Groups is one way in which the ability of political parties to contribute to public policy can be enhanced. The provision to those Groups of data on specific constituencies, such as their comparative level of health and educational facilities, is another method. Political parties will be better be able to serve the needs of particular constituents, especially in their dealings with the executive administration, if they have more accurate and timely information on the legal entitlements of those constituents under various health, educational, welfare, employment, and other programs.

D. Illustrative Budget

The illustrative budget on the following pages contains estimates of likely costs. Precise costing cannot be provided until the specific details of the various activities are defined through a process of consultation with all concerned parties.

A. Legislative Management Procedural

1. Hardware	$35,000
2. Training	$50,000
3. Applications Development	$35,000
4. Technical Assistance	$25,000
Subtotal	$145,000

A1. Legislative Management - Information Resources

1. Information Unit

a. Books and Journals	$40,000
b. Hardware	$70,000
c. Training	$60,000
d. Technical Specialist	$25,000
Subtotal	$195,000

2. Research Unit

a. Graduate Training	$180,000
b. Overseas Training	$40,000
Subtotal	$220,000

3. Public Information Unit

a. Desktop Publishing Hardware and Software	$70,000
b. Staff Training	$30,000
c. Technical Assistance	$25,000
d. Annual Production Cost	$20,000
Subtotal	$145,000

A2. Legislative Management Orientation

1.	Training	$20,000
2.	Technical Assistance	$15,000
3.	Supplies and Expenses	$5,000
4.	Preparation and Publication of Booklet	$30,000
	Subtotal	$70,000

A3. Retrieval of Legislation

1.	Research/Compilation	$150,000
2.	Hardware/Software/Training	$285,000
	Subtotal	$435,000

Total Legislative Management Procedural	**$1,210,000**

B. Management Information System

1. Financial and Accounting Systems

a.	Hardware and Software	$65,000
b.	Training	$50,000
c.	Technical Assistance	$25,000
d.	Applications Development	$40,000
	Subtotal	$180,000

2. Internal Office Management

(Training and equipment needs to be determined by MIS specialist)

Total Management Information System	**$180,000**

C. **Strengthening Political Parties**

1. Outreach Activities

   a. Establishing Local Offices (TBD)

   b. Campaign Training (TBD)

2. Internal Capacity Building

a. Computer Hardware and Software	$35,000
b. Training	$50,000
c. Technical Assistance	$25,000
Total Strengthening Political Parties	**$110,000**
	=========
GRAND TOTAL	**$1,500,000**

SECTION IV
ASSOCIATED ACTIVITIES

To maximize the use of scarce U.S. Government resources, USAID/Rabat, in close coordination with the USG country team, developed a strategy for channeling support to Moroccan democratization efforts. This strategy provides an overall framework to coordinate assistance by various USG agencies. It is based on an understanding of and support for existing governmental and nongovernmental institutions and structures, on current political interests and their relationship to the country's political economy, and on progress already made by the GOM towards democratization and efforts to expand political participation. Although the strategy is still under review by both the mission and Washington, the Moroccan Parliament has been identified as the sector offering the best opportunities for immediate support. To this end, agreement was reached to proceed with the institutional assessment of the Moroccan Parliament.

USAID already has several projects that support decentralization, local government strengthening, and accountability. These activities will continue to complement and reinforce endeavors to enhance the institutional capacities of Parliament. Parliament depends on an active and expanding civil society to process societal demands into public policy. Efforts to bolster the institutional capacities of voluntary associations make broader and more effective parliamentary representation possible.

In addition to the USAID projects there are several other USG funded activities designed to support the democratization process. Through a variety of grants and programs, USIA has been actively supporting the technical and professional development of media professionals and has also provided training and study tours to professionals in other key sectors. Additionally, political parties and the electoral institutions have received technical assistance and commodity support from the USG agencies.

The USG agencies represented in the country team are encouraged to continue supporting democracy related interventions. However, to ensure a comprehensive democratization process in Morocco, new activities should be carefully designed within the context of the US Mission's Governance and Democracy strategy.

APPENDIX A
PERFORMANCE OF PARLIAMENTARY FUNCTIONS

A1. Public Policy

The constitution of Morocco empowers legislators individually and through committees to propose bills in all areas of public policy. Practice has been, however, that all major legislation originates in the executive and is transmitted to the Bureau of the Parliament (BOP). The BOP considers the bill pro forma and immediately refers it to one of the subject matter committees for consideration. A bill reported out of committee is then submitted to the whole Parliament for approval.

Bills are scrutinized and debated both within committees and in plenary sessions. Ministers and their representatives appear before committees and/or the plenary to defend their proposals. Members present suggestions and occasional amendments to proposed bills. It is up to the cabinet to accept those proposals and amendments. Quite often an accommodation is reached whereby the executive accepts changes that the legislature deems necessary.

Proposed legislation referred to the Parliament frequently is in the form of general policy directions rather than specific proposals. Such legislation allows ministers to draw up the details and to provide implementation guidelines and standards. Such instructions are often issued through executive or ministerial orders and are not subjected to legislative approval. The Parliament's ability to constrain such ministerial prerogative varies from one policy area to the other. In areas long considered the preserve of the executive, such as foreign policy and military and security matters, the executive predominates. However, in areas dealing with distributive policies (education, public works, agriculture, health and others) or in extractive policies (taxation), the executive allows a significant role for the legislature to debate and amend its proposed bills.

The role of the Moroccan Parliament is important in all areas of public policy because:

- The work of the committees and the general debate provide the executive with an opportunity to test general reaction to possible policy initiatives;
- In policy areas were the executive bureaucracy is divided, various executive agencies seek support in the legislature. In those areas of public policy where there is no consensus among the concerned executive agencies, the role of the legislature becomes important;

- Public policy debate within the Parliament forces the executive to act in public, thereby providing the public with an opportunity to hold the executive accountable for its promises and policies. In contrast to policies secretly adopted by bureaucratic agencies, adopting public policies in the legislative arena provides the media and the public with a standard against which it can measure actions and achievements of the executive branch;

- Parliamentary debates provide the executive and the public with alternatives to the policy being proposed. This alternative public policy may find its way into future legislation proposed by the executive or, as often is the case, is taken into consideration when the executive embarks on implementation.

A2. Review of the Budget

The Moroccan Parliament is constitutionally authorized to study and approve the budget. When received from the executive the budget is referred to the budget committee. The committee and the Parliament as a whole attempt to reach agreements with the executive regarding any proposed changes to the budget. The executive budget usually provides general principles and very few specifics. The executive is left with a wide margin of discretion on determining what actually happens at the implementation stage. Members of Parliament, typically acting within Parliamentary Groups, act as lobbyists for programs and services to their districts and constituencies. Sometimes they form regional blocs to press for programs of importance to their regions. The executive is quite attentive to legislative requests, especially to those requests originated by its supporters in the legislature.

The present Parliament is taking its budgetary role seriously, as evidenced by the intensive debate during the recent approval of the budget. Although it has little technical and professional support, and although it operates under serious restrictions, the Parliament is participating actively in the study of the budget. The budget committee is one of the most prestigious committees.

A3. Oversight

The Moroccan Parliament is entrusted with the right to exercise an oversight function over the executive. At present this function is not systematically performed. The capacity to perform the auditing/evaluation function essential to systematic oversight is attached to the executive. The Parliament has only limited, intermittent access to the reports of the Court of Accounts, which is in charge of auditing/evaluation.

Constitutional amendments in 1992 empowered the Parliament to create special investigatory committees to selectively probe government performances. Even before this power was explicitly granted to the Parliament, a special parliamentary committee undertook extensive investigation of the 1990 disturbances that took place in Fez. Senior civilian and military authorities in the region were ordered to appear and answer questions posed by members of the parliamentary committee that convened in Fez.

Although the Moroccan Parliament does not possess the resources to hold the executive strictly accountable, it nonetheless uses many parliamentary instruments and private resources to publicize governmental shortcomings. A major instrument of oversight is utilization of the question period by members and their Groups. Several instances of high profile and widely reported questions asked by parliamentarians regarding government mismanagement, violation of human rights, and other illegal actions have received wide attention. Other techniques include the use of the request for information, (a member of Parliament ask the responsible minister to answer specific questions); deliberation of parliamentary committees, (ministers attend and participate in the deliberation of parliamentary committees and answer questions and defend their records); general parliamentary debate, (during these debates the performance of the government is reviewed and evaluated under the threat of a vote of no confidence; and special investigation committees, can be appointed to investigate cases of mismanagement and corruption.

In order to question officials and conduct investigations, deputies depend on information reported in the press, information leaked by disgruntled employees, and constituents negatively affected by government actions or inactions, as well as powerful groups whose interests may have been negatively affected by the executive branch's actions.
Disagreements within the executive branch can precipitate leaks of information and encourage investigation. Important members of the executive branch may encourage the legislature to undertake such investigation, as a way of showing that it is responsive to public pressure, or to publicize a new or different approach to the problem. There are, in sum, various formal and informal mechanisms through which Parliament is able to exercise some oversight over the executive.

A4. Party Formation

Party formation is facilitated in various ways by the Moroccan Parliament. First, Parliament formally recognizes political parties as Parliamentary Groups, to which it assigns resources, including offices and staff. The size of the staff varies in accordance with the size of the Parliamentary Group, ranging between 7 and 12 administrative, public relations, and

legislative staff members. Each Parliamentary Group has the right to choose and utilize its staff as it wishes. The management of these staff and related resources and the assistance those resources provide to the parties, constitute major elements for the formation and strengthening of political parties. A second form of assistance provided to political parties is financial support during Parliament election campaigns and free access to radio and television. Third, Parliament's internal rules allocate time within the plenary and distribution of members within the various organs of the Parliament, according to political party membership. This basis for allocation legitimizes and consolidates political parties. Finally, various services to constituencies facilitated by Parliament and performed through political parties assists those parties in establishing grass roots connections.

APPENDIX B
INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF PARLIAMENT

The Moroccan Parliament is divided into four main political units:

- The Bureau
- Permanent committees (12)
- The Conference of Presidents
- Parliamentary Groups (8)

It is through these institutions that political interests most directly influence the work of Parliament. The composition of the Bureau, that of the Conference of Presidents, and that of the Parliamentary Groups overlap. One individual—the president of Parliament—belongs to all three institutions. He presides over both the Bureau and the Conference of Presidents.

B1. The Bureau

The Bureau is Parliament's single most important institution. Although not a policy-making institution, it supervises the day-to-day operation of the legislature and constitutes the main organism for coordinating parliamentary activities. It sets Parliament's agenda, oversees Parliament's administration, and serves as the main channel of communication between individual members of Parliament (MPs) and other institutions. For instance, if a deputy wants to request a set of official statistics from the Ministry of Commerce, he must go through the Bureau to submit his request.

Most important, the Bureau plays a critical role in the legislative process. In the Moroccan Parliament, a bill can originate in the executive branch, in which case it is called a project of law (*projet de loi*), or it can be initiated by a MP, in which case it is called a proposal of law (*proposition de loi*). In both instances, the bill must be submitted to the Bureau. The latter then registers it, sends a copy of it to every MP, and forwards it to the relevant committee. It is also the Bureau's responsibility to make sure that MPs are notified in a plenary session both of the bill and the committee to which it is forwarded.

The Bureau meets at least once a week, and usually more frequently, as has been the case recently, under the Parliament's new and very dynamic president. It is made up of 18 individuals: the president of Parliament, eight vice-presidents, five *questeurs*, and four secretaries. The way these 18 members are selected reflects a conscious effort to make the Bureau an institution that is truly representative of Parliament as a whole.

To understand how the Bureau is formed, it is convenient to start with the president of Parliament, who is elected by secret ballot every three years: once one week after the opening session of a new legislature, in October, and once three years later, at the beginning of the fourth year of a Parliament's six-year term. Following his election, the president undertakes consultations with representatives of the "Parliamentary Groups" (autonomous administrations representing the eight largest political parties in Parliament). During these consultations, the Parliamentary Groups submit to the president the names of members whom they would like to represent them in the Bureau. Although there might be some give-and-take between the president of Parliament and the Parliamentary Groups, the former will usually accept names proposed by the latter.

During these consultations, each of the eight Parliamentary Groups nominates one vice-president (the first vice-president is nominated by the largest party in Parliament, the second vice-president by the second largest party, and so on). Along similar lines, the largest five Parliamentary Groups nominate five *questeurs*, and the largest four parties nominate four secretaries. Each *Questeur* serves as a senior assistant to the president in one or more functional areas. As for the four secretaries, their primary responsibilities revolve around the administrative organization of plenary sessions. Once the make-up of the Bureau has been established, it must be ratified by a vote of Parliament before it can begin to operate.

B2. Committees

Proposed legislation is reviewed in specialized committees. The Moroccan Parliament currently has 12 permanent committees:

- National Education and Technical and Professional Training
- Agriculture, Agrarian Reform, and Animal Stock Committee
- Finance, Planning, and Regional Development Committee
- Economy, Labor, and Moroccans Abroad
- Interior, Local Government, and National Revival Committee
- Justice, Legislation, and Human Rights Committee
- Equipment, Communications, and Mail Service Committee
- Land Management, Housing, and Environmental Protection Committee
- Foreign Affairs, Cooperation, Frontiers, Occupied Regions, and National Defense
- Social Affairs, Health, Youth, and Sports
- Information, Culture, and Islamic Affairs
- Maritime Affairs and Tourism

Each committee is headed by a chairperson. Chairmanships are distributed among Parliamentary Groups in proportion to their size. Accordingly, the four largest parties in Parliament (the Constitutional Union, the USFP, the Popular Movement, and the

Istiqlal) each hold the chairmanship of two committees, while the RNI, the MNP, the PND, and the PPS each hold the chairmanship of one committee. The chairmanships of three of the four most critical committees are held by pro-government parties, but the opposition holds the chairmanship of a critical committee: Justice, Legislation, and Human Rights. This committee, chaired by a member of the USFP, is, in fact, the single most important committee in the Parliament, since it handles approximately 50 percent of all bills. (Any bill that might affect an existing law is forwarded to this committee.) It is also currently looking into proposals to modify the internal rules of Parliament.

Committees play an important role in the legislative process. Bills are referred to committee by the Bureau. Once a committee receives a bill, it reviews and discusses it. At that point, it may decide to call in outside experts to enable members to make an informed decision about the bill. (In practice, this happens very rarely.) More likely, especially in the case of a *projet de loi* (a bill submitted by the government), a minister may be invited to provide clarification or justification on certain aspects of the bill.

In general, most of the information and expertise needed to assess a bill comes from the government, largely because committees do not have the resources to obtain such information independently. MPs who do not belong to the committee may nevertheless attend committee deliberations and introduce amendments to the bill being discussed. Although committees vote on a bill to decide when and in what form the bill will be submitted to a plenary session of Parliament, the committee's role is neither to approve nor reject the bill. Committees do not decide the fate of a bill; this decision is made by all members of Parliament. According to the Constitution and Parliament's internal rules, the deliberations of committees are secret.

Committees do not legislate, but they play a significant role in the legislative process. During committee deliberations, political negotiations occur and amendments are introduced. Committee members may already have discussed the content of a bill within their own Parliamentary Groups and are therefore likely to come to committee sessions well prepared to defend their party's views. Since, however, the political make-up of each committee reflects the political balance of power within Parliament itself, it is virtually impossible for the parliamentary majority to be defeated in committee. This means that the government has the means to force legislation through committees. It is free to accept or refuse amendments that are proposed to its *projets de loi*, knowing that in either case the bill it proposed will become law. Thus, while committee sessions can provide heated debate over a bill, in the end the government will prevail.

B3. Parliamentary Groups

Political parties represented by at least 12 members are organized into independent "Parliamentary Groups." In the Parliament elected in 1993, there are eight such groups: those of the Constitutional Union, the USFP, the Popular Movement, the Istiqlal Party, the RNI, the MNP, the PND, and the PPS. Any force with fewer than 12 members in Parliament is not allowed to form a parliamentary group. In the legislature elected in 1993, such is the case for the independents (SAPs), the UMT, the OADP, and the Party of Shura and Independence. Each Parliamentary Group is headed by a chairman, who is not necessarily the leader of the party. In fact, in the legislature elected in 1993, all Parliamentary Groups decided to keep the two positions separate.

Parliamentary groups play a critical role in the Moroccan Parliament. They constitute the main forum in which political parties coordinate their positions on the issues, and through which they seek to influence the discussion of legislation in committees. MPs usually meet with their Parliamentary Groups to determine their parties' position on a bill, and to give instructions to their members who belong to the committee where a *projet de loi* or *proposition de loi* will be discussed. The right to ask oral questions during plenary sessions is a privilege conferred not on individual MPs, but on political parties. As a result, the larger the Parliamentary Group, the greater the number of oral questions it can ask.

Access to critical parliamentary resources and privileges is the single most important factor that accounts for the influence of Parliamentary Groups. The professional staff that enables U.S. legislators, for example, to play their policy-making role, is allocated to committees. Not so in the Moroccan legislature, where it is given to Parliamentary Groups. Professional staff provide MPs with information and expertise necessary to make public policy. The size of the staff currently allocated to Parliamentary Groups ranges from six for the smallest Parliamentary Group (PPS) to thirteen for the largest (Constitutional Union). Parliamentary Groups are free to select their staff in one of three ways:

- From outside state institutions (one way, for example, to reward party loyalists)
- From the central administration (for instance, by requesting that a technocrat currently working in a ministry but affiliated to the party be detached to the Parliamentary Group)
- From the parliamentary administration itself (which has the advantage of providing Parliamentary Groups with individuals who are familiar with the inner workings of

Parliament, and who may enjoy the confidence and goodwill of the parliamentary staff, enabling the Parliamentary Group to be more effective)

B4. Conference of Presidents

The Conference of Presidents (COP) consists of the following 38 members:

- The president of Parliament and the other 17 members of the Bureau
- The chairmen or chairwomen of the 12 committees
- The chairmen or chairwomen of the eight Parliamentary Groups

The president of Parliament is also the president of the COP. Unlike the Bureau, which is not directly involved in public policy, the COP plays an active role in coordinating and building consensus on legislative proposals. Once a committee has completed its work on a bill, it is sent back to the Bureau, which registers it in its new form and forwards it to the COP. The COP's primary responsibility is then to review the bill, discuss it, and try to build a consensus before scheduling it for discussion in a plenary session, where it will be voted on.

APPENDIX C
ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF PARLIAMENT

C1. The President

The president is the head of the Parliament. He is directly assisted by the Office of the President (*diwan al-ra'is*), which consists of his immediate executive staff. He also can draw on the resources of the Office of the Secretary General of Parliament. Most of the functions of the presidency are discharged through the Office of the President, which has 17 employees. This office has four main responsibilities:

- Coordination with the various administrative offices of Parliament
- Political coordination between the president and the members of the Bureau
- Coordination between the president and the parliamentary blocs
- Coordination between the president and the executive branch

The Office of the President is composed of five divisions: Press, Protocol, Members' Affairs, Correspondence, and Foreign Relations. Overseeing the five divisions are two influential figures: the director (*mudir*) and the president (*ra'is*) of the Office of the President. (One must be cautious not to confuse the president of the Office of the President with the president of Parliament himself; to make this distinction clear, we refer to the former as "president of the *Diwan*").

The director is essentially the president's political confident and most trusted adviser. He is a political appointee. His primary function is to carry out the political missions of the president, to "make things happen," get along well with representatives of all Parliamentary Groups, and minimize tensions between the president and political parties.

By contrast, the president of the *Diwan* belongs to Parliament's permanent staff. While the director acts as a political arm for the presidency, the president of the *Diwan* oversees its administrative functions. He operates as a "chief of staff" for the president of Parliament.

C2. The Secretary General

The secretary general (SG) is essentially the chief administrative officer of Parliament. Unlike the Bureau, which exercises a political oversight function, the role of the SG is purely administrative. He fulfills most of his functions by

supervising the work of four major administrative departments, or "sections" (*aqsam*, sing. *qism*).

C2a. Section of Legislation and Sessions

This section has two primary functions:

- To record and transcribe the minutes of plenary sessions and committee meetings
- To transmit questions and answers between Parliamentary Groups and the executive bureaucracy

The work of this section is limited to clerical and administrative support services. It is carried out by three separate "divisions" (*maslahat*): Legislation, Committees, and Plenary Sessions.

Division of Legislation. This unit employs six individuals: a division head, two university graduates, two secretaries, and one clerk. It plays an important role in processing the oral questions that Parliamentary Groups submit to the Office of the President. Upon receiving these questions, the Office of the President sends them to the Division of Legislation, where they are recorded and forwarded through the Office of the President (*diwan al-ra'is*) to the Prime Minister's Office. (The latter then distributes the questions to the relevant ministries.) The Division of Legislation also receives and registers the answers provided by the executive branch, and refers them to the Bureau of Parliament. (It is the Bureau that subsequently schedules questions and answers for hearing in plenary session.)

Division of Committees. This division, with a total staff of 29, provides administrative and clerical support for Parliament's 12 permanent committees. It delegates two to three of its employees to each committee. (Staff is rotated regularly from one committee to another). These individuals, all university-educated, record the minutes of the committee and write a summary of its meetings. The unit as a whole eventually transcribes and types all deliberations of all committees (a total of approximately 400 hours for the 1993 fall session of Parliament).

Division of Plenary Sessions. This division is in charge of recording, transcribing, typing, and publishing the deliberations of plenary sessions. There are two types of minutes: a summary of the session, and a *verbatim* version. The summary version is published within 24 hours of the plenary session. Due to resource constraints (including the reliance on typewriters as opposed to computers), it currently takes approximately seven months for the *verbatim* sessions to appear in the official gazette (published by the secretary general of the Prime Minister's Office).

This division is also responsible for writing three separate indexes: one classifying plenary sessions by date, one classifying information by subject matter (identifying the dates

of the session when topics were discussed, and the date and page of the official gazette where the minutes of the sessions can be found), and one by the names of MPs who took part in plenary debates.

The division has a staff of 22: one head of division, eight university graduates (who attend the sessions, prepare summary versions, and edit tape transcripts), eight high-school graduates (who record sessions and transcribe tapes), and five secretaries, who type the material in its entirety, from summaries to full minutes.

C2b. Section of Administration

The administrative section is the largest section in the Office of the Secretary General. It currently employs 67 employees, ranging from gardeners, drivers, and janitors to personnel managers. Approximately one third of the staff is made up of professionals. Its primary function is to provide general services support for Parliament. It is composed of 12 divisions: the Personnel Division for Staff, Personnel Division for Deputies, Motor Pool, Social Services for Deputies, Infirmary, Supplies and Material, Maintenance, Documentation and Archives, Library, Audiovisual, Printing and Production, Procurement and Contracts.

C2c. Section of Budget and Accounting

This unit is responsible for the accounting and budget management services of Parliament. It has a staff of 17 (including two university graduates). It consists of three divisions: Staff Payroll Division; Division of Payroll for parliamentarians; and Purchasing Division.

C2d. Section of External Relations

The primary function of this section is to provide logistical support for foreign parliamentary delegations visiting the Kingdom and for Moroccan parliamentary delegations that travel to other countries. It consists of three divisions: one for Africa and the Middle East, one for the Americas, and one for Europe. It has a total staff of seven, including four professionals.

APPENDIX D
POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT

Eight political forces represented in Parliament have met the 12-member minimum requirement to form Parliamentary Groups. They are described below. In addition to those listed below, there are two independent members of Parliament.

The Istiqlal Party (*Hizb al-Istiqlal*, or "The Party of Independence")

Seats in Parliament: 51
Current secretary general of the party: Mohamed Boucetta
Newspapers: the Arabic daily, *Al-Alam* (The Flag), and the French daily, *L'Opinion*

With the USFP, the Istiqlal is one of the two main parties of the parliamentary opposition (*kutla*). It is the oldest of Morocco's political parties. Although formally organized only in 1943, it developed out of the nationalist movement that emerged in the 1930s. The Istiqlal joined the government following the 1977 legislative elections (the government was made up of a coalition of independents, members of the Popular Movement, and Istiqlal members). In April 1985, however, after eight years of participation, the Istiqlal refused to join the government, in disagreement over government economic policies (economic liberalization and austerity program). The Istiqlal did very poorly in the legislative elections of 1984, when it secured only 24 seats (down from 45 in 1977). It greatly improved its position in the Parliament elected in 1993, however, in which it currently occupies 51 out of 333 seats.

The Popular Movement (MP)

Seats in Parliament: 54
Current secretary general: Mohand Laenser
Newspapers: the French-language weekly, *La Tribune Populaire*

The Popular Movement is currently the third largest party in Parliament, after the Constitutional Union (67) and the USFP (55). It was established in 1957, a year after independence, by leading rural-based Berber families. Following the 1977 elections, it occupied 41 seats in the 264-member legislature. Following the 1984 elections, it picked up a few more seats to reach a total of 47, making it the third largest Parliamentary Group.

The Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP)

Seats in Parliament: 55

Current first secretary: Mohamed El-Yazghi (temporary replacement for Abderrahmane Youssoufi, who resigned in September 1993 to protest electoral fraud)
Newspapers: the Arabic daily *Al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki* and the French daily *Libération*

The USFP has become the largest and most influential party of the opposition. It is also the second largest party in Parliament after the Constitutional Union. It traces its origins to a split that took place within the Istiqlal shortly after independence.

The Parti du Progres et du Socialisme (PPS)

Seats in Parliament: 13
Current secretary general: Ali Yata
Newspapers: the daily *Al-Bayane*, available both in French and in Arabic

This party is the historical heir to the Moroccan Communist Party, which was created in 1943. Since 1992, the party has distanced itself from the other main parties of the left (USFP, Istiqlal, OADP), and tensions between these parties and the PPS have increased.
The number of seats the party was able to capture increased from 2 (in 1984) to 12 (in 1993).

The National Rally of Independents (RNI)

Seats in Parliament: 35
Current secretary general: Ahmed Osman

The RNI was created in 1978, after the King felt the need to organize the loyalist majority, who had won the 1977 legislative elections by campaigning as independents, and who together had won 45 of the total vote and were thus by far the largest single bloc in Parliament. The RNI developed as a party of technocrats and young professionals, positioned at the center of the political spectrum, pro-business and pro-Western in foreign policy, and favoring more liberal economic policies. The party remains an important force, especially at the local level. It received the most votes and the greatest percentage of seats nationally in the October 1992 municipal elections.

The National Democratic Party (PND)

Seats in Parliament: 24
Current secretary general: Mohamed Arsalan al-Jadidi

The PND was born in 1981, when rural notables within the RNI decided to create their own party after they were unable to resolve differences with other RNI leaders. Of the RNI's 142 deputies, 61 quit the RNI to form the nucleus of the PND. The PND

remains predominantly concerned with local issues and with satisfying the concrete, immediate needs of its rural constituency. It has sought to encourage state assistance to the agricultural sector.

The Constitutional Union (UC)

Seats in Parliament: 67
Current president: Maati Bouabid

Currently the largest political party and Parliamentary Group in Parliament, the UC was born in March 1983. Like the RNI five years earlier, it was organized by an incumbent prime minister, Maati Bouabid. Merely two months after its creation, the UC won the most votes and seats nationally in the municipal elections. One year later, it obtained the most votes in the legislative elections of 1984. Like the RNI, the UC has tried to project a modernist, centrist, pro-business, and youthful image. It recruits primarily among industrialists, entrepreneurs, professionals, technocrats, and higher civil servants.

The Popular National Movement (MNP)

Seats in Parliament: 25
Current secretary general: Mahjoubi Aherdane

The MNP was created in 1991 by the founder and former leader of the Popular Movement, Mahjoubi Aherdane. Although the MNP was able to attract some members of the Popular Movement, and is also well represented in Berber and rural areas, it is not as closely associated with rural and Berber interests as is the Popular Movement. Many of its MPs actually come from urban and/or predominantly Arab constituencies.

There are several political forces represented in Parliament that have insufficient deputies to form Parliamentary Groups. They are as follows.

The Moroccan Labor Union (UMT)

Seats in Parliament: 3

Created in 1955, the UMT cooperated closely with the Istiqlal during the last two years of the fight for independence. During the 1960s, however, the UMT refused to become embroiled in party politics, and it took its distance from the Istiqlal, which created its own trade union in 1960 (the UGTM, or General Union of Moroccan Workers). The UMT continues to keep away from politics, preferring to maintain a dialogue with the government that revolves exclusively around wages and other benefits. With a membership well above half a million, it is still the largest union in the country.

The Organization of Democratic and Popular Action (OADP)

Seats in Parliament: 2
Current secretary general: Mohamed Bensaïd Aït Idder

This party emerged in 1983. It was formed by former Marxist-Leninist militants who had been violently opposed to the monarchy in the 1960s, but whose support for Morocco's claim to the Western Sahara enabled them to reintegrate into the Moroccan mainstream in the late 1970s. The OADP increased its parliamentary representation from one in the Chamber elected in 1984 to two in the Parliament elected in 1993.

Party of Shura and Istiqlal

Seats in Parliament: 2
Current secretary general: Ahmed al-Muqaddam

Independent Members

Seats in Parliament: 2

There are also two members of the Moroccan Parliament who were elected as independents.