

abd assalam yassine

*M*emorandum

to him who is concerned

abd assalam yassine

M*emorandum*
to him who is concerned

*In the name of God, the Compassionate,
the Merciful Peace and Prayers be upon His Prophet Mohammad.*

“The King of the Poor”

The young monarch, Mohammad VI, is highly admired by Moroccan young people, who regard him as a friend, a symbol of liberation and a promise for a better future. During the first weeks of his reign, and wherever his inaugural campaign took him, the young king is greeted with genuine and youthful enthusiasm.

The Makhzen machinery, which organised the funeral of the late Hassan II, plays a full role to present to the crowd overcome with cheers a young man having great presence, smiling and gesturing benevolently to the warm welcome of the public.

Extravaganza of antique coach and horses with golden hoofs! Euphoria of festivities surrounded by the modern motorcade! Spirited enthusiasm displayed by the crowds of people aligned all along avenues hastily painted anew for the occasion. And this makes at least a great impression on television screens!

A successful performance is the Moroccan-style state show made more attractive with pomp and ceremony! An old tradition which skilfully plays with symbols and attributes!

It is youthful and hopeful! The heavy darkness of a gloomy period seems to have cleared the way for the shining of a new dawn. It is the magic first light of a long-awaited spring!

How beautiful are the generously dispensed promises! However, beware of disillusionment if, after the honeymoon, the harsh realities remind the enchanted youth, lulled by romantic promises, of its unenviable lot. Once parades and cavalcades over, winged poetry will give way to the base prose of unemployment and destitution.

The public image and goodwill of the new symbolic authority could well be betrayed by socio-economic restraints. Let alone some influential vultures who wait for the right moment to defend their privileges and maintain political circumstances favouring stagnation. Lurking behind the scenes, the corrupted and corrupting agents, skilled in the art of disguising the truth and promoting falsehood, will attempt to counter Morocco's young great hopes.

We cannot expect to counterbalance sly old foxes with innocent goodwill. We cannot pretend to open a new page by ingenuously establishing public relations with a generation prostrate with despair. We can no longer impress world attention while Morocco is on a knife-edge. Has the countdown not already started?

First rescue operations

We content ourselves with fine words and attractive pictures to forget and make people forget the hideous image of a disgraceful past.

The new king's young advisers seemingly want to ward off Moroccan malaise with media incantation: why not put on a show and dispense smiles if we cannot afford food and jobs?

The young entourage thinks it can easily erase from people's minds the evil memory of the period in which Tazmamart torturers ruled supreme. It helplessly endeavours to adorn the time where Hassan's "demoncracy" swore that the elections had never been

falsified, that the government of the country was done with devotion and loyalty and that “l’alternance consensuelle” (the alleged consensual changeover of political power) was and still is an appreciable asset highly advocated by democracy.

The young who acclaim Mohammed VI have turned away definitely from a political community conspiring willy-nilly with the old Makhzen, which betrayed the principles of paraded Islam. They have equally turned aside from Hassan’s democracy, drained of its substance and fashioned in the style of a certain despotism fearing neither God nor man.

The young advisers are fully aware of the lack of points of reference and of the identity gap felt by the boat people generation, which flees from poverty-stricken Morocco to the lot that we all know. They would combine outdated and modern slogans to make those who have lost confidence in everybody adopt an alternative credo. The national anthem and the red flag at school would implant the feeling of loyalty in tender hearts. Solidarity campaigns and the five-dirham badges would establish the new «culture of public charity». Engaging with one’s hand on one’s heart in morning greetings before the national flag, and singing at the top of one’s voice the national anthem will, helped on by destitution, soon discredit the new fetishism. Changing the ideological paraphernalia could never breathe into Moroccans a new spirit that will set them in motion and reassure them about their future. The annual periodic charity shows have become a tradition which is now putting down roots in the Makhzen’s agenda with the view to normalise relations with beggary.

Who do you think are you deluding? Are you trying to take for a ride the young desperados who sell their scanty family possessions to be sent to kingdom come on Tangier’s jury feluccas?

Those who lack sound principles and strong will search for second-hand points of reference in the ready-to-wear slogan market. Go on and satisfy the hunger of the famished people by endless fairy tales! Paint in glowing colours to the thirsty horde

the mirage of a hospitable oasis in the desert of false promises! Disillusion will only be greater and the consequences more disastrous.

Heavy burden

Apparently, we have well started when we have pinned all our hopes on the new star on stage. However, on the frail shoulders of the former crown prince, innocent of former crimes, are suddenly piling up huge responsibilities the most urgent of which is to clean the Augean stables and clear the political and administrative scene, infested with souls wallowing in vice and devoted to Satan. A victim among the victims of yesterday, there he is today assigned to take the responsibility of saving the country from a looming disaster.

Everybody, even among remotely alert observers, knows that the whole system is in decline. The «gallant manners» by which the Palace attempts to confirm its authority when doing justice to an oppressed person here and delivering a well-structured speech there do not suffice to remedy a difficult situation. Police repression or bombastic speeches before hordes of sycophants, accomplices in the criminal operation of deceiving whole generations, have unfortunately become outmoded policies. Hoaxed a long time by the universal consensus of a community of political schemers, the illiterate people wait today for action. Idle and taking drugs to flee the ungrateful society or to avoid seeing a future without prospects, young people today want jobs and a place in the sun.

What should the young Mohammed VI do, he who is extremely and generously popular in the eyes of his generation? What can the Prince Charming do to come up through concrete and decisive action to the expectations of the young and the poor people? What can he do to establish his authority and strengthen his position?

To start the profound change which the country hopes and prays for, the «King of the Poor», a majestic title indeed, must

mark a decisive break with the past. He needs to acquire through virile and loyal action the status of a leader who is up to the expectations which his accession to the throne has aroused among the young people. Indeed, he saw and felt the warm reception Moroccans gave him throughout the country.

Should the young king act to deserve the moral crown and assert his authority? Can he do? What to do?

Either the sovereign takes his courage in both hands and charges at obstacles with the dauntless will of distinguished leaders or he will vegetate in the vague desires of pusillanimous hearts. Either he proves his courage and resolution without which Makhzen routine and easy solutions will dampen the enthusiasm of warm inaugurations, or the pure-bred will stumble before obstacles and, by retreating, will meet the atrocious fate of missed opportunities with history.

Sacred duty

Gentle reader, my friend! Brothers and sisters! Those who share with me the pain to see our country at the brink of the precipice while flatterers are rejoicing! Sincere and honest people! Upright and courageous intellectuals who sing the honeyed melody in unison with the sycophants! Carry on regardless of my steep pen and listen with your conscience to my sore words!

Prostration before what is going on and the disastrous statistics which make Morocco lag behind nations cannot be revealed and censured by blunted words, cold and dull expressions and a numb style. My words are heightened, perhaps clumsy and probably shocking and “politically incorrect”. But the noble cause, for which any free citizen filled with a lofty ideal campaigns, demands a minimum of candour and mere intellectual honesty to disclose the concealed facts and awaken languid consciences. Is it not our duty, as citizens concerned about the future of their country, to denounce fraud and criminals? Does the young king not need

to hear sincere voices before proclivity to self-importance and arrogance turns the flattered prince into a ruthless tyrant? Does Morocco, now a backward nation, not deserve our solicitude?

Keep on creeping on your fours, you sluggish cowards!

Applaud the fairground attraction, you indifferent onlookers!

As for you, honest men and women, you have your say and your message to convey. Proclaim your message and snap your fingers at politician mediocrity which regards as impertinent and offensive any word that trespasses upon the sacred area of consensus servility, especially if uttered by a bearded Muslim or a veiled Muslim woman.

Topical issues

Poor young king! He has a heavy burden on the back!

What does the young king, newcomer to office, want to do? What can he do? What will he dare undertake? Will he be obsessed by careerists' flattery? Will he be enchanted by the lure of power? Will the centrifugal forces and social segregation further widen the gap dividing Moroccans into several categories? Will the distrust felt by the people of the political elite spread to minds over the new figure whom the helpless young hopefully regard as a saviour? What can a novice king do, he who is overwhelmed with so many concerns and bombarded all over with questions?

Nothing if he is lulled by the sirens' song and entrusts the improvised changeover with the task of changing the course of events.

A lot if he proves his courage and resolution and shows by action that the new leader is not a spineless character and a puppet in the hands of the shrewd and scheming figures of the Palace.

It's time we discarded the Alaouit's ancestral megalomania and munificence (the famous nakhwa). It's time we talked of concrete figures and the actual state of the household.

Morocco is known to be a happy family under the care of “a wise, compassionate and thoughtful father”. For a long time, the well-orchestrated Makhzen propaganda has presented each day fallacious arguments and forged pictures to the effect that Morocco is more prosperous than ever. To the miserable members of the Moroccan family, we have promised for four decades milk and honey. Before the peaceful people, we have presented troublemakers as enemies. Formerly, the rabble-rousers were of the left wing; today it is the Islamists.

The happy family knew great moments in its history like the time of the firm-handed rule of men like Oufkir, the post-Oufkir Tazmamart, the missing persons and iniquitous trials whose outcome and sentence are known in advance.

Morocco of daddy knew so disgraceful a human rights’ record. The national situation and international pressures could no longer tolerate undeserved favours and the horrible fate prepared for the (quick-tempered) sons and daughters of the Moroccan family guided by the affectionate father of the Nation.

Backed by the police firm hand and in the absence of any control, the looters protected by the supreme authority really went to town and amassed huge fortunes. The motto was: you are supporter of the regime, then you do not run the risk of prosecution and you will have all rights conferred upon you!

For the (beloved) members of the family-the helpless and the rejects- the conjurer had more than one trick up his sleeve to dazzle the audience and dodge problems.

Urgent priorities

Our nice sovereign, who should not be intoxicated by the passing fancy, is left with a legacy of total chaos: utter destitution for most people and indulgent luxury for some, corruption as a means for government and election rigging as democratic institution and practice.

In short, the system got in the end bogged down in a muddle and forced into looking for a way out. “L’alternance consensuelle” and the “gentlemen’s agreement” have long been negotiated, concocted and finally clinched. It is a shady business- however let us not dwell on it.

The promising young king is not liable for the crimes of others. He is imbued with compassion for the underprivileged. This can be seen in his modesty and the reception he used to give, when then crown prince, the crowd of beggars who assailed his residence and still do as a result of destitution occasioned by social injustice or rather the absence of justice. Today the kind-hearted prince, now flattered and envied king, should give impetus to the machine and re-forged social relations.

The king should excel himself; otherwise, it will be futile to wait for significant and permanent results. What is needed is effective action that would change the method of government and establish real justice, sensible education and social justice which would abolish privileges and bridge the wide gap between the haves and the have-nots. Boosting the economy and improving the employment situation by productive investment are urgent needs as well.

Events should be given a new dimension. Already, the new style of the young Mohammed VI is a forward step in this respect. Yet the arm to stimulate Morocco’s potential needs strength, the charitable soul moral resource and the burgeoning will lofty ambition and spiritual lever.

The whole system should be questioned. The train should be put back on the rails with a new engine and a vigorous hand. Why? Because behind the beautiful façade, the building is shaky and in danger of falling down. Hence the urgent need for significant and efficient intervention to prepare the country to deal with two critical and frightening issues: the question of the Western Sahara and the world market in a ten years’ time.

The issue of the Western Sahara is a litigious legacy of the past reign and the contemptuous prestige policy. Our Western Saharan brothers are divided between two choices:

- A rigid king who commands them to prostrate themselves before him according to the abominable tradition of the Makhzen Bai'a- a ridiculous ceremony of allegiance which has nothing to do with the solemn Islamic pact by virtue of which the free people pass a vote of confidence in the freely chosen authority.

From a mutually binding contract, the Bai'a changed in the course of the tormented and eventful Muslim history into a ludicrous travesty.

Noble and independent people, the Western Saharans were suddenly subjected to the Makhzen ceremonial. And we have all seen on the television the noble figures of the tribal chiefs bowing before the haughty majesty. What a humiliation! What a blow to the pride of a population very devoted to Islam!

- The other choice is the indoctrinating armed gangs who talk to them about dignity. Are they going to vote one day for unified and truly Muslim Morocco, a country to be rethought and rebuilt? Or are they going to draw the lesson from the past humiliation and the savage repression of which they were victims just recently and choose dignity and freedom under another banner?

The billions of dirhams spent on the brand-new modern estates built on the desert sands have only impoverished Morocco and aggravated its debt. The haughty prestige policy has only established rupture between two fractions of the same nation.

How urgent is the need to reconsider our adherence to Islam, loudly proclaimed but slyly betrayed!

As far as we are concerned, our stance is loud and clear: we are for the unity of the Muslim peoples throughout the criminal borders inherited from our past and present history.

As for the urgent need to avoid the open market's blade, it will become apparent through a glance at statistics over the place of Morocco on the world scene.

We remain rather vague when we talk about principles only. When not having a particular objective set by an upright conscience, principles tend to be rather evanescent. Hence the necessity to state some figures to visualise the gravity of the situation and the exceptional effort and dauntless will required to overcome the obstacles standing in the way of any attempted change.

I am not spreading doom and gloom out of overcautiousness before the present and predictable threats. Rather, I am prompted by the duty of exhorting to good and warning against evil which Islam requires of any Muslim.

For a long time, precisely for a quarter of century, we have condemned dictatorial methods which make the man at the top assume the right to rule on his own pleasure and to order, know and possess everything.

The granted and periodically updated constitution is the modern expression of the imperial firman: the noble blood which runs in my veins grants me the exclusive right to hold people's destiny in my hand.

Alarming figures

Here is the result in figures of the brilliant method: United Nations statistics rank countries according to their rate of human development. Morocco is rated 125, far behind neighbouring countries such as Tunisia and Algeria. Good results!

12 million of Moroccans live below the poverty line i.e., with less than 10 dirhams (\$ 1.00) per day.

Almost three quarters of Moroccans earn less than the guaranteed minimum wage i.e., 1,600 dirhams (\$ 160) per month.

Shanty towns are the usual settlement, and have become commonplace, for an increasing number of Moroccans.

Salaries in Europe range between 1 and 10 or less. In Morocco they vary from 1 to 1000.

23% of Moroccans in the prime of life are unemployed. Let alone disguised unemployment which would uncover a frightening figure. Young people take drugs to forget, or “burn” to flee the unbearable destitution. To “burn” in the Moroccan jargon means to stow away for a painfully hot or a deadly cold destiny.

More than 100,000 holders of higher education diplomas (physicians, engineers, teachers, and quality technicians) brood over their helplessness and deception in the local café or demonstrate in the streets of the capital.

53% of Moroccans (official figure) are illiterate and fit to be taken for a ride by official propaganda or political party one-upmanship. It is edifying in this respect to look at how the elections go in our country: The poverty of the electors combines with dishonesty of the “elected representatives” and the complicity of the corrupted civil service to turn our elections into a tragic farce.

From corruption to globalisation

Corruption no longer shocks any conscience. Corruption has become a lifestyle. From the “humble” civil servant to the figures in the higher echelons of power, everybody holds out the hand. All services have a price list: from the ten-dirham red note, to the filled envelope and up to the cheque transferred into Swiss bank accounts.

This being the case, we should not be surprised if foreign investors do not venture into Morocco, especially that the judicial apparatus is notoriously known as venal. Before courts, brokers negotiate impudently the outcome of proceedings as if it were a matter of purchasing cattle in the souk.

If we add to this the evils poisoning our civil service- slow administrative procedures and prevarication of employees or section heads who wait to have their palm oiled to move- we will understand why the much needed investors avoid Morocco. In Western Europe, you just need three or four hours to have your

papers signed. In our brilliant country, it takes months if not years. Until the mediator close to the regime is satisfied with the amount of his shares in your company, keep waiting. Until you run out of honesty, you will be going round offices. How can we enter the world market with such handicaps? Is it not a matter of life or death for Morocco!

And what about drugs?

How can we face globalisation knocking at the door (if not already at home) with young drug addicts? Here is another critical issue. Let us talk now about drugs in Morocco. The dilemma of drugs is not likely to be solved so long as the corruption of the system, the greediness of drug magnates and the dependence of Northern provinces fellahs on cannabis prompt one another to produce and market this stuff which is now attracting increasing local clientele. Not long ago, the European media denounced the shameless involvement of great figures very very close to the regime in drug trafficking. Decency has never been the outstanding virtue of corrupted powers!

I report here data and statistics which are gleaned from the Western media. In view of the alleged “openness” in our country, we are compelled to listen to what free and well-informed nations say about us. How to check and control information? How to know the truth from a muzzled press and in the presence of delusive official propaganda?

Why quote in the first place foreign newspapers and publications which have never been “tactful” with the late king? (I am not talking about hired rags). Because despicable and outrageous events reported by reliable organs arouse disgust. I am not reporting such data and statistics with the intention of feeding depraved and astounding figures to the public. The dead are dead and it is for God to judge them. But the living suffer for generations on account of the wrongdoing of the deceased.

Having no access to free sources of truthful information, the people should know everything to cure once for all of subjection to dictatorship. Aware and well informed about the crimes which tyranny can perpetrate, the people should as well reject tyrants and liberate themselves of their yoke according to the sacred principles of Islam.

The Saint Prophet- Peace be upon him- warned us against mordacious tyrants. The word “ ’aad” (mordacious) expresses accurately the insatiable tyranny which wolfs people and possessions down like sandwiches.

Echoing with a sharp style disgraceful information about our rulers is by no means a settling of scores. Only a coward would wish to take posthumous revenge on cold corpses. Yet the living should draw lessons from the dead and the truth should be sought and loudly proclaimed.

Deplorable facts

Let those God-fearless souls trembling with fear before creatures hide their face and put their hands over their ears.

To the distinguished souls, and I hope Mohammed VI is one, the truth should be served forthright and unadorned. Liars, hypocrites, people who do not fear God and have no faith in Him and in the Hereafter are like human worms wrapped up in the cobweb of their mean concerns .They are tied up in a bundle in their insignificant daily round.

Hassan II shall be tried, and so shall Mohammed VI (and we as well) , by the Supreme Judge, Who will ask them about the wall of disgrace built and maintained between a destitute majority and a handful of opportunists.

All mysteries are unravelled in the end. Only the illiterate people worried about the daily bread do not know what is happening in Morocco. Foreign newspapers and publications continually expose the systematic plundering of Moroccan

resources by Moroccan authorities. In this regard, the ONA, the famous tentacular company owned by the late king- may God have mercy on him- (he really needs it there where he is), was and still is a considerable part of Hassan's wealth. The privileges conferred upon this gigantic organ have turned it into a monstrous leech that sucks astronomical profits into the accounts of the deceased majesty.

Everything in Morocco belongs more or less to the monster ONA, and therefore to the king. This considerable part of wealth amassed during four decades has passed along with the rest of the deceased's huge possessions to the royal heirs. The size of the packet (pardon my coarseness) will put everybody in an awkward position, especially Mohammed VI, the day when the people deprived of their possessions will break their silence and ask the living about the dead.

A tip of the iceberg of the royal possessions reportedly estimated at some 40 or 50 billions of dollars, ONA still dominates the country's economy. The dead king- may God forgive him- derisively prided himself on being a modest fellah.

Nothing escaped the royal greedy attention: agriculture, food-processing industry, the tourist trade and luxury hotels where the guests of our dear king were received. These were next to nothing before the fabulous wealth comprising, among others, banking, insurance business, sugar houses and refineries, oil industry, financial engineering, state-owned and mining companies, a financial conglomerate enjoying incredible privileges, fishing, chemical industry, printing, transport and textile industry.

The fantastic benefits of the king (on a national scale as the huge revenues of the royal possessions have chosen foreign residence) were hidden away from inquisitive eyes. Poor fellah! Soon as his megalomania ordered him to build one of the world biggest and opulent mosques, he mobilised the authorities to divest the real fellahs of their scanty possessions. Daylight robbery! Behind the scenes or in public, the "democratic and constitutional state" showed no reservation as to performing its "duties".

Gothic gardens

The king- may God have mercy on him- had private secrets, a “jardin secret”, as he used to call it, which he reserved the right to grow in private. In fact, he had by way of gardens private cemeteries where lie the “undesirable subjects ” among his servants. He had sinister places where are walled up alive the survivors of “mysterious” assassinations and those who were spared by firing squads. Gothic gardens of a two-faced landlord!

The royal accounts in foreign banks are opened under secret numbers or fictitious names. The royal investments abroad are countless and beyond the control of the former owner himself, who did not know how many firms and castles he owned. Let alone his many shares in the stock market and the property business.

Such accumulated wealth is beyond all comprehension. In 1994, l’Observatoire géopolitique des drogues (research institute on drug trafficking) published a confidential report in which some close relations of the dead sovereign were mentioned by name. The deceased king himself was not spared.

How to know and control? Why should we know? Why should we talk about these things today? Are reliable foreign organisations writing libellous things? Or is it the truth?

Mysterious affairs are concealed in this deluded country. On the other hand, we would protest against the scraps of truth published abroad and swear that Hassan’s democracy is the paragon of openness.

A wall of silence surrounded the country until the day when the long denied Tazmamzart was at last admitted. The harrowing accounts of the former tenants of this nightmarish house disclose the shocking secrets of “ le jardin secret du roi ”.

The distance between the truth and falsehood is as long and wide as the gap that separates poor Morocco from a gang of looters acting under the aegis of the late king.

The devastated Moroccan economy neighbours royal palaces which the young king is reported to have bravely evacuated of a horde of servants always ready to receive the dead monarch lest they be dismissed by a cruel boss, so pleasant and generous with his distinguished guests.

Dear readers, brothers and sisters who read me! Let not my harsh words and vehement language make you think that what prompted my criticism is long harboured bitterness! It is rather the pain to see Islam scorned, the truth disguised and my country fooled and looted.

As God is my witness, I wish eternal salvation to the deceased. However to spare Morocco a tragic end and to draw lessons for the future, we must make things clear for the long offended and long fooled living. Let us talk of lessons and wisdom to the crown prince, who has suddenly become king after the death of a poor Muslim sinner. Let us talk to him about the past, the future and eternity to see if he has the makings of an innovator or he is like father like son.

Death of a “man”

Hassan II loved to converse with his close friends about the first lesson that he learnt after the death of his father Mohammed V- may God have mercy on both. At the prayer for the dead, when the corpse of the late king was stretched out before the audience, the prayer was announced to be for “ a man”! A simple man with no honorifics! On the way to the late king’s grave, people, still very touched as mortals, were compelled to imagine their own real destiny: death.

Had Hassan II, shaken for a while by the moving show of an admired hero, forgotten the warning of his father’s funeral?

Why do we turn away from the inevitable end that awaits us all, we travellers on earth ultimately “ men” wrapped up in a shroud?

Non-believers have settled the issue of death and conceived themselves as futile animals. For them, death is the ultimate tragedy which they have to forget to enjoy the pleasures of life. They would take physical or moral drugs to forget the absurdity of life and chase away the haunting image of death and rotten corpses. They would survive in human memory through works of art, unprecedented feats, scientific breakthroughs, memorable monuments, charitable organisations etc. As for us Muslims, we have faith in God and in the Message of his last Messenger, the Saint Prophet Mohammad- peace be upon him. Recollection of death and the image of the “man” that we shall all become one day should therefore accompany us from dawn to sunset, especially during our prayers. All this so as not to forget the realities of life after death: resurrection, the accounts to be given before God about our deeds in the life here below, the sentence of the Supreme Judge, the march of the righteous to their eternal home (Paradise) and the escort leading the unbelievers and hypocrites to the gaps of Hell.

Poor cultured or acculturated modern man! Talking of death for him is a symptom of pathological obsessive fear requiring placement in a mental home!

Poor “men”! (Be they kings or mere mortals). They forgot the lesson they used to take pleasure in telling their close friends!

Alas for us, we all “Muslims”! We have forgotten faith! We have rejected faith! We have betrayed faith! We delude ourselves and behave as if we were everlasting creatures! What a pity!

Poor Hassan II! Instead of behaving like a mortal concerned with his Destiny after death, he allowed himself to be carried away by the pleasures and fancies of life: youth, wealth, health and prestige.

Lessons of history ... lessons of piety

O ingenuous soul! O king heir of a king! O “man” son of a “man” who shall die sooner or later!

Had Hassan II been of the common run of people, he would have deserved our compassion and comprehension, we mortal sinners beseeching God’s Compassion and Mercy. But he was a king! Therefore, Mohammed VI, who on his frail shoulders carried the coffin of a “man” to his last abode, should never forget the recurrent image of the king becoming a “man”. Today he is a king; tomorrow he shall be a “man”.

Hassan II forgot the lesson and thought he was eternal. He granted himself sacred status and his poets and flatterers carte blanche to adore him.

Has he not invented the trinity: God, Country and King? The king, poor mortal buried in a golden coffin, is raised up to the rank of divinity! Shameless impertinence!

The young monarch walked in the funeral procession of the demigod and attended the annual sacrilegious ceremony in which the king was worshipped. May God forgive the “man” the ritual of the Makhzen Bai’a, which enjoined the dignitaries of the kingdom to prostrate themselves five times before the human idol in the commotion of the red-tarbooshed servants busy aligning the ranks of worshippers.

How can dignitaries- ministers or senior officials tamed like watchdogs to bow low before the haughty master- have any dignity?

What shall we say to God about a Makhzen which subjects free men to such impious and pagan ritual?

The young king also attended the big-budget conferences and lavish festivities of Ramadan. The Habous, legacies and devices of dead pious Muslims, are devoted to be spent on cult and the poor. Not only were these possessions misappropriated

by the treacherous Makhzen but were also spent on adulatory celebrations.

The young king should therefore make a decisive choice: either the dynastic appeal prompts him to remain loyal to a depraved and pompous tradition. Or he makes the courageous and righteous decision to break with a disgraceful past and atone for the crimes he witnessed with obvious embarrassment. In so doing, we will hopefully believe that Morocco is not a helpless case.

In this beginning of November 1999, the young king has won the first round in his glorious battle against “l’empire du mal”. He has dismissed the central pillar of the Makhzen. Hassan’s odd-job man. Hassan’s right-hand man. Public enemy number 2.

Good omen ... great challenge

A terrible and shrewd blow to the Makhzen! A courageous and commendable act! A watershed! Yet a watershed in what?

Hassan’s man of straw was but a miserable wretch, a scapegoat. When is the time to eradicate the root of all evils?

In his speeches, the new king talks about a “new concept of authority”. He has brilliantly proven that he intends to act accordingly. However, does he really intend to break off with the past? Can he do so? When is the great revolution to take place? What is Mohammed VI up to? Where does he lead Morocco?

Nowhere if the young king does not start reconstruction on the solid foundations of faith. Nowhere if Islam’s moral standards and spiritual virtues do not take part in Morocco’s renaissance. Nowhere if Mohammad VI continues to act on an ad hoc basis. Whatever the courage and enthusiasm of the young king and whatever the hopes the relieved Moroccan people pin on the new power figure, the absence of a comprehensive, clear and accepted project for Morocco’s reconstruction will turn the king and the

country in a vicious circle: the strong men of the regime like Oufkir and Dlimi will hand over power to devoted servants like the deposed minister. The burst of enthusiasm will give way to failure and deception and so forth.

Fallback option

For things to change, the rulers who happen to hold peoples' destiny in their grip should draw their inspiration from a source other than their haughty selfishness and "matchless genius".

Only a breakaway from the top can rescue the heirs of absolute power from the "devilish quagmire" and the enslaved peoples from material, political, cultural and moral quicksand.

How noble is the task of devoting one's life and energy to clear the air and the ground for reconstruction. People will certainly lend support once confident and joined as partners in the project. To do so, one has to admit one's weaknesses, expose the realities as they are to the young and qualified generation, ready to build a future of freedom and dignity, and break once for all with behind-the-scenes policies.

The "glorious" reign of Hassan, "the Founding Father of Modern Morocco", was a series of political and cultural capitulation towards the conniving outside world coupled with systematic crackdown on Moroccans.

Mohammed VI is the first to know, and suffer, the brutal manners and the "polished" language of the late king with his servants or close relations. With foreigners, it is quite another thing and king! It is a well-bred Hassan on stage!

His contacts, or rather his complicity, with his foreign friends and allies are open secrets. Who does not know his affection and respect for cosmopolitan Zionist Jewry? Have Moroccan people not been astonished by the television show of rabbis blessing and praying for the "Commander of the Faithful"?

The American press, namely the Washington Post, has revealed how the CIA and the Mossad ensured the safety of the late king and how, in return for that, he bestowed his favours on his Zionist Jewish friends. As a sign of gratitude, the Jewish nation named 70 avenues and streets in Israel after the “dearly departed”. Furthermore, the Zionist government and organisations, led by Jews of Moroccan origin, took part in the Israeli ceremonies dedicated to the “unforgettable friend”.

Declared friend of the Zionist Jews, Hassan spared no effort to please the “chosen people”. Some people have gone as far as to describe Hassan’s system of government as a Judaeocracy.

Mohammed VI should therefore dissociate himself definitely from his father’s aberrations which seriously offend Islam and morals. He should also repent of his youthful indiscretions which could be venal sins if the repentance is sincere.

To dissociate oneself from the abominable policy, which betrays our Palestinian brothers and fellow Muslims, will not be an easy task. The accomplices of the father will spare no effort to protect the “dearly departed “ and reassure the novice king.

To better illustrate Jewish connivance with the late king, let us take for example the day when l’Observatoire des fortunes internationales (institution which ranks the top wealthy of the world) published that Hassan was among the richest man in the world. The news and newspaper headlines were quickly conjured away. We know very well who are the media tycoons in America and elsewhere.

Fundamental change

The fabulous wealth of the late king- may God have mercy on him- has passed over to Mohammed VI and his joint heirs. Then, will the lust for wealth prompt the descendants of the Saint Prophet- Peace be upon him- to retain each their share of their father’s ill-gotten gains? Are the young king, the princes and

princesses going to clear their conscience and ask themselves sincerely about the flagrant discrepancy between the people living in abject poverty and the heirs of Aladdin's cave? Will they ever be affected by the lot of the majority of Moroccans weighed down by illiteracy, despair and destitution?

The young monarch seems to have a sensitive soul as witnessed by his affection for the disabled children and his solicitude towards the needy who queue up before his residence. That's commendable indeed!

However, can Mohammed Braveheart go further in this laudable action? Will he ever be convinced that the situation is far more difficult and that only a fundamental change can put an end to social segregation, loathsome destitution and economic stagnation?

The depraved situation of the woman, the shameless exploitation of children and the young idle and drug addicts spreading terror in streets are so many social evils crippling poor Morocco. Juvenile criminality is the other appalling side of the happy young people acclaiming the royal procession.

To put Morocco in an equation and seriously forecast its future, two facts should be taken into consideration:

First the enormous foreign debt which weighs heavy on the country's budget and thwarts any attempt for recovery. Let alone administrative red tape, corruption and immorality.

The second fact is that the young king, the princes and princesses are the joint heirs of a fabulous wealth. Put side by side, the two facts suggest an obvious and radical solution to Moroccan's poverty: let this huge fortune be allotted to the settlement of the heavy debt and the king will raise himself up to the rank of heroes.

Does the kind-hearted king have the dauntless will to transcend capitulation and accomplish the glorious feat? Is it sheer utopianism? Or a challenge accepted by courageous men

whose names are engraved forever in people's memory and in history as well?

A matchless figure in Muslim's post-caliphian history, Omar son of Abdelaziz was proclaimed king after the death of his uncle, king Suleiman. He commenced his reign by an unprecedented initiative: he returned to the people their expropriated possessions and ordered the royal family to do the same. Convinced of the rigour and uprightness of her extraordinary husband, the wife of Omar handed the king all her jewellery.

It is the model that I innocently suggested, a quarter of century ago, to the late king and that I suggest today without too much optimism, I must admit, to the mortal son of a dead king. The example of Omar Ibn Abdelaziz is the famous one in our history though not the only one. Other great men, among whom is the illustrious Youssef Ibn Tachfine, have left indelible marks in Muslim's history.

Is it credible, thinkable and possible in our situation to make such suggestion? Certainly not, unless....

Unless the young Mohammed VI decides to adopt the only solution that would free the country of its present and future shackles.

Hassan's Makhzen will not give up the ghost soon . Brought up in corruption and trained in scheming, it will adamantly refuse any undesirable suggestion. However, once the heroic feat accomplished, the king may then appeal to everybody's abnegation, responsibility, uprightness and devotion in order to rebuild a new Morocco... a dream Morocco.

Obstacle

Several obstacles will put up a fierce resistance to the suggested solution. The outside obstacle is the foreign international financial institutions, banks and investment companies which will have their interests jeopardised by a sudden transfer of such colossal

funds. The inside obstacle is the atavistic or natural attachment to worldly possessions.

Once the realisation of the landed property done, the repatriation of the illegally amassed wealth will be a politically far-reaching initiative. Is it not above all a religious duty and a way to win God's mercy and favour? To return to Moroccan people what the late "father of the big Moroccan family" had accumulated is only to do them justice. The kind-hearted and dynamic young king should make the decision to consider a radical solution to this enormous legacy. Otherwise, Morocco will slide deep into stagnation and underdevelopment.

This bold suggestion, which seems at first sight a sign of sheer madness and mere rambling, will end up being accepted as the wise solution.

Is it not ridiculous to make such a fuss over "la fondation Hassan II", an organisation invented by some scatterbrains or double-dealers? Is it not trivial to put the name of a man of great "financial renown" to the management of the second GSM deal miserable billion? Are the media being libellous again?!!!

Do publish a denial and tell the people the exact or approximate figure of the looted fortune!

New concepts

The young "father of the nation" now knows who holds the key to the real change. Since he has suggested a new concept of authority, he should equally act according to a new concept of justice and fair share-out among the members of the same family.

A new conception of economy and development, beyond reach up to now, is essential if the king wants to get the country out of the rut. The equation which contrasts Morocco's foreign debt with the king's possessions is outrageous. The foreign debt along with the structural adjustment benefits account for nearly 36% of Morocco's GNP. At the same level, the reasonable rate of national

savings required to give the economy a serious boost is in the region of 36%. Here is another equation/suggestion which petty accountants would not dare consider but which should not be lost on dauntless wills.

This suggested historical decision would liberate Morocco from the yoke of the World Bank- the structural adjustment ruthless restrictions which have socially struck Morocco down.

As a result of the increasing social devastation occasioned by the World Bank's strangle hold on debtor economies, appeal is made to social solidarity to ease the living conditions of the underprivileged sections of society.

Can Mohammed VI extend his solicitude to the poor beyond organised charity? Is the king going to change one day into a citizen-king? He, indeed, drives his own car and stops at the red light. But will that establish the keenly sought social peace?

The settlement of the debt/royal wealth issue, as we conceive it, would be highly advantageous to Morocco. The money allotted today to pay off the foreign debt would be earmarked for public investment. Teaching and education, which have relegated the country to the 125 rank, would be spared a disastrous end. Deficient or absent infrastructure in rural areas would be improved. Poverty would systematically be curbed through opening up geographically and socially disadvantaged areas. The unemployment rate would be reduced gradually by more efficient methods.

Once the brave act accomplished, the sovereign would attack with legitimate authority and unparalleled moral stature corruption and immorality broadcast by the Moroccan media. However, no serious change can take place if the political life and the civil service are not made more ethical and the morals of society not improved. To do so, the ruler should start by himself. And only at that time can we consider, armed with economic and financial means, public salvation and opening a new page of openness and real democracy.

I shall not talk here in details about the advantages of genuine democracy in our country. Nor shall I criticise the magic procedure which is going through agonies even in its homeland. However, I shall say that the democratic rule, that is the freedom and right of the people to choose their government, is for us the only way out of dark absolutism.

I say the democratic rule to make a distinction between the procedure and the corollary of modern democracy: secularism and indifference to spiritual and moral values.

If we accept the democratic procedure, we adamantly reject anything that drifts us away from our *raison d'être*: Islam.

A long time excluded from the political scene, we will legitimately remain skeptical as to a possible global redemption by the young monarch. However, aware of the gradual nature of any restoration, we are not in any hurry. We will remain, in line with the Islamic logic, the proposing “peaceful force”.

Yet do show the world what you are made of! Do show people that the skipper who chased out pirate ministers is wise and upright! Prove by material evidence that the impious and despotic tradition has gone forever, that the king is up to the young people’s expectations and that the heirs to the fabulous wealth are going to loosen their grip.

The inherited large fortune could not only cover the foreign debt but Morocco’s urgent needs as well. When I have suggested to the king, the princes and princesses to repent and return to the people their possessions, I do not ask them to leave their villas and go and live in shanty towns with underprivileged Moroccans. The king, as representative of the state, should have at his disposal the material means which suit his position. The princes and princesses, once they have proven their solidarity with the suggested exemplary and historical venture, would deserve people’s recognition and consideration. They would deserve, above all and most importantly, God’s consent.

I should like the descendant of the Prophet to read with his own people the Holy Koran and the Sunna (Tradition) of his ancestor. The verses of the Koran and the teachings of the Prophet describe in detail the punishment reserved for the despots. “ Kitab al Madhalim” (Book of Grievance) in Al Bukhari’s collection would be highly enlightening for all of us.

In the end, I wish the young king a lot of courage and resolution and give him a farewell advice: “ Save your poor father from torment! Restore to the people their legitimate belongings! Redeem yourself! Repent! Fear the King of the kings!

Good luck and farewell

*salé, Shàbane 5, 1420
corresponding to November 14, 1990*

Abd Assalam Yassine

P.S.: *I have written these pages in French for two obvious reasons. First, only what is written in a European language is readable in diplomatic and politico-media authorities. Second, the French-speaking elite regards as vapid chatting anything published in Arabic, a “vernacular” language used only to communicate with the illiterate people.*

Whatever effort you may exert to communicate in Arabic with the Westernised elite, you will not be comprehended, especially if you have a beard and are not familiar with the common and fashionable journalistic style.

A.Y .