

Kingdom of Morocco



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**Review of economic relations
between Morocco and Turkey**

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Introduction

1. Present Moroccan-Turkish relations.....	1
1.1 Bilateral relations between Morocco and Turkey:	
A regulatory framework.....	1
1.2 Trends in trade exchange between Morocco and Turkey	2
1.3 Trends in turkish FDI	2
2. Trade potential between Turkey and Morocco	3
3. Opportunities and threats to the Morocco-Turkey	
Free Trade Agreement.....	4
3.1 Trade exchange level.....	
3.2 Flow of Foreign Direct Investment level.....	
3.3 Migration flow level.....	10
4. Support measures to Enhance Agreement Viability.....	10
4.1 Reviewing Industrial and Trade Policy.....	11
4.2 Upgrading the Institutional and Logistical Framework.....	11
4.3 Upgrading the Regulatory and Institutional Framework.....	11
Conclusion.....	13
Appendix.....	14
Bibliography.....	15

Introduction

Ratified in 2004, the Free Trade Agreement with Turkey came into effect on January 1st 2006, granting Moroccan industrial products immediate access to the Turkish market, while customs duties on imported Turkish products will be gradually dismantled over a ten-year period.

The dismantlement table comprises two lists: (1) dismantlement over 10 years at a 10% annual rate starting the day the agreement comes into effect, and (2) dismantlement over 10 years at a 3% annual rate starting the day the agreement comes into effect, and at 15% the 4th year¹. As to rules of origin, the two parties adopted the Euro-Mediterranean Protocol when it came into effect on October 2005.

Given these conditions, the Free Trade Agreement with Turkey could provide further access to European Union markets to Moroccan products, through the Pan-European-Mediterranean cumulative system for rules of origin. It is also an important link in the integration process within the Mediterranean region, as it provides some protection against the threat posed by rising Asian competition, especially from China.

1. Present Moroccan-Turkish relations

Bilateral relations between Morocco and Turkey are based on common approaches. The two countries share the same views with regard to security issues around the Mediterranean, to the issue of immigration, and to the situation in the Middle-East.

Likewise, their trade policies are quite similar, as shown by their commitment to the WTO. The two countries have a common approach to a number of norms and provisions, while preserving their specificity regarding sector-based and regional development policies.

1.1 Bilateral Relations between Morocco and Turkey: A Regulatory framework

The framework regulating cooperation between Morocco and Turkey goes back to the early 1980s. It is marked by its diversity and potential, and geared towards economic, technical, and cultural areas. This diversity underlines the mutual interest of both parties to develop real partnership designed to best serve their development goals.

Agreements featured in the juridical framework of Moroccan-Turkish cooperation can be itemised as follows:

- Trade Agreement (May 16th ,1982)
- Economic, Scientific, and Technical Partnership Agreement (June 26th , 1984)
- Partnership Agreement between the Moroccan Centre for the Promotion of Export (CMPE) and its Turkish counterpart (June 20th , 1984)
- Agreement to set up a Moroccan-Turkish Business Council between the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Services in the two countries (November 1990)
- Partnership Agreement relating to tourism (August 1992)
- Partnership Agreement between the Office for Industrial Development (ODI) and its Turkish counterpart (September 1996)
- Agreement for reciprocal investment promotion and protection (April 1997)
- Partnership Agreement relating to handicrafts (September 2000)
- Agreement Protocol between the General Confederation of Moroccan Entreprises and its Turkish counterpart (October 2000)

Several promotional events have been held to bring together both business communities and enable them to prospect different trade and investment opportunities in their respective markets.

The growing economic cooperation between the two countries was crowned with the signing of a Free Trade Agreement on April 7th 2004. Designed to promote trade cooperation between Third Mediterranean Countries within the Barcelona Process, this agreement will no doubt give a new impetus to Moroccan-Turkish bilateral relations.

¹ See appendix for main provisions of Morocco-Turkey Free Trade Agreement

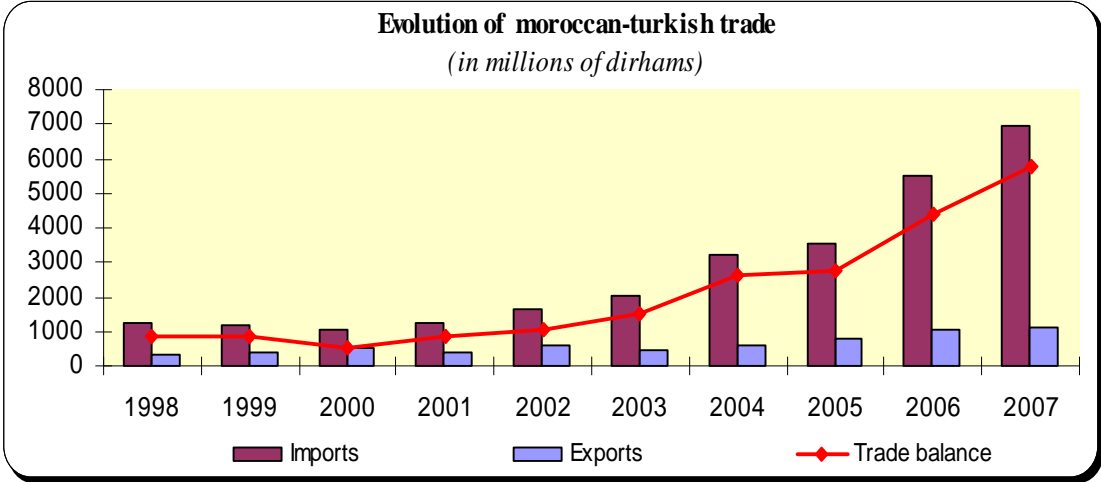
Given the significant potential to increase trade exchange between the two countries, positive synergies could be maximised in the field of industry, especially by promoting joint-ventures and expanding reciprocal investment in the two economies.

Alongside the Free Trade Agreement, other measures have been taken to improve the business environment for investment in the two countries, such as the agreement on no-double taxation and the fight against tax fraud, as well as the twinning of the Casablanca and Istanbul ports.

1.2 Trends in trade exchange between Morocco and Turkey

In the 1980s, trade exchange between Morocco and Turkey was generally low and limited to a small range of products. The overall volume of exchange did not exceed \$70 million between 1980 and 1989. However, in the 1990s, as a result of the new economic dynamic promoted, bilateral exchange rose, driven by growing Moroccan imports from Turkey. On average, Moroccan-Turkish trade exchange reached around \$110 billion between 1990 and 1999.

With the coming into effect of the free trade agreement between the two countries, Turkish products continued to do well on the Moroccan market, taking the volume of trade exchange between Morocco and Turkey to more than MAD 8 billion in 2007.

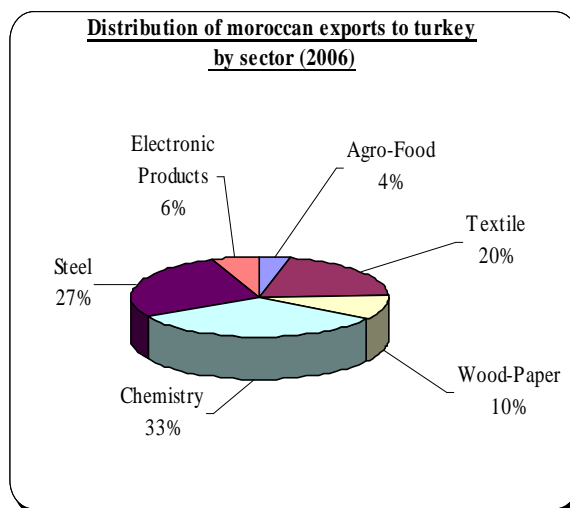
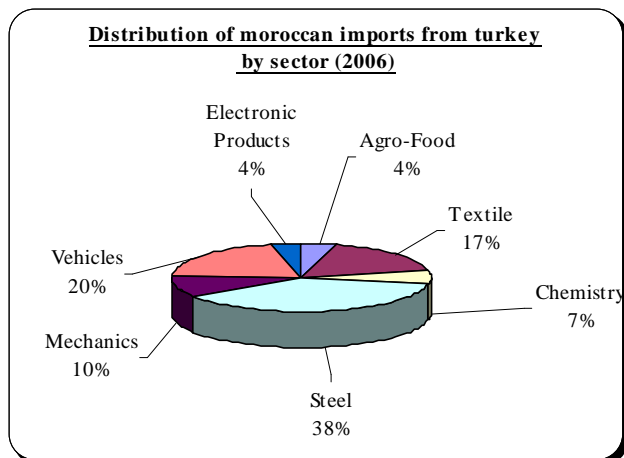


Source : Office des Changes

The Moroccan trade balance with Turkey is promising (nearly \$57 million on average between 1980 and 1991) until 1991, when Turkish imports picked up significantly. The trade deficit with Turkey continued to grow from 1997 to reach MAD 5.7 billion in 2007.

As to the structure of the Moroccan-Turkish bilateral trade, this shows the prevalence of bilateral trade within the same sectors of activity. This inevitably implies a great similarity in terms of the specialisation profile of the two economies.

Source : Chelem



Source: Office of Changes

Moroccan imports from Turkey have followed an upward trend, to reach MAD 6.9 billion in 2007, accounting for 2.1% of the country's overall imports, with Turkey ranked 11th among Morocco's main suppliers.

Turkish exports to the Moroccan market are also characterised by their relative diversity. Turkish exports to Morocco mainly comprise metal and steel blooms and outlines, wiring, bars steel sheet pile, formed metal and steel shapes, cotton cloth, industrial vehicles and farming tractors.

The growing prevalence of manufactured goods in Turkish exports to Morocco vouch for the structural transformations which Turkish industry has known in the last three decades. It also reflects the emergence of Turkish industries in terms of specialisation, thanks to a policy progress made in policy making (as in the textile industry) and a positioning strategy in new market opportunities. Thus, as a quality cotton producer, Turkey boasts an integrated production process, diversified into all textile industry sub-sectors. The country produces and exports all types of thread, material, clothing, home textiles, as well as other goods ready for use².

In 2007, Moroccan exports to Turkey did not exceed MAD 1.1 billion, accounting for 0.9% of overall exports, with Turkey ranked 13th among Morocco's main clients. Since 1990, Moroccan exports to Turkey have fluctuated significantly, reflecting the pace of Turkish economic activity which has been subject to erratic variations.

Generally, Moroccan exports comprise chemical products (especially phosphoric acid), scrap metal, iron and metal debris and waste, metal and iron, pulp, metal sheets, and phosphate.

The low level of Moroccan exports to Turkey indicates the incompatibility of Moroccan export products with Turkey's import needs, resulting from the similarity existing between the two economies. According to the DSFF's calculations, the similarity index between Morocco and Turkey on the European Union markets is significantly high (more than 80% on average for the 1990-2006 period).

The strong similarity between the economies of Morocco and Turkey also reflects their common comparative advantages, especially for labour-intensive production processes, such as food industry, textile and leather.

Moroccan exports are particularly sensitive to pricing and to Turkey's economic situation. Thus, with regard to Morocco's trade relations with Turkey, Moroccan specialisation has continued in the least dynamic sectors of

² The economic stability programme initiated in 1980, as well as subsequent policies, marked the beginning of radical changes in Turkey's economy and industry, designed to promote industrialisation geared toward export and foreign trade. As of the mid-1980s, investment in industrial sector infrastructure intensified, while the « Build-Operate-Transfer » model was implemented by the government to provide more favourable financing conditions. The Capital Market Council was set up in 1981 to channel capital and savings towards industry. The banking sector was modernised, and means of transport and communication upgraded.

world trade. As a result, Moroccan exports are very sensitive to trends in Turkey's economy, as shown in the volatile nature of Turkish import orders placed with Morocco when Turkey's economy is in recession.

Furthermore, the share of Moroccan exports on the Turkish market, in decline since 1990, has stagnated in recent years. Moroccan companies have not exceeded 0.1% of market share on average for the 2000-2006 period.

Such a trend does not reflect Turkish import orders placed with Morocco after registering a 1% increase during the 1990s, Turkish import orders showed a slight increase of 2,2% in 2007, and are expected to further increase to 2.5% in 2008.

Trends in Turkish demand to Morocco

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008*	2009* ³
1%	1%	1,1%	1,2%	1,3%	1,4%	1,5%	1,6%	1,8%	1,9%

DSFF figures

Turkish demand is expected to grow as a result of the convergence dynamic enjoyed by the Turkish economy, especially since Turkey has applied for membership of the European Union. Thus, efforts made by Turkey to achieve macroeconomic stability, as well as the implementation of an active strategy to promote foreign exchange with countries south of the Mediterranean, should set the Turkish economy on a path of growth, which should also take Turkey up the specialisation scale, and by the same token reduce the pressure of competition in several labour-intensive sectors.

1.3 Trends in Turkish FDI in Morocco

Despite the coming into effect of the Free Trade Agreement between Morocco and Turkey, Turkish FDI in Morocco is still limited, if not poor. It did not exceed MAD 2 million in 2007, against MAD 11.7 million in 2006 and MAD 20.1 million in 2005.

However, opportunities for partnership with Turkish companies are expected to increase, as suggested by the active interest of Turkish companies in international bids for tender launched by Morocco, where several Turkish holdings are currently operating, especially in the construction and public works sector.

Moreover, as an applicant for EU membership, Turkey should speed up its economic convergence with the emergence of industrial specialisations. Thanks to its assets and experience, Turkish industry is going through a phase of development, which can allow for joint investment in any part of the world, notably in Mediterranean countries and in the Middle-East. In this regard, Morocco's new positioning strategy on the international market (Emergence...) could be a significant asset to develop cooperation between Moroccan and Turkish companies.

Besides the transition period which should allow Moroccan productive capabilities to best shape up for the challenges of free trade, the pulling effect of the competitive dynamic with Turkish companies would be an added stimulus to speed up the competitive modernisation of the national economy.

2. Trade Potential between Turkey and Morocco

The coming into effect of the Free Trade Agreement with Turkey, combined with the consolidated rate of growth of the Turkish economy, should strengthen the potential for bilateral trade between Morocco and Turkey.

The gradual dismantlement of customs duties applied to Moroccan exports to Turkey should support Moroccan companies in their search for new proximity markets.

* Forecasts

Indicator of bilateral trade intensity between Morocco and Turkey

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Exports	1,1	1,0	0,9	0,8	0,6	0,7	0,9	0,8	0,7	0,9	0,6
Imports	0,9	0,9	1,1	1,0	1,0	1,2	1,1	1,0	1,2	1,5	1,9

Source Chelem : Figures DSFF

The indicator of bilateral trade intensity for Moroccan exports to Turkey has remained below 1 since 1997. Such a level implies that the potential to increase exports to Turkey is quite significant, provided that the national export offer is made to match Turkish import demand.

The situation is different for imports. The indicator of bilateral intensity is high (above 1), which suggests a limited scope for increasing Turkish exports to Morocco. However, because of its competitiveness, Turkish industry could become a proximity supplier to the national productive fabric, especially for entrants for the textile and clothing industry, and for spare parts for the automobile industry.

Achieving such a potential requires removing impediments to bilateral trade between the two countries. This would involve boosting information and data exchange, promoting trade prospection and inciting operators from both countries to seize opportunities available in their respective markets, developing direct maritime transport links, and more importantly promoting partnerships and joint-ventures between industrial groups of the two countries.

3. Opportunities and Threats to the Morocco-Turkey Free Trade Agreement

Opportunities created by the Morocco-Turkey Free Trade Agreement are many. Besides the potential to increase trade exchange and boost direct Turkish investment in the national economy, the agreement could also provide greater access to Moroccan products heading for European Union markets, through the Pan-Euro-Mediterranean cumulative rules of origin system. It could also be an important step toward the process of integration within the Mediterranean region, serving as protection against the threat of growing Asian competition, especially from China.

However, the agreement also entails some risks for the national economy, even though provisions taking into account the specifics of each economy (notably relating to farming) have been included. The great similarity between the two economies may turn them into competitors rather than full partners. In such cases, the intended benefit may be unequally shared, with Turkish companies, ahead in terms of competitive edge and advantage, reaping greater benefit.

3.1 Trade Exchange

Turkey's population is around 67 million and has a GDP per capita at purchasing parity power of \$8000. It is thus a potential market for Moroccan companies, provided that they pursue positioning strategies in opportunity markets and market gaps.

Moreover, given the level of development of the Turkish economy, the structure of Turkish imports has shifted slightly: increasingly the main imports are capital-intensive products such as machines, transport equipment, and chemical products. Without an adjustment of the Moroccan export offer to the Turkish import demand, this trend could further expose the inelasticity and absence of Moroccan offer to Turkey.

The structure of Turkey's manufacturing output and foreign trade shows its significant comparative advantage when it comes to labour-intensive industry: the added value for the textile, clothing and leather industry, and for food products, drinks and tobacco, accounts for around a third of the overall manufacturing added value.

Textile exports are now geared mostly to finished products with an added value. In 2004, Turkey was the world's sixth exporter, with a 3.4% market share. The E.U is traditionally the main outlet for Turkey's textile as well as clothing exports, followed by the United States.

Turkey's automobile exports are on a steady increase. Investment made by leading car makers such as Renault, Fiat, Ford and Honda, have turned Turkey into a true exporting platform in the area. In fact, such a development has positively impacted Turkey's economic fabric and given the country a competitive edge.

Unlike Turkey, Morocco only wields a comparative advantage in unskilled-labor intensive final products. In fact, Morocco has put itself at a disadvantage with regard to intermediary unskilled-labour intensive goods. This suggests that the country has not made significant strides in one of its major economic sectors and simply engaged in passive subcontracting schemes with European partners.

A comparison of protectionist policies in both countries reveals that, on the whole, Morocco has reduced its custom tariffs on raw materials and semi-finished products, but stepped up the protection of finished goods. By contrast, Turkey's protectionist policy involves raw materials rather than finished products.

The Turkish manufacturing sector boasts a solid public aid mechanism, and has a significant comparative advantage in industries such as textile, foodstuffs and automobile. Moreover, Turkish exports are supported with regulations, subsidies and incentives. In addition to energy-based competitiveness, the Turkish manufacturing industry benefits from fiscal rebates, VAT reimbursement as well as low interest rates. The Turkish government is fully committed to further developing its support programs in areas of production as well as exports. Exporters can use the services of export information centers and are entitled to competitive rates on purchase of raw materials.⁴

Given these circumstances, it appears that Turkish firms are better provided for in the agreement. They have an additional advantage on the Moroccan market which their Moroccan counterparts do not have on the Turkish market. This warrants incentive measures aimed at promoting Moroccan exports.

Moroccan textile exporters can turn the agreement to their advantage by using imported materials from Turkey such as fabrics, and exercise their right to 'EUR 1' certificate in keeping with the Pan-Euro-Mediterranean principle of cumulative rules of origin.⁵ This European certificate will grant products made in Morocco access to EU markets with an exemption from customs duties.

The overtonaging in Turkey's cement industry, together with shrinking domestic demand and the depreciation of the Turkish Lira, are factors that have increased the competitiveness of Turkish cement on the global market. The Turkish cement price is set at \$35 per ton, against \$70 for Moroccan cement.

On the whole, closer inter-sector patterns of complementariness between Morocco and Turkey are very likely to ensure equitable gain from the exchange agreement. Enhancing the competitive edge of national firms in certain sensitive sectors such as textile and clothing through adequate supply, could constitute a major benefit of this agreement.

3.2. Flows of Foreign Direct Investment

With regard to investment, the free trade agreement is expected to increase partnership opportunities with Turkish firms, especially in areas involving infrastructure projects in Morocco.

The possible integration of Turkey in the EU should speed up its economic convergence through the emergence of new industrial specialisations. The technological catching up already under way in Turkey is likely to benefit sectors with steady return and relieve labour-intensive sectors of production.

⁴ The Turkish undersecretaries of state in charge of foreign trade devised a 'strategic plan 2004-2006 for exports' to ensure sustained growth in exports. Five priorities have been identified: Marketing, information technologies, support and financing mechanisms, bilateral and multilateral trade relations, cooperation and coordination (which private operators have demanded). The challenge is also to promote the brand image of Turkish products on the global market, and grow beyond the textile circle.

⁵ Cumulative rules of origin are in fact a relaxation of the principle of sufficient transformation. They allow a partner country to intensively use materials imported from another country. Cumulative rules of origin aim to promote regional integration of production in the Euro-Mediterranean zone.

Potentially, Morocco could become an attractive destination for Turkish investors who could use the country as a platform for exports to the United States and other Arab and African countries. In fact, Morocco has signed agreements with these countries.

Achieving this aim depends on on-going plans to improve the Moroccan business environment, and promote the role of Moroccan trade associations in extending the scope of cooperation with their Turkish counterparts.

3.3. Migration Flow

In view of its status as a potential candidate to the integration of the EU, Turkey should become a country attracting low-skilled labour, as its standard of living rises and job opportunities for qualified labour are created.

Furthermore, to counter the immediate effect of migratory flow displacement, it is necessary to adopt a strategy based on investment plans especially in labour intensive manufacturing sectors, on the enhancement of Morocco's attractiveness for European offshoring, and on the elaboration of onsite training programs, given that foreign firms seek lower production costs as well as qualified manpower.

4. Support Measures to Enhance Agreement Viability

In view of the aforementioned, the free trade agreement between Morocco and Turkey presents many advantages. Besides the transition phase which will be an opportunity for national companies to better address challenges of free trade in the future, the pulling effects likely to ensue from the competitiveness of Turkish firms, could also significantly contribute to the successful integration of the national economy within the region.

Making this trade agreement a truly viable instrument of trade policy requires complementary measures. Alongside the necessity to redesign our industrial and trade policies, such measures should pertain to information and logistics, and to regulations and institutions.

4.1 Reviewing Industrial and Trade Policy

The strategy of openness and trade liberalization requires a viable and consistent industrial policy in the face of the many challenges related to free trade. This policy should support developing and diversifying export offer, as well as focus on productivity gains through the promotion of the role of research and development.

This policy could also rest on qualitative upgrading strategies and vertical integration duly supported by the necessary financial and human resources to gain comparative advantages in technology-intensive and skilled labour sectors.

In ensuring greater compatibility of national of production capabilities with international demand, this policy should induce the emergence of crucial comparative advantages that could result in sustained growth for the national economy.

4.2 Upgrading Logistical and Institutional Framework

Information and logistics are crucial to the success of a free trade agreement. In fact, promoting trade prospection and market monitoring procedures should allow Moroccan operators to have a better appreciation of opportunities as well as threats on the Turkish market. Stronger ties between trade organisations from both countries are therefore indispensable.

Setting up direct transport networks as well as multinational firms that could serve as purchasing centers and handle channels of distribution on the Turkish market should encourage Moroccan exporters to operate more aggressively on this market.

No less important is the development of adequate covering tools against trade risks (export insurance). These tools should incite economic operators to conduct transactions on the partner's market. Putting in place such tools and setting up an economic information watch committee to be in charge of monitoring the Turkish market will shore up support for national firms willing to operate on the Turkish market.

4.3. Upgrading Regulatory and Institutional Framework

As to regulatory aspects, it must be stressed that the trade agreement constitutes but a preliminary stage in the process of strengthening economic and trade relations. However, consolidating the integration of both economies hinges upon a successful completion of this step in the entire process.

The agreement should allow for measures to redress any differential in benefits resulting from the agreement. A committee to oversee such issues would serve as an advisory body parties can appeal to for consulting, technical cooperation or dispute settlement.

Reducing customs duties is by no means a viable measure to ensure the rapid expansion of trade. Henceforth, full exercise of the agreement entails its extension to areas of investments and services.

As an exercise in south-south cooperation, this agreement rests on the premise of a regional integration in the Mediterranean region. It should serve as a prelude to a broader integration between the two shores of the Mediterranean. However, such integration is contingent upon complementary measures aimed at promoting trade, investment and rights of intellectual property in the region, actions taken towards consolidating regional norms and systems of conformity evaluation, as well as measures designed to protect intellectual property.

The agreement should also help promote dialogue to better understand trade issues relevant to both countries, especially in regional and multilateral forum.

Conclusion

The Free trade agreement between Morocco and Turkey is by all accounts an important step towards Mediterranean integration. It also lends credibility to partnership with the EU. In supporting the emergence of a Pan-Euro-Mediterranean block, such an agreement enhances the trade and investment flows within an area that brings the EU closer to its South-Mediterranean periphery.

In view of the consolidation of regional blocks, this agreement, combined with on-going efforts in trade liberalisation among signatory countries of the Agadir Round, is a reaction to the emergence of new competitors on the global market in the sense that it effectively seals off European Union markets.

A successful South to South cooperation is crucial to EU integration. The commitment to openness incurs costs that Morocco cannot afford to cover alone. A review of the volume as well as the quality of aid granted to Morocco by the European partner is necessary, especially within the framework of the advanced status conferred on Morocco on October 13th, 2008.

However, if trade liberalisation with the Turkish partner is clearly intended to give new impetus to bilateral relations, it must be stated that full benefit from free trade presupposes taking several measures. In fact, the single tariff reduction cannot by itself generate trade dynamics whereby operators from both countries can seize the numerous opportunities offered on their respective markets.

This agreement will be more viable once coupled with the flow of Turkish investment in our country (setting up joint firms in sectors of high growth as well as transport and distribution companies ...). Given its strategic position, Morocco could become a platform for exports for Turkish companies willing to reach African markets.

Meanwhile, enhancing the regulatory framework governing Morocco-Turkish relations and overcoming impediments to bilateral exchange, as well as raising the level of cooperation between the two countries, are crucial measures for an equitable sharing of benefits resulting from the free exchange agreement.

A better positioning of the Moroccan economy in relation to an ever-changing Turkish economy remains a strategic and determining factor in taking full advantage of free exchange agreement

Appendix 1

Main Provisions in the Free Trade Agreement between Morocco and Turkey

By virtue of this agreement, an industrial free exchange zone between Morocco and Turkey will be gradually set up over a transition period of less than ten years starting from the date the agreement comes into effect, and with an asymmetrical bias in favour of Morocco.

In fact, Moroccan industrial products will be fully exempt upon the agreement taking effect. As to Turkish industrial products, customs duties and equivalent effect taxes will be gradually dismantled over a period of ten years, in compliance with the dismantling chart featuring in Protocol 1 appended to the agreement.

The agreement includes a preliminary list of products subject to dismantling over a ten-year period, at a rate of 10% as of the date the agreement takes effect (leather and textile products, automobiles, tractors, accessories, plastic materials, pharmaceutical products, electrical machinery and appliances, rubber and rubber items, mineral oil, wood and wood items, medical and surgical equipment, steel products (cast iron, iron, steel, and cast iron, iron and steel appliances) paper, cardboard, aluminum and essential oils).

A second list provides for a ten year dismantling period at a rate of 3% as of the date of the agreement takes effect, and a rate of 15% starting from the fourth year of the agreement taking effect (private vehicles and other vehicles specially designed for transporting people). With regard to used goods featured in list 3, provisions have been re-examined during the meeting of the joint committee (used and recycled tyres, used tractors and engines, and second-hand garments). Turkish products not featured in these three lists will be exempt when the agreement takes effect.

With regard to agricultural products, and in view of the strategic nature of the agriculture sector, the two countries have agreed to mutual concessions on limited products, the lists of which are appended to Protocol II of the agreement. These concessions are mostly rebates on customs duties according to quotas. Concessions granted by Morocco relate to chick pea seeds, lentils, legume plants, cumin and sesame seeds, raisins and dry figs, as well as pistachio nuts.

Concessions granted by Turkey relate plants, cucumber and gherkin, sweet corn, capers, canned apricot, concentrated coffee, wine and grape juice, some spices and coriander seeds. With regard to rules of origin, the protocol adopted is similar to Protocol IV appended to the association agreement between Morocco and the EU. The two parties have also issued a common statement concerning the replacement of Protocol III with Turkey, with the Pan-Euro-Mediterranean as soon as it comes into effect with the Morocco-EU Association Agreement.

This agreement includes the usual provisions relating to measures of trade protection. Other provisions in the agreement include recourse to anti-dumping measures, compensation measures, safeguarding measures, in the event of dumping practices and import of subsidised products or massive imports likely to cause harm to national products.

The agreement also provides for a mechanism for settling disputes through consultations between parties within the joint committee as a first recourse, before setting up a panel to report back to the joint committee in charge of dispute settlement. This agreement also covers other areas such as technical regulation of intellectual property rights. By virtue of the said agreement, the two parties grant and ensure adequate and effective intellectual property protection, by taking measures to enforce these rights against breaches such as piracy and counterfeiting. Likewise, by virtue of Article 34 of the agreement, the two parties are committed to cooperating on issues of technical regulation and standards of evaluation and compliance.

With regard to services, the two parties are committed to consolidating cooperation with the aim of further promoting investment, and achieving the gradual liberalisation of trade in services, while taking account of provisions in the general agreement on trade in services (GATS). An evolving clause is intended to extend cooperation to other areas not covered in the agreement. This agreement should contribute to a consolidation of business relations between private operators from both countries, so that they can take advantage of partnership opportunities in various sectors. The Moroccan-Turkish business council has an important role to playing the success of this partnership.

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