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RESEARCH REPORT

UNITED STATES-MOROCCAN RELATIONS

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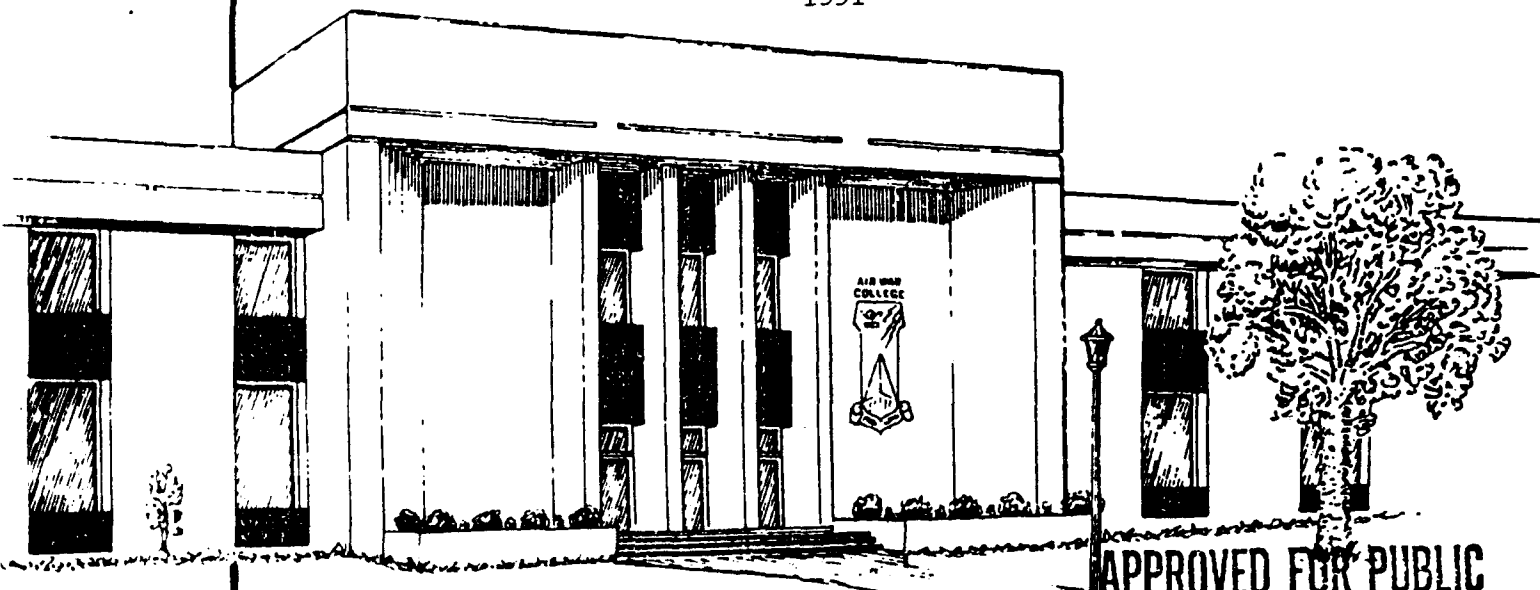
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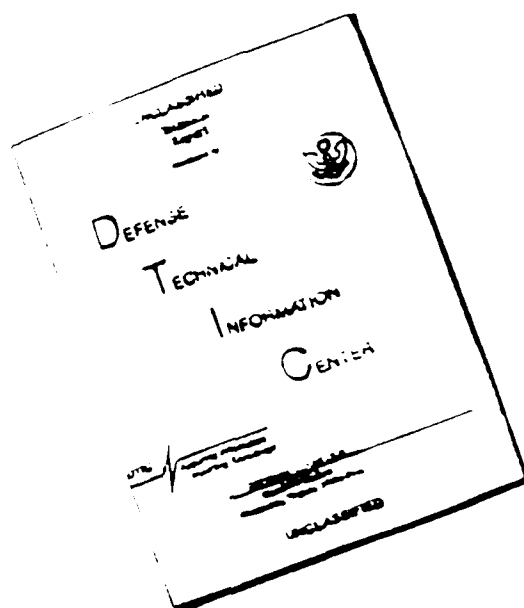
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AIR WAR COLLEGE

AIR UNIVERSITY

UNITED STATES-MOROCCAN RELATIONS

by

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

IN

FULFILLMENT OF THE CURRICULUM

REQUIREMENT

Advisor: Mr. Ted Kluz

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

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ABSTRACT

US-Moroccan relations date from the American Independence in 1776. Following that time Moroccan leadership has been continuously seeking to develop those relations to a higher degree so that both nations may benefit. US interests in other areas of the world have overshadowed those of Morocco. Despite efforts by the Kingdom's leadership to pull itself out of that shadow and to gain the status this writer feels it deserves, those efforts have been in vain. This unfortunate outcome finds Morocco a forgotten ally and the United States lacking understanding and friendship toward Morocco.

The purpose of this paper is to awaken the conscience of US leadership toward its old and persevering friend in order to place the Kingdom of Morocco in its rightful position among the developed countries.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

LTCOL Mohamed Sellak joined the Royal Moroccan Air Force immediately upon completion of his bilingual education in Arabic and French. He completed undergraduate pilot training at Reese AFB, Texas, in early 1966 and advanced pilot training at Williams AFB, Arizona, in June, 1966. He later attended the Moroccan Air Force Academy in Marrakesh, Morocco, and SOS and ACSC at Maxwell AFB, Alabama. He is a graduate of the Air War College class of 1991. Past assignments include Flight Commander, Safety Officer, Adjutant to the Base Commander, Squadron Commander, Executive Officer/Deputy Chief of Operations, and Base/Wing Commander. He has flown over 3,000 hours in the F-5 and the French Mirage F-1, including more than 700 hours in combat missions. He is a recipient of the Spanish Order of the White Cross, three Moroccan Army Crosses of War for Operations in the Sahara, and the Royal Order of Knights. LTCOL Sellak has been involved in joint exercises between the Kingdom of Morocco and other countries, particularly the United States, since 1983. He has been interested in the study of international relations and firmly believes in the importance of developing and improving understanding and respect among all nations.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If one were to ask any American to name the first country to recognize the independence of the United States, one would expect to hear answers such as "France" or "Spain." If these two countries were not answered as priority one, one might even hear "England," "Prussia," "The Netherlands," "Italy," "Greece," or some other countries in Africa or in Asia. It is doubtful, however, that "Morocco" would ever be mentioned.

During a special class session for 39 international officers at the Air War College, the audience was asked the following: "What are some of the characteristics of American society?" The one characteristic that struck me immediately was that self-interest often overrides friendship. The most striking effect was that the other 38 responded with the very same answer. I wondered for a moment about that perceived characteristic and then weighed it against reality. On the one hand, the United States has committed itself to save and protect friends in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America; on the other hand, it has often shown indifference to many other countries--countries strong in expressing their friendship toward the United States.

This particular situation led me to wonder if friendship may be a one-way street with the typical leaders of the United States. To this writer, a useful definition of friendship is mutually shared feelings which allow the beneficiaries to live in a sincere partnership environment. If friendship

among nations could be compared to a group of ships heading the same way in the wide ocean, the US flagship would be leading its group through the tides and waves. Any ship having difficulties fighting the tides to keep pace with the group would need assistance from its peers, especially from the leading ship. Any ship left behind in these circumstances without assistance would be an easy prey to ocean conditions. In other words, this paper concerns allies and international friendship generally, and it explores the US and Moroccan relationship specifically.

Although Moroccan friendship ties to the United States are historical, on many occasions, to continue the metaphor, the Kingdom of Morocco has witnessed its ship fall behind and been forced to struggle across the ocean by itself. One could even say that on many occasions the Kingdom's planet has received more shadow than light from the US star. It would seem that having been the first country to acknowledge the independence of the US, one of the first to establish a treaty of commerce and friendship,¹ an early supporter of the Union against the Confederacy during the Civil War,² the Kingdom of Morocco deserves more attention in return from the US leadership. The attitude and response of US politicians to Moroccan friendship lacks, in my mind, sincerity, commitment, and partnership, and qualifies as a one-way-street relationship.

Obviously, the question that comes often to mind is why it is that Morocco has been constantly overlooked and overshadowed by the needs of other countries. In the Preface of an interesting and insightful book, US-MOROCCO 1776-1956, Luella J. Hall stated:

It is surprising that the part played by the US in Morocco since 1776 has been almost entirely neglected in both American history and in the innumerable volumes written by English, German, French, Spanish, and other European historians....As a domestic problem, the unpublished consular dispatches in the National Archives reveal a sordid story of the

inefficiency, ignorance, corruption, and immoral conduct of many of the American consuls serving before and during the 20th century. This record is not redeemed by that of the State Department, whose actions during that time may be characterized as inefficient, negligent and frequently parsimonious.³

The Kingdom of Morocco and the United States have shared a rich past of political, economic, and diplomatic relations. Either forgotten or purposely overlooked by contemporary American leadership, efforts should be deployed in good faith to re-set the clock pertaining to the historical friendship between these two countries. This historical friendship is summarized by Luella J. Hall:

In foreign affairs, it is probable that the United States has had more important relations with Morocco than with any other minor country. Morocco has been a proving ground for what used to be the two major American foreign policies: the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door Policy. In Morocco the inherited Anglo-American antagonism manifested itself. The Moroccan problem has engaged the study of some of the greatest American statesmen, including Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Seward, Lincoln, and the two Roosevelts.⁴

The intensity of these relations cannot be erased from the collective memory of the leadership of the two countries. It ought to be expressed in practical ways where the stronger supports the weaker and where the richer helps the poorer. From my position as a serving officer who has been in contact with American society for over 20 years, I come forward to propose, based on previous experiences, to offer this paper as an aid to the American leadership to awaken its compassion toward the Kingdom of Morocco and to urge the placement of the latter in the privileged position which it deserves. My approach to this thesis will be expressed through four topics: (1) Historical US-Moroccan Relations and Friendship, (2) US-Moroccan Traditions, (3) US AND MOROCCAN LEADERSHIP STYLES COMPARED, and (4) US-MOROCCAN INTERESTS.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL US-MOROCCAN RELATIONS AND FRIENDSHIP

US-Moroccan relations and friendship developed during the early days of US independence when European trade was low and Americans needed new markets. Overall, it is wondrous that relations began because the cultural differences and geographical positions were so great. On one side the Kingdom of Morocco was thousands of years old with Islamic institutions since 700 AD and was beginning to face threats from a coalition of aggressive Christian European countries and insisting at the same time on the unification of the country. Thus, the Kingdom was carrying on two struggles: one internal, the other external. Across the Atlantic the United States had just declared its independence and was still struggling against British domination for a complete establishment of its own identity. Why, then, at that particular time, was the Kingdom interested in developing relations and friendship with the United States? Was it because the two countries were fighting a similar struggle against different European countries but for the same reason, to maintain their independence? Or could it have been because the Kingdom's leadership accurately predicted the United States would arise as a future power and, consequently, be a reliable contributor to the Kingdom's independence and development? According to Luella J. Hall, one of the main reasons is expressed in the following statement: "Morocco looked upon the United States as about the only nation that attends to its own business and that acts upon just and liberal principles."⁵ Whatever the reason or cause,

Providence sought the desire and the Moroccan Kingdom pushed and insisted for decades on US friendship while it was apparent the United States continued to resist this overture for cooperation.

The process started with the US Congress shortly after Saratoga and European recognition was being urged in Paris by Ben Franklin.

Sultan Sidi Mohamed III, in what was virtually a recognition of the independence of the US, issued a declaration on February 20, 1778, notifying all consuls and Christian merchants in Tangier, Sale, and Mogador (presently El Jadida) that henceforth all vessels flying the American flag might freely enter Moroccan ports. There they would be permitted to take refreshments, and enjoy in them the same privileges and immunities with those of other nations with whom His Imperial Majesty maintains peace.⁶

This statement was made directly to the attention of Congress to express the Sultan's willingness to open the door for the exchange of relations and friendship. It was unique in the Kingdom's history at that time, when Christians and Muslims lived through political and religious crises, that the Sultan took the first initiative to invite a newly created, revolutionary State with full willingness and sincerity to develop good and continuous friendship. Unfortunately for the Sultan, his advances did not get the attention of the war-weary and beleaguered US Congress as he had wished.

Receiving no acknowledgement of his gesture of good will in 1778, the Sultan made another attempt to establish relations with the US through Mr. Stephen d'Audibert Caille, a French merchant of Sale. On May 26, 1779, Franklin wrote to the Committee of Foreign Affairs that he had received two letters from a Frenchman offering to act as minister for the US and remarking that His Imperial Majesty wondered we had never thanked him for being the first power on his side of the Atlantic to acknowledge our independence....Although Congress finally informed the Sultan in December 1780 of its intention to appoint an envoy to negotiate the treaty, no action was taken.⁷

Again, the Sultan did not give up hope as his lust for US friendship would drive him to take more or any action to reach his objective. For him, winning US friendship was a challenge and would be first priority of his policy no matter what was required to achieve it. As a matter of fact, Luella J. Hall reported:

On October 1, 1783, Sidi Mohamed signified the exhaustion of his patience by seizing an American ship, the Betsy, and holding her as a hostage at Tangier;....Finally, Congress was compelled to take some action....On May 7, 1784, Congress appointed Jefferson to assist Adams and Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce and expressed appreciation for the amicable disposition of the Emperor of Morocco and regretted that the late war had delayed a response to his advances.⁸

The Sultan's patience and insistence brought him victory because, finally, the US Congress welcomed his invitation to friendship and acted this time in a positive manner.

"By July 15, 1786, the treaty was completed with an exceptional particularity that no tribute will be offered but friendship."⁹ Treaties with the Kingdom of Morocco necessitated tributes from other States; but the Sultan based that with the United States only on friendship. This measure expressed by itself the desire and the priority of his objective. The Sultan might have paid tribute himself if he had been asked. Instead,

...letters were sent to Constantinople, Tunisia, Tripoli, and Algeria to recommend their alliance with the US....Barclay had reason to feel that the King, throughout the whole, has acted in the most gracious and condescending manner; and I really believe that the Americans possess as much of his respect and regard as does any Christian nation whatsoever.¹⁰

Thus, the first chapter of American-Moroccan friendship was written in history.

When President Washington eventually took office, and since he had previously witnessed the episode of US-Moroccan friendship and the final ratification of the treaty, he immediately responded to the Sultan and acknowledged his willingness to maintain and develop their friendship. As Luella J. Hall wrote:

The new executive was aware of the importance of maintaining good relations with Morocco, and Jefferson, new Secretary of State, was in an advantageous position to work for peace with all of the Barbary States. On December 1, 1789, Washington addressed a letter to his great and magnanimous friend, Sidi Mohamed, informing him of the recently reorganized American government and apologizing for the lack of attention to Morocco during the transitional period. Washington also thanked the Sultan for the letters mediating for the US which he had sent to the rulers of Tunisia and promised continued effort to promote friendship and harmony between Morocco and the United States.¹¹

Compassion, will, and faith were the main drives for the Moroccan Sultans to seek and push for the emergence of ideal friendship between the Kingdom and the New World. From that promise which President Washington gave the Sultan, there followed no practical actions in response to Moroccan leadership by the succeeding presidents other than a perfunctory demonstration of neutrality. Although the Moroccan Sultans engaged their policy to support American goals regardless of the outcome for the interests of the Kingdom, the US behavior on many occasions showed indifference, inconsideration, and disinterest. The following statements summarize the US leadership's spirit toward the Kingdom:

Another invitation for the United States to intervene in Moroccan affairs came in 1855...Morocco proposed that the dispute (allusion to European-Kingdom disputes over control of land) be submitted to the arbitration of the US. Furthermore, the American government was requested to direct its representative to "arbitrate or use its good offices in all affairs" in Morocco's international relations....Collings (Consul) pointed out to the State Department that the maintenance of this Empire in its present hands was of importance to the safety and welfare of mankind and that neutrality and friendship of Morocco would be of vast importance to the United States as affording shelter to and supplies for the navy in case of war with European powers....President Pierce declined politely the offer.¹²

In 1871, the new Sultan, Sidi Mohamed IV, requested the protectorate of America against European invasion. Again, the reply received was:

"While this government would regret any attempt on the part of foreign powers at a dismemberment of the Empire of Morocco, and would consent to use its friendly offices to prevent such an act, it would nevertheless decline to accept any offer from His Majesty to confer upon the United States a protectorate over his dominions."¹³

In 1876 Moulay Hassan, the new Sultan, showed a desire for rapprochement:

An appropriate gesture to commemorate the centennial of both American independence and American-Moroccan relations was the sending of a Moorish villa and a large consignment of native manufacturers to the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876....¹⁴

In a letter addressed directly to President Cleveland on May 12, 1887, the Sultan again suggested an Embassy to American "to renew and consolidate on good relations by God's consent." In response in November, 1888, the new Consul Lewis declined the honor on the ground that "our customs

....Our trade to the Mediterranean is rendered the securer, and it affords us ports where our ships can refit, if we should be engaged in a European war, or in one with the other Barbary States. Our vessels will certainly become the carriers of wheat from Morocco to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and may find employment at times when the navigation of our country is stopped by the winter season, and we shall resume our old mule trade from Barbary to Surinam, and possibly to some of the West India Islands.¹⁶

These trade agreements were in effect until the partition of Morocco between France and Spain, an event to which the United States did not object and which left the Kingdom aghast.

Although the whole historical episode was forgotten by the American leadership, the Kingdom started its struggle against the European coalition with a mind-set hopeful for an American intervention for its independence. As in "a dream come true," the Moroccan leadership got the attention of US leadership through different yet effective organizations. Leon Borden Blair reported:

In fact the nationalist movement received its most powerful support in the United States from the American Federation of Labor which criticized the neutrality of the official diplomacy of the US in the League of Nations discussion of the Moroccan and Tunisian questions.¹⁷

The opportunity for American leadership to comment on the colonialism issue came during the Second World War while the conference of the Allied Powers was held in Casablanca. After meeting Sultan Mohamed V, who asked President Roosevelt for his support for Moroccan independence, the latter addressed Prime Minister Churchill in the following manner:

....Peace in the future, he told Winston Churchill at the Atlantic Conference in August, 1941, depended on fulfilling colonial aspirations, and Article III of the Atlantic Charter pledged respect for the right of all people to choose their form of government and to exercise the sovereign rights of which they had been deprived.¹⁸

The first action taken by President Roosevelt on Moroccan matters is reported in the following statement:

In his autobiographical DIPLOMAT AMONG WARRIORS, published in 1964, Murphy, a diplomatic courier wrote: "....In a press conference following the Casablanca conference, he referred to the Sheriffian Empire of Morocco, the proper title, and one which indicates that the ruling dynasty descended from the Prophet Mohamed. Roosevelt concluded that much ink had been spilled in the US about Morocco by people who don't know one blessed thing about it. You have to go there to understand."¹⁹

Following Roosevelt's policy on colonialism, no action favoring the colonies was ever taken; but, instead, American leadership became confused and again gave in to the European colonialist coalition, especially after the defeat of Germany. The colonialists resumed their oppression of the Moroccan people and its leadership until it reached a peak in 1953 when the Europeans opted to relieve the Sultan of his power and exile him. Once again, Moroccan leadership turned to its "friend" for intervention in Moroccan-French affairs. As explained by Leon Borden Blair,

Ahmed Balafrej protested to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles against the French maneuvers to depose the King, wipe out popular opposition by repression of the nationalists, and establish totalitarian rule by foreigners in Morocco. His appeal fell on deaf ears.²⁰

It was not until President Eisenhower cemented a policy in place that favorable contacts started to develop. To this Leon Borden Blair wrote:

The King hailed Eisenhower's election as a victory for peace and the liberation of peoples, while General Guillaume said "if Eisenhower directly or indirectly aids the Moroccan nationalists, he will strike at the ties, already strained, which unite the partners of the North Atlantic Pact."²¹

In a previous address to American audiences, General Guillaume said:

The Moroccan is not your colonial ancestor,....If you must draw a parallel, the Moroccan is your American Indian. We did not buy Casablanca for a string of glass beads, and we do not coop the Moroccans up on reservations. We build alongside them, showing them by example, the way to progress....Do not criticize that which you do not understand.²²

This response demonstrated the frustration of the French authorities coming from their fear of the Americans getting involved in Moroccan affairs and in turn supporting the move for independence.

US assistance did come after a mass uprising against the colonialists accelerated the process of re-establishing the Sultan's legitimate authority. Now, the United States would have to deal directly with a newly independent State whose history had been related to its own since American independence in 1776. The complexity of American policy played a main role again in complicating and closing an open and sincere channel of communication. The Moroccan leadership continuously insisted on re-setting US-Moroccan friendship where they felt it belonged. That is, a newly independent, under-developed State wishing again to be helped and supported within a more complex world where competition is the name of the game. The Soviet Union was already impressed with a changing world and was infiltrating other new States, providing them mainly with military power and pushing them to look toward the Soviet Union for regional leadership. The Crown Prince of Morocco described the competitive spirit when he said:

We are competing for leadership in Africa, with Egypt, with Ghana, with Guinea. Somebody has to hold the reins or the Communists will take all. We need jets as a prestige factor. Our competition already has them.²³

As he predicted, Communists "took all," making Egypt the leader of the Arab World in Asia and on the African Continent. The US leadership did not show any compassion or interest in responding to the wish of the Moroccan leadership. The response finally came after many attempts on the part of the Moroccans were made in vain to convince Americans to sell them air force equipment, and they instead made the decision to buy that equipment from the Soviet Union. President Kennedy reacted by inviting the new King to visit the United States. Leon Borden Blair reported:

King Hassan II's visit to the US expressed the warmest welcome he had ever received in the United States. Kennedy approved the creation of a joint US-Moroccan Liaison Mission, which immediately moved to provide substantial help to the Royal Moroccan Air Force.²⁴

As mentioned above, the help was substantial but never went beyond a point that would have made Morocco one of the leaders of the Arab World or on the African Continent. Again, the American leadership demonstrated a full shyness for matching the compassion that Moroccans shared for Americans. This characterization reached its summit during the Carter era when Morocco, in conflict with Algeria over the Western Sahara, requested support of its friends and allies. Instead, the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations, Andrew Young, surprised the Free World by visiting and supporting the enemy of Morocco, the Polisario Camp in Tindouf, Algeria. Although this group was armed, fed, and trained by Soviet proxies, the irony of American policy went beyond the imagination, especially when human rights in Morocco surfaced. The crisis between the two leaderships was so tense that the King, during a press conference, made a comment that Communism must be infiltrating the US Congress. Morocco found itself fighting alone a coalition of Soviet proxies, through groups of guerillas gathered from different underdeveloped countries. It was not until President Reagan took office that the policy shifted completely in favor of Morocco, providing the Moroccan forces with some limited weapons to permit Morocco to defend its territorial integrity. Although Morocco expected its old friends to increase the help and the assistance for its defense, the US leadership was eager at last to provide any equipment which had been paid for. With limited resources, Morocco is still struggling to win this military battle with financial help from other friendly nations.

From what has been written about US-Moroccan relations since 1776, it is obvious that the friendship developed during this whole period was largely a one-way street. Morocco demonstrated an unprecedented desire for American friendship, going beyond the limits of State interests while the United States

showed a cold response characterized most of the time by indifference and a total lack of interest except for a few spontaneous and solitary expressions. It took a great deal of courage on the part of the King of Morocco to express his wish during a press conference; if only the US leadership would declare officially on any occasion that Morocco was considered a friend of the United States. This wish never came true.

CHAPTER III

US-MOROCCAN TRADITIONS: CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

Tradition is rooted in history and history reflects as well as impinges upon behavior. Civilizations, in turn, rise from time to time and then often disappear. Following the same process, some civilizations expand and control many different peoples, imparting to them characteristics which affect the way of life of those peoples and allowing them to share any or all of these similarities or differences. While the similarities facilitate communication, differences, however--although they may generate some friction, should be considered as sources of learning and curiosity so people can appreciate the behavior of one another. The United States and the Kingdom of Morocco are perfect examples of peoples sharing similarities and differences and who are still striving to communicate and understand one another. In reflecting upon that history, the reader will come to understand those similarities and differences.

The Kingdom of Morocco is many centuries old and is strategically located on the hinge between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Civilizations living around the Mediterranean Basin came in contact with the Moroccan people for different reasons; commerce, colonization, and/or religious settlement were some of those reasons. Outside of the fervor of religious beliefs--which Moroccan people are known to accept willingly--and commerce, Moroccans defended and protected liberty of choice and freedom of self-government. Phoenicians, Romans, and the Ottomans tried unsuccessfully to settle and then

to dominate the country. Even though there were some powerful attempts to break internal unity, the Moroccan leadership, mainly through their religious leaders, crushed the secessionists and survived to build a strong nation. Then the more technologically advanced European countries advanced and constituted a coalition that captured the Kingdom. The fight for freedom and liberty did not stop, however. Instead, it served to re-enforce the will and faith of the Moroccan leaders and people to unify their resources and recover their sovereignty. Over the length of this story mixed with times of peace and crisis generated changes in the way of life of the Moroccan people: a mixture resulted of African, Middle Eastern, and European civilizations from which traditions were inherited. In summary, then, the main deductions that ought to be made from these analyses are: (1) Moroccan leadership, with the strong support of the people, has steadily struggled for liberty and freedom of the nation, (2) Maintenance of the internal unification of the nation is of great necessity, and (3) Moroccan tradition combines a variety of heritages left by different civilizations--Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.

While Moroccan society was shaped through many centuries of history, the United States' heritage developed over only two centuries. The reason is that the new nation, the USA, was made up of elite European immigrants resolved to live in a free, capitalistic world and to make their own destiny. The new American society did indeed suffer for its independence against British power and had to fight for seven years to insure the unity of the nation. The love of liberty and free enterprise caused this nation to also fight and defeat the agents of oppression and slavery during two great World Wars. The new tradition was built from existing traditions in Europe which turned into, after a while, the American tradition that makes Americans both proud of their European ancestors and North American heritage.

Through the preceding, simple analysis of US-Moroccan heritages, some gross similarities which characterize the two nations are obvious: that is, the love for liberty and freedom, the unity of the nation, and the pride in their heritage. King Hassan II described this spirit during an address to an American audience when he said: "I think I have found the answer in your heroic combat over the generations and in the heroic combat that my people as well have fought for generations. One sacred and unique quest unites us: love of liberty."²⁵ However, it is also logical that cultural differences may result from traditional heritages. Some of these differences vary from ideas of way of life to political practice and particular religious institutions. The complexity of cultural differences may not be softened unless leadership and peoples of different nations show mutual interests and curiosity in one another and allow opportunities among themselves for contact and understanding. American and Moroccan peoples have met on many occasions since the Second World War. At that time American soldiers landed and fought on Moroccan soil beside Moroccan soldiers. King Mohamed V, who understood cultural differences well, addressed the US military leadership in the following words:

From the wheels of change come many strange combinations. Your military detachments have been cast in a day-to-day role of contact with various segments of my people. They have imparted to us some of their ways... and I hope that they in turn have learned something from us and from our way of life. A strong bridge of friendship has been built, and it will last because its beginnings go far back into history.²⁶

Understanding and acceptance of cultural differences can come easy if participants look back into history and learn how they developed. When Europeans continued their settlement in America and pushed against the North American Indians in the sixteenth century, the Kingdom of Morocco, also under pressure, was facing European threats and internal conflicts. Whenever

the central authority lost control of internal integrity due to tribal rivalries or conflict among the particular leaders, a new leadership arose under the influence of religious leaders to save the nation. This state of turmoil prevailed for a long period until a holy man from the Atlas Mountains, a descendent of the Prophet Mohamed, was chosen by the Berber tribes to save the country. His selection was based on his special religious beliefs, on his family ties, and on his intellectual and moral capabilities for unifying the whole Empire under the Alaouite dynasty. Historians described the influence of this dynasty as follows:

Yet another wave of popular religious feeling brought to power the house of Aloui (Hasani or Filali), which originated amongst the Sahara Berbers and still reigns in Morocco. Mulay Rashid (1664-72) and Mulay Ismail (1672-1727) firmly established the regime and saw Morocco more pacified and united than it was ever to be again until French occupation.²⁷

For centuries the Moroccan people believed in the personality of their leaders, in the power they held, and in the religious influence they inspired in them. A leader who is unable to lead his nation under firm control loses the support of the people as was demonstrated in the Early Ages when newly constituted and powerfully lead dynasties took over from others which had become weak and shaky. A leader, then, must take charge of matters of state in all fields--economic, diplomatic, political, and military. As much as his management shows effectiveness through national matters, in turn admiration and love of his people shows no limit. Equally important, Moroccan society is based on family ties. Respect to the head of the family is sacred; and that respect is transferred as in the old Chinese Empire by religious, cultural, and historical threads to the supreme leader, the King. And that, then, is the main reason the King should be very powerful--morally, intellectually, and materially--in order to be able to sustain the unity of the

nation and prevent any break out of the traditional institutions. Should that break ever occur, the Kingdom of Morocco would be shattered forever. The King is, then, a symbol of unity, progress, and continuity, who represents the identity of the nation through political and religious policies.

Similarly for the United States, much of the same process was applied during their struggle for independence. A chosen group of elites struggled to establish a fundamental institution for American society. That institution is the Constitution, which calls for the people to elect their representatives and their leaders in a way that ensures separation of powers. In this system the Constitution acts as supreme authority, and people and leadership submit to its instructions. One main reason which motivated the elite to establish a Constitution instead of a system of one-person rule was that Europeans who immigrated to America had fled the tyranny of European rulers. Additionally, the combat they fought against England was to rid themselves of colonialism and seek the freedom and liberty guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence so that America would never be enslaved again. It was, then, the immigrants who had fled tyranny and who had fought for their full independence who chose, according to their desires and expectations, a system of social, political, and economic order based upon a Constitution.

In the same way, if I compare the two traditional systems, the Moroccan people have always reacted to their internal situation and chosen their leader to rule the nation with a firm hand according to the traditional and religious institutions of their experience. I would go further to say that Moroccans have never accepted a puppet leader as the head of their nation, but rather a leader who is active, responsible, and determined to lead his nation in the way his judgment would decide best. Therefore, the people

of Morocco look up to the King as the sole authority to change institutions, establish a constitution, or come up with any initiative which he judges as the best course of action in the interest of the nation. Such has been the history of nations; it provides the source of cultural, political, and economic development. As long as leaders respond to the aspirations of their people, the concept of developing friendship and mutual understanding becomes simple, especially when we compare and contrast the history, traditions, and the religious institutions of one another.

CHAPTER IV

US AND MOROCCAN LEADERSHIP STYLES COMPARED

The historical friendship as well as the traditional political institutions and the leadership styles overviewed in the preceding chapters lead this writer to compare the two nations' leadership styles and examine their commonalities. An analysis of each nation's leadership and the effect of that leadership on their relations is necessary in order to allow me to deduce any commonalities and comment on the possibility of contemporary friendship.

Obviously, American leadership amazed the powers in the international arena due to the fact that in less than 150 years after independence, the United States had become the most powerful nation in the world. Their leadership, after suffering the severe consequences of major wars (Independence, Mexican, and Civil), isolated their country from any foreign influence and turned, rather, to serious national development. It was not until the First and Second World Wars that the American leadership was forced to look at the international scene and help lead the free nations against Nazism, only to assume the entire mantle of leadership against the Communist hegemony of the Cold War era. The effectiveness of American leadership which faced many conflicts in different regions led free nations to finally triumph over evil and re-enforce human rights and justice. It is unfortunate that on some occasions American leadership hurt its international image, such as it did as a result of the experience in Vietnam or in its lack of support toward

specific, long-term, friendly nations. The frustration resulting from such behavior caused some nations to switch sides in the Cold War from pro-Western to pro-Soviet. Other nations did not change sides and instead watched frustration reach its peak as countries like Morocco fought for the noble principles which the United States protects and defends and were then ignored by the American leadership. Such behavior directly affects friendly relations among States and molds distrust and restricted relations among them. Moroccan leadership has demonstrated on several occasions that although that country is small in size and in military power, moral leadership can be greater than the physical capabilities of a nation. It was Moroccan leadership that first recognized the independence of the United States, although it was then facing retribution from England as a world power. It was Moroccan leadership which supported the Union against the Confederates because of its basic moral beliefs of freedom and union. During the Second World War, Moroccan leadership welcomed and supported the landing of Americans in Morocco where they fought side by side with Moroccan soldiers against the Vichy government. Moroccan leadership has throughout history welcomed the Christian Westerners to bilateral trade and to establish some of their political and religious institutions in Morocco although, at that very time, distrust and hatred existed on many fronts between Christians and Muslims. Luella J. Hall wrote about this subject:

The Sultan presented an adjoining garden for the enlargement of the Christian cemetery at Tangier, for which the European and American governments later built a wall and garden lodge....At the request of the British government, he donated a site for a Protestant Church, to which Queen Victoria contributed \$500. His toleration of the Infidels' religion extended even to Protestant missions....He allowed the entry of newspapers into Morocco...the Al Maghreb Al Aksa and the Reveil Du Maroc in 1883 and the Times of Morocco in 1884, all in Tangier.²⁸

Moral Leadership pushed King Mohamed V to take action against the French General Resident; he ordered him to stop fighting Americans during "Operation Torch" and then the King assumed the responsibility to protect his Jewish subjects. In this case Leon B. Blair reported:

Later in the day he (King) took a position in favor of the Americans; he had the palace chamberlain telephone General Nogues and tell him to stop the fighting. "The French army can wade in the waters and fight outside our territories. The lives of my subjects must be protected." The King reminded General Nogues that he, too, had declared war on the Axis on September 3, 1939, and that he had not signed an armistice.²⁹

As to Communism, the King later declared that it was a "total contradiction to the principles of Islam and our national traditions."³⁰ In retrospect the King opposed tyranny whether fascist or communist.

Since 1976 Morocco has faced a hostile coalition--armed, trained, supervised, and indoctrined by the Communist Bloc. Its objective was initially to disrupt and deny the Kingdom its integrity and then later it made an attempt to affect the Kingdom's institutions. The Kingdom responded with all its will to fight and assist in the triumph of justice over evil.

As we can deduct from the above remarks, Moroccan and US leadership have shared principles of moral value during peace, crises, and wartime. This is yet one more motive for the two nations to keep their close ties since their final national policies aim toward common goals: the triumph of justice, national and international prosperity and security, and the development of sound friendship based on mutual respect and support to any free nation in need. Because of this spirit, one would wish that these two nations could be compelled to call on their traditional ties and then to develop contemporary relations and friendship to face a new world of challenges and an unpredictable future. The United States should consider an objective study of Moroccan leadership since 1776 and assess the possibility of leading together a new era of contemporary friendship.

One of the assessments that must occur is to look into the sources of Moroccan leadership. This leadership dates from the early seventeenth century and is rooted in the tradition and the culture of the Moroccan society. Because it originates in a holy family, descendent of the Prophet Mohamed, its influence on the minds and hearts of the people is sacred. When the European powers colonized Morocco, the new King, Mohamed V, who opened the windows of his country to Western civilization, led his people in combat against European colonization. When the French government decided to exile him and his family, the whole nation--including all social classes, labor, political organizations, government employees, students, and mountain tribes--arose in one voice against the colonialists and fighting broke out. Every citizen was eager--as many proved--to sacrifice his life for the return of the King and his family and for independence. The colonialists had no choice but to submit to the determination of the Moroccan people. When King Mohamed V passed away, it was a national disaster. Only when his son, the present King Hassan II, came before them and addressed the population in an emotional speech did people accept the act of God and hail the new King as the descendent of brave, courageous ancestors and the Prophet Mohamed and the son of the national hero, Mohamed V.

Another assessment the American leadership should make concerns the educational depth held by the new Moroccan leadership. Combining Islamic and Western education, the present King enriched his knowledge with the tutorial experience he lived through dealing with great world leaders since his childhood and a special, personal education received from his late father. Today, he is cited as one of the world's best educated, most intelligent and effective leaders. His close colleagues from both the Arab and Western World consider him breathing a school of knowledge whose ideas serve

justice and peace in the world. His knowledge of world politics is rich with the best of Western and Eastern policies. He has on many occasions demonstrated his varied talents in dealing with more complex situations, such as when he initiated and planned a peaceful march (called the Green March) of 350,000 people across the Sahara Desert to persuade the Spanish government to decolonize the rest of the Moroccan territory. While in conflict with Algeria, a largely artificial conflict generated by the latter country, the King's reaction showed political wisdom that prevented a direct clash between the two nations which could have resulted in a cataclysm. King Hassan has consistently intervened in international or regional arenas to try to settle complex issues to include the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In the religious field, he was the first Muslim leader to communicate openly with Christian and Jewish leaders to ease the mutual misunderstanding that exists between the major religions. He culminated this approach by inviting the Pope to visit the Kingdom of Morocco. The Holy Father received a warm welcome in that land of tolerance and peace. His political professionalism combines the sciences of different areas of the world--the peaceful mind-set of Ghandi from Asia, the endurance of patience cultivated by Washington and Roosevelt in the Western Hemisphere, and the toughness and recalcitrance of mind molded by the Islamic culture. According to whatever political situation he has to face, the King calls upon the right mood to deal effectively with it.

This is the type of leadership with which the international community deals. A reliable leadership, based on all civilized experience, offers the strength upon which its "friends" can rely. Of this leadership style, then Vice President Nixon reported after his visit to Morocco and other countries in Africa:

Africa is producing great leaders dedicated to the principles of independence, world responsibility and the welfare of their peoples. Such men as the Sultan of Morocco...certainly compare most favorably with the great leaders of the world....These are all men who command respect beyond the borders of their own country. They are backed up by other equally dedicated leaders who have much to contribute both to the problems of their own countries and to those which plague the world today.³¹

Vice President Nixon, who personally met with and was impressed by such leaders, recommended:

The United States must come to know these leaders better, to understand their hopes and aspirations and to support them in their plans and programs for strengthening their own nations and contributing to world peace and stability....We must assure the strongest possible diplomatic and consular representation to those countries and stand ready to consult these countries on all matters affecting their interests and ours.³²

Reliability is an important factor leading to trust and respect. When and where we find these two qualities, the human response should be characterized by a verification of their source. The United States has inspired respect and trust in the behavior of the Moroccan leadership for centuries. As mentioned in Nixon's report:

There is no area in the world today in which the prestige of the United States is more uniformly high than in the countries which I visited on this trip. The President is respected as the acknowledged leader of the Free World....³³

The United States has no choice but to develop a lasting friendship with reliable friends. Morocco meets all the requirements of a reliable ally, especially when the two nations share present and future interests. It is time to accept that fact.

CHAPTER V

US-MOROCCAN INTERESTS

National self-interest is the driving force that generates particular ties or conflicts between nations. This issue is as old as history itself; and the emphasis can vary from problems of geographical position to things of material value. This chapter will explain the geographical position of Morocco in the Mediterranean Basin and how that affects the interests of local powers. Secondly, it will explore the effect of Moroccan history and geography on regional matters; and finally, it will show how US-Moroccan common interests have been established over the years.

The Mediterranean Basin has been the site of some of the most violent conflicts ever registered in history. Land battles for control of strategic locations and sea battles for control of shipping, harbors, and the Strait resulted in civilization after civilization taking over and dominating the whole Mediterranean Basin. Invasions by Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Egyptians, and the Arab-Islamic civilization have resulted in turn in the complete or partial control and domination of the areas around the Mediterranean Sea. Since many historical civilizations were born around the Mediterranean Basin, one common remark to deduct from the events is that both history and human civilization originated from the same region, which make it a fascinating and curious attraction to world attention. Before other continents were discovered, the known world was limited to this Basin because of the importance of the countries that surrounded it. One of these countries was Morocco, called Mauritania by the Romans and Al Maghreb (meaning

west) by the Arabs. No civilization could accomplish full control there without dominating Morocco or at least establishing trade agreements with it. The position of Morocco at the extreme west of the Mediterranean Sea and at the gateway to the Atlantic Ocean and because of its closeness to the European continent, its national wealth provided motives for competition among the civilizations.

Throughout the Middle Ages and up to the contemporary period, the Mediterranean Basin has remained an active area between the powers and has been used as a strategic base for war waging. The reader is asked to imagine a hostile force controlling Morocco. The circumstance would not only create a threat to any nation--especially Western--which uses the Mediterranean Sea as its line of communication with Southern Europe and the Middle East, but also would seriously disrupt land communications between Africa and Europe. Even today Morocco still plays a key geographical role as it has done throughout history.

As mentioned earlier, Morocco connects the converging roads between Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. On the African road, Morocco was one of the first countries to gain independence and then establish a like goal for others in the struggle against the colonialists. Morocco also constituted the nucleus for developing the African Union Organization. Its position in relation to Europe makes it important as the only bridge linking the two continents. Politically, Morocco participated in implementing United Nations policy in the Congo during the grave crises of the early sixties. On two recent occasions, Moroccan troops have intervened beside European forces to assist Zaire's government in defeating Leftist rebellions. That effort was made while Morocco suffered for over a decade in a conflict involving groups

of guerillas formed by Algeria in the Western Sahara; but the Moroccan leadership has managed, through intense diplomatic contacts, not only to ease the tension between the two countries but, furthermore, to set the basis for union of the North African States. So far the success reached by its peacekeeping diplomacy has appealed to the imagination of its citizens and to the United Nations.

A strong defender of democratic principles within the African Union Organization, Morocco had to pull out of the Organization after Leftist regimes formed a majority strong enough to compel Morocco to accept an artificial State on land which belongs to Morocco. Since Morocco left, the Organization has become ineffective and serves as a forum for expressing anti-Western policies. Morocco remains one of the dominant figures among the pro-Western African States.

On the road of the Arab World, to continue the metaphor, and although Morocco's position is at the far western side, its leadership has played a predominant role in the Arab League. Its main philosophy has been to encourage Arab States to act according to a basic charter that will insure their unity free of demagoguery and based on a realistic and pragmatic conduct among the nations. In fact, Morocco has hosted and chaired many Arab Conferences where sound decisions were taken unanimously. It was during these Conferences that the King settled the issues between Jordan and the Palestinian leadership. His influence upon many of the Arab leaders helped get Egypt back into the League and produced a compromising plan to settle the issue between Israel and the Palestinians. Although the Arab World is infiltrated by many conflicting ideologies, Morocco has tried continuously to synchronize their actions toward a common cause, such as advocating in the name of the Arab

States, the Palestinian issue at the Vatican, and in the specific European parliaments. Because of its moderate policies and its rational position on all issues affecting African and Middle Eastern regions, the King of Morocco has found a receptive audience. Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Israel was suggested and encouraged by the King, who had hailed the success of Egyptian-Israeli agreements. The support for an international conference for the Middle East received positive response from the European community, which found the King of Morocco an effective interlocutor between the West and the Middle East. As a crossroad between Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, Morocco is guided by a leadership who understands the importance of its role and responsibilities in accordance with its geographical position, cultural influence, political ideas, and open mind for mutual communication. This sense of responsibility was ably demonstrated when the King of Morocco welcomed the American Forces during "Operation Torch" and was against the traitorous will of the Vichy government's representatives. Not only did the King send Moroccan troops to participate in the liberation of Europe against the Nazis, but he also welcomed the establishment of American bases in his territory to back up Western Europe against the Communist threat. The Second World War demonstrated how important Morocco's position was for the Allied Forces because it gave access to Europe in order to start the "big offensive" that was named the "end of the beginning."

Currently Morocco is still a major factor for the intellectual, commercial, military, and physical ways of communication among Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. The following statement summarizes that well:

Morocco's respect for pluralism and religious tolerance, advocacy of moderate views within Islamic and African forums, and support for US policies on many important regional and international issues are also key factors in our excellent bilateral relationship. King Hassan has played a positive role in the search for peace in the Middle East. In 1986, for

example, in an attempt to bring about greater understanding between the parties, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Peres. Most recently, he publicly urged the PLO to accept UN Resolution 242.³⁴

This extract clearly suggests that Morocco, through its leadership, is a favorable forum for US interests. Since Morocco is not terra incognita for Americans, the latter's interests go back much farther in history. Some of these interests, although limited, are mentioned in Chapter II. Those same interests could have been developed to a higher degree if American governments had implemented some of their consuls' suggestions. One of them, T. Hart Hyatt, advocated earlier:

It might be of much service to us to have as our friends, if not allies, a government holding so important a key to the entrance of the Mediterranean as this, and also to have a place for a foothold on the mainland at a point so much more contiguous to France than any portion of our own territory.³⁵

The reason France is mentioned in this statement is that she was the only power in Europe to support the United States in the struggle against English colonialists. In a similar statement today, the word "Europe" could be used instead of "France" because the picture has changed since the eighteenth century.

US interests in Morocco emerged again during the Second World War when Moroccan land was used as landing zones for US troops. This first important contact convinced American leadership that Morocco was a strategic site for the support of the European theater and consequently requested and received clearance to build bases in the country. In her Preface, Luella J. Hall wrote:

Franklin Roosevelt used Morocco as his locale for the defeat of the Nazi-Pétain stranglehold on France. In Morocco the United States fought unceasingly for the Open Door from her first treaty in 1789 until she gave up that treaty in 1956 to aid the newly independent country.³⁶

The loss of US bases in Morocco in the early sixties and late seventies cut off some of the American back-up training capabilities. European space being congested with military and civilian traffic, the US Air Force's attempt at realistic training gets degraded continuously and is subject to restrictions from local authorities. Moreover, the possibility of using those same bases as striking sites against Soviet targets or in European theaters is rendered null. Any military analyst free of bias would report that the Moroccan environment presents ideal conditions for operational and training exercises for all services. During the Reagan administration, the American leadership expressed their desire to renew and develop mutual interests militarily and economically within Moroccan territory. Their surprise was because of the willingness of the Moroccan leadership which surpassed all expectations. Besides managing sites for the support of long-range and deployed forces for combined exercises among Navy, Air Force, and ground forces, "Morocco has also agreed to host Voice of America facilities and to serve as an alternate landing site for the space shuttle."³⁷

Economic and diplomatic interests were no less important than military interests. When then Vice President Nixon visited Morocco and other countries in Africa, he wrote:

For too many years, Africa in the minds of many Americans has been regarded as a remote and mysterious continent which was the special province of big-game hunters, explorers and motion picture makers.... There must be a corresponding realization throughout the executive branches of government, throughout the Congress and throughout the Nation, of the growing importance of Africa to the future of the United States and the Free World and the necessity of assigning higher priority to our relations with the area.³⁸

If the US is interested in Africa in general, this focus should be directed, in particular, to the country which represents the intersection of the three areas: Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. Economically, Morocco's natural

resources and geographical position can benefit American private companies throughout the three regions, as well as in the Continental United States itself.

Diplomatically, the United States can still exploit Moroccan leadership through the important role it plays in the Middle East or Africa to deal with unsettled issues such as those between Israel and the PLO or in South Africa over Apartheid. This approach is facilitated by the way Moroccan leadership has developed its political policies, internally and externally. Internally, the King of Morocco--whose culture is molded from three cultures: African, Arab/Muslim, and European--is gradually adapting the political system to the situation and modern times without abruptly disrupting the traditional ties which are inherent to his society. He described this relationship by comparing Morocco and Europe to a "tree whose roots are deep in African soil and whose branches and leaves are well over European soil." Although Morocco presents a contrast between the old and the modern in all aspects, Africans, Arabs from the Middle East, Europeans, and even Americans feel at home on its soil. That means that the Moroccan leadership applies and develops a political system which combines the best of African, Arab, and Western cultures.

It is obvious that Morocco offers opportunities to Western civilizations to develop their economical, military, and diplomatic relations with Morocco. Furthermore, Morocco--through its leaders--has always desired to develop these relations closely with the United States from which, unfortunately, it never received their willing "engagement." Today, the opportunity is open again from the Moroccan side. Contemporary mutual interest would involve an objective analysis of future issues such as Soviet behavior, radical Eastern European political changes, Middle Eastern issues, regional conflicts and proposed solutions, economic competition, and technological

development. In all these fields, Morocco has a great deal to offer in exchange for a self-interest satisfaction. The United States can and should move to fulfill Moroccan aspirations so they can find and rely on an ally whenever necessity arises.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

On the basis of our previous investigations of US-Moroccan historical friendship, a reliable Moroccan leadership, and finally a convergence of US and Moroccan interests, it is suggested that US policy should shift in a favorable way toward Morocco. This shift should make up for time lost and mistakes made and now provide the assistance Morocco has deserved for centuries. Morocco is indeed worthy of being among the leading countries, not only in Africa and the Middle East, but at the international level. There are, today, countries like Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore which would have remained underdeveloped without US assistance. With all the dynamism inspired by the King in his people, Morocco will become a leading figure among the States of Africa and the Middle East; it could, in fact, become a forerunner of a developed littoral in North Africa with a little more help and assistance from its "old friend." There is yet room to make up for lost time.

The first recovery must be in the improvement of two-way communications. A positive attitude by the American leadership, involving the Administration and Congress, would be a logical beginning. It would be an easy thing to pay US dues in relation to historical facts. Morocco has been struggling for US friendship since US Independence Day in 1776. Consequently, US leadership would gain much morally by searching for and reviewing historical archives in order to rediscover real friends who have been

forgotten or ignored. The struggle that Morocco has carried out to gain American friendship can by itself be a subject for passionate novels with a sad ending, a story that deserves to be taught to university graduates in behavioral and political science. This confession is a moral responsibility for American leadership. Finding the right friends and dealing with them in the right way has always been expected of the United States in the past, and this virtue can still be demonstrated today. An official statement recognized by Congress would serve as a reference for the future development of friendship and would encourage Moroccan hopes and desires.

Once the base for solid friendship is set, the next phase would be to translate that will and the moral responsibility into some positive action that will lead to an enhancement of assistance. For decades--or even for centuries--American foreign policy had considered Morocco as an ally in the shadows without benefit of the attention, and consequently the assistance, it merited. Europe, Israel, South and Southeast Asia, and, lately, Egypt and Eastern Europe have been--and probably should be--the main focus of US foreign policy in matters of assistance and political attention. Some of these countries are new on the agenda of US foreign policy; others are traditionally connected to US policy decision-making for reasons of Communist containment and a regional balance of power. As for Morocco, although its traditional ties with the United States are the oldest of any country mentioned above, the United States never considered its geo-political position as a regional necessity in the containment of Communism. Regionally, if we compare the remarkable imbalance in military power between Libya, Algeria, and Morocco to other regions such as the Middle East or Southeast Asia, it is obvious that the ratio is seriously out of proportion and against Morocco. Since 1960 and the independence of Algeria and the 1968 takeover of Libya by

Kaddafi's military coup, these two countries have been building up their military machines while Morocco has been struggling for economic development. While Algeria and Libya relied on much of their wealth from oil sales, Morocco--lacking such assets--relied chiefly on its diplomatic and political connections in the international arena in general and on its allies in the West in particular for economic support. Unfortunately, these connections did not help to compensate for the regional military imbalance. Indeed, Algeria and Libya took advantage of their military superiority to try to disrupt the traditional and legitimate Moroccan institutions and then to deny the Kingdom its rightful recovery of the southern territory. This aggressive-ness would not have occurred had Morocco been able to gain the right assistance from the West and, specifically, from the United States whom Morocco had regarded with such high esteem.

Another aspect to consider in the region is the assistance the Soviet Union is providing its allies (or proxies). This assistance is so important that it renders these countries a real threat to their neighbors and allows them to sustain their Communist or Socialist regimes in parallel with the Soviet foreign policy operating for Third World countries. Ethiopia, Angola, Tanzania, and Mozambique are just a few examples where Soviet policy is being carried out and where it attempts to expand through direct intervention or by supporting guerilla warfare in the neighborhood. Oil-rich countries such as Algeria and Libya influence others through diplomatic bribery to gain support in organizations like the African Union Organization. In response these countries disrupted the legal procedures pertaining to the charter of the Organization, and Morocco withdrew from the AOU. If Morocco had had sufficient assistance, it would have been able to defeat and/or counter the actions of the proxy powers.

Other elements of importance to this issue of regional power are the control of space and water surrounding Morocco. The country covers the northwestern corner of Africa with some 2,000 miles of coast and 300,000 miles of space. These assets simultaneously represent an obvious basis for economic development and are a possible attraction for hostile activities. A wide spectrum of hostilities could include the disruption of fishing agreements and regulations, electronic warfare on sea and in space, control of ways of communication, and attempts to intervene directly or indirectly in internal affairs or to supply different groups whose purpose is contrary to Moroccan interests. Again, a strong Morocco would be able to prevent such actions and in turn deny any advantage to the hostile perpetrators.

It is interesting to take a look at the following figures which clearly demonstrate the low assistance provided Morocco by its best ally (at least from the Moroccan view) in comparison to US assistance to other allied countries. Moreover, the figures show the assistance the Soviet Union has offered its allies in the regions of Africa and the Middle East:

VALUE OF ARMS TRANSFER 1982-86
IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS

<u>USA</u> - Morocco:	280	<u>SOVIET</u> - Yemen Arab Republic:	1,300
Lebanon:	440	Yemen People's Dem. Rep.:	1,800
Egypt:	3,200	Syria:	9,600
Israel:	3,700		
Tunisia:	330		
Jordan:	725		
1987			
<u>USA</u> - Egypt:	7,120	<u>SOVIET</u> - Syria:	8,95039
Tunisia:	580		

Obviously Morocco does not expect to be rated on the same level as Israel; but a proportionate assistance in comparison to other countries would be more logical and convincing. Not doing so would create more apprehension and frustration to the Moroccan leadership, which as a good Free World partner had to send its forces to intervene in Zaire and Tunisia to protect Western interests while observing other countries who did not help benefit from American assistance at a higher proportion. It is expected that US policy will shift from time to time to countries or areas of more importance; but this should not be done to the detriment of Morocco, whose history, leadership, and commitment to US relations and friendship have never betrayed its moral and material responsibilities toward its allies nor its own military and political principles.

For these principles Morocco has demonstrated through its leadership high capabilities worthy of great value, especially when one considers Morocco's limited wealth and its geopolitical position. Politically, its leadership has mastered the art of dealing effectively and efficiently in the international arena to a point where it is the envy of its potential enemies. Such vast knowledge and effective implementation of political know-how obviously necessitate a strong military power to back up its policies and to preserve the principles it represents. In this regard, Morocco calls on its close friend to seriously reconsider its way of assisting its allies and to make sound and courageous decisions based on historical friendship and the true commitment of those allies.

Morocco, in comparison to most of the countries assisted by the US, deserves a better and more honorable share of the assistance package; a share that will allow that country to accede to its rightful position among the developed countries in technology and in military power. A strong Morocco

would be able to deter instead of being vulnerable to any potential threat in the region. A strong Morocco would be able to neutralize or destroy any force with hostile intentions toward its interest and those of its allies in the region. A strong Morocco would be able to protect the strengths of its economic and military environment from which its allies might benefit. Finally, a strong Morocco would be better able to participate in regional or global peace settlements as directed by the charter of the United Nations.

In summary, Morocco stands as a stronghold joining three vital regions--Africa, the Middle East, and Europe--an area which the United States largely ignored throughout history despite Moroccan leadership's continuous efforts to convey their willing and sincere disposition for friendship. Since World War II the US has discovered and exploited the strategic importance of Morocco with the full approval of the local leadership whose commitment to US friendship and relations remains unprecedented. Morocco, however, has not benefited from its commitment as have many other countries, some of which have only recently shifted their political allegiance. The reason for this US attitude toward Morocco is ambiguous and completely unjustified. Thus, this paper has been written with the hope of awakening the conscience of the American leadership to an understanding and recognition of Morocco's struggle to be among the developed countries and to remain a close ally to the United States through mutual interests. This can be done only if US policy-makers pull Morocco out of the shadows by analyzing the historical relations, by understanding the cultural and traditional similarities and differences between the two societies, and, finally, by appreciating Morocco's effective leadership in the international arena which has resulted in the development of mutual interests. When the US leadership assimilates all these factors, it will discover its wrongful treatment of

Morocco and, hopefully, will take corrective actions to compensate for past prejudices and readjust its entire assistance program toward all allies proportionately.

In closing, I hope and pray to God--and I mean it sincerely--that if Cuba should ever change sides, Morocco would not be forgotten once again.

NOTES

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3. Ibid., Preface, pp. v-vi.
4. Ibid., Preface, p. vi.
5. Ibid., p. 174.
6. Ibid., p. 47.
7. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
8. Ibid., p. 49.
9. Ibid., p. 53.
10. Ibid., p. 53.
11. Ibid., p. 57.
12. Ibid., p. 177.
13. Ibid., p. 186.
14. Ibid., p. 199.
15. Ibid., p. 200.
16. Ibid., p. 54.
17. Leon Borden Blair, Western Window in the Arab World, (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1970), p. 166.
18. Ibid., p. 31.
19. Ibid., p. 36.
20. Ibid., p. 167.
21. Ibid., p. 164.
22. Ibid., p. 163.

23. Ibid., p. 285.
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27. "Morocco," The Middle East and North Africa 1990, 36th Ed., (Rochester, England: Staples Printers Rochester Ltd.), p. 663.
28. Luella J. Hall, Ibid., p. 199.
29. Leon Borden Blair, Ibid., p. 68.
30. Ibid., p. 166.
31. Arthur M. Schlisinger, Jr. (General Editor), Dynamics of World Power, A Documentary of United States Foreign Policy 1945-1973, (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), p. 576.
32. Ibid., p. 576.
33. Ibid., p. 577.
34. Nancy L. Bolden and Sherrill Brown Wells, American Foreign Policy: Current Documents 1988, (Washington, D.C.: State Department, 1989), p. 435.
35. Luella J. Hall, Ibid., p. 174.
36. Ibid., Preface, p. vi.
37. Nancy L. Bolden and Sherrill Brown Wells, Ibid., p. 435.
38. Arthur M. Schlisinger, Jr., Ibid., p. 580.
39. Daniel Gallik (Editor), "Value of Arms Transfer, Cumulative 1982-1986, By Major Supplier and Recipient Country," World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1987, (Washington, D.C.: 1987), pp. 127-130.

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