

## MOROCCO

Morocco's history since the rise of Islam can be traced in terms of successive ruling dynasties. These begin with the "Idrisids" in 789 AD and continue down to the "Alawites", who still rule. During the "Almoravid" and "Almohad" dynasties, Morocco had a major impact on African society, with influence well beyond its own borders. Later, it successfully resisted both the Spanish "Conquistadors" and the Ottoman Turks, though the latter, at one time, controlled virtually the entire Arab world. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Morocco was troubled by severe cultural and economic divisions. These included the huge gulf between urban and rural life, a near-subsistence economy, deep cultural differences between Arabs and Berbers, and traditional resistance to any authority not backed by force. In spite of all this, Morocco enjoyed a period of relative economic and political stability after 1800, broken only by fighting between the ruling dynasty and tribal forces supporting the "Sufi" religious sect.

### European Interference

The French capture of Algiers in 1830 brought an end to this stability. Of the four powers in North Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Egypt and Algeria had succumbed to European influence, leaving only Tunis and Morocco independent. The sultan of Morocco found himself torn between European demands for free trade, conceded in 1856, and a tribal population resistant to any form of central government. Defeated by France at the battle of Isly in 1844 and by Spain at Tetuan (Tétouan) in 1860, Morocco was nevertheless able to rely on the support of Great Britain in its dealings with Europe. Although Morocco's immigrant Europeans in this period conducted themselves with impunity under the protection of their consuls, the sultans Muhammad and Hassan, who ruled Morocco from 1859 to 1894, maintained the country's independence and gradually extended a network of "qa'ids" (governors), throughout the country. Tunisia became a French "protectorate" in 1881, leaving Morocco as the sole independent state in North Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century.

This independence was short lived. France was able to establish a Moroccan protectorate in 1912, as part of their 1904 "Entente Cordiale" with Britain. This left them free to split the country with Spain. Spain took over the Rif Mountains in the north and the border region with the Spanish Sahara in the south. France got the rest. Pacification of the Moroccan interior by French Field Marshal, and "Resident General" Lyautey, proceeded with little opposition until the Rif War in 1921. The Rifs, led by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, made the process considerably more difficult and costly after that. However, by 1939 European military control of Morocco was nearly complete.

After a period of ineffective Moroccan political resistance, the French installed Moulay Yusuf as their puppet sultan. Yusuf's intelligence and diplomatic skills turned out to be considerable, and he succeeded in cooperating with his new masters without losing the respect of his people. Yusuf moved the administrative capital to Rabat on the Atlantic coast. At the same time, a commercial port was developed at Casablanca. By the end of the protectorate, Casablanca's population was to grow to nearly a million people with a substantial industrial base. A civilian resident general succeeded Marshal Lyautey in 1926. This established a more conventional colonial regime, accompanied by the extension of official colonization, a growing European population, and the spread of European political ideas among young Moroccan intellectuals.

As early as 1920, Moroccan proto-nationalists, quietly supported by Yusuf, began demanding more schools, a new judicial system, the abolition of independent Berber qa'ids in the south, and an end to official European colonization. When he died in 1927, Yusuf was succeeded by his younger son, Sidi Muhammad (Muhammad V). To considerable French surprise, Muhammad also proved a talented and respected leader. In 1930, in an attempt to pit Berber against Arab, the French issued the "Berber Decree", increasing the power of the tribal qa'ids. The effect was precisely the opposite of what they intended. Instead of dividing Moroccans along tribal lines, it provoked a nationalist backlash. In 1933, Moroccan nationalists initiated a new holiday called the Fête du Trône (Throne Day) to mark the anniversary of the sultan's accession. When he visited Fès the following year, Muhammad V received a tumultuous welcome, accompanied by anti-French demonstrations. French authorities abruptly decided to terminate this visit, but it was too late. The establishment of Moroccan nationalist political parties followed almost immediately.

In 1939, Muhammad V issued a call for cooperation with the French war effort and Moroccan Berber units served with distinction in the French Army. But, the collapse of the French Republic in 1940 and the installation of a Nazi puppet regime in Vichy, produced a negative reaction in Muhammad. He despised Vichy, and showed his contempt by refusing to approve their anti-Jewish edicts. When the "Torch" landings brought the Allies to Morocco in 1942, he refused to comply with an order from the French resident general, Auguste Noguès, that he retire to the interior to avoid capture. In 1943, he met with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who came to Morocco for the Casablanca Conference. Muhammad found Roosevelt's opposition to continued French colonialism encouraging. So did Moroccan nationalists. Contact with Allied soldiers exposed them to liberal political attitudes inspiring them to action.

### Independence

Soon, a new nationalist movement, the "Independence Party" (Hizb al-Istiqlal) began to plague the French administration. In January 1944, they submitted to the sultan and the Allies (including the French) a memorandum asking for independence under a constitutional monarchy. Nationalist leaders were immediately arrested on the astounding charge of collaboration with the Nazis! Rioting followed in Fès and elsewhere in which more than thirty demonstrators were killed. After the war, the sultan grasped the initiative. In 1947 he gained permission from the French resident general, Eirik Labonne, to make an official state visit to Tangier, passing through the Spanish Zone on the way. The journey became a triumphal procession.

This resulted in Labonne's replacement by General Alphonse Juin, the son of an Algerian settler. With long experience in North African affairs, Juin expressed sympathy for the patriotic nationalist sentiments of young Moroccans and promised to comply with their wish for the creation of elected municipalities in the large cities. But, at the same time, he allowed French citizens to run in these elections. The sultan refused to countersign the resident general's decrees, making them illegal.

Fed up with Sidi Muhammad's refusal to cooperate, Juin surrounded the palace with Berber tribesmen. He then provided a guard of French troops to "protect" the sultan from his own people. The sultan had no choice but to disown "a certain political party," without specifically naming it. He still defiantly withheld his signature from many decrees, however. Juin's action was widely criticized in France and on August 28th, 1951 General Augustin Guillaume replaced him. The standoff continued until December 1952. At this time, nationalists in Casablanca rioted over the assassination of a Tunisian trade union leader. There were hundreds of arrests. Many were held for up to two years without trial.

In 1953, a group of Berber chiefs headed by Thami Al-Glaoui, moved against the sultan. The Glaoua family had ruled Marrakech under the French for many years and owed them much. Al-Glaoui's group convinced the French to force the sultan to

transfer power to a council, composed of Moroccan ministers and French directors. They demanded his signature on all blocked legislation as well. The sultan agreed. But even this was not enough. On August 18th, Al-Glaoui handed an ultimatum to the French government demanding Sidi Muhammad be exiled. Moulay Ben Arafa, a nobleman of little courage and less character, was chosen to replace him. Oddly enough, this didn't help. Sidi Muhammad immediately became a national hero. Authorities in the Spanish Zone, who had not been consulted in the matter, immediately opened their borders to Moroccan nationalist refugees.

The 1954 revolt in Algeria further complicated things. In June 1955 the Paris government decided on a complete change of policy and appointed Gilbert Grandval as resident general. His efforts at conciliation met with hostility from all parties. He was recalled. Members of a Moroccan conference, meeting in France, agreed to replace the substitute sultan with a "crown council". Sidi Muhammad approved, but it took weeks to persuade the puppet sultan to withdraw to Tangier. Meanwhile, a guerrilla liberation army began to operate against French posts near the Spanish Zone. On October 26th, Al-Glaoui recanted his earlier demands. He admitted that only the restoration of Muhammad V would bring peace. The French government agreed. In November, Sidi Muhammad returned to Rabat. Morocco once again became an independent nation on March 2nd, 1956.

#### The New Kingdom

360,000 French administrators had been responsible for quite a few technical achievements. But, constitutionally, Morocco had changed little since 1800. The sultan remained, in fact, an autocrat. But he did attempt to make good on his promise to the nationalists to introduce a constitution. Morocco's first Cabinet was composed of ministers representing all parts of Moroccan society, including a Jew. The sultan (now king!) selected ministers personally, retaining control of the army and police. He also formed a "Consultative Assembly" of sixty members. Popular uprisings against the Spanish in Ifni and the French in Mauritania, led to military reform. Moulay Hassan, Muhammad's son and Army Chief of Staff, succeeded in integrating various irregular liberation forces into the Moroccan Army. The shift from French to Moroccan control after independence was surprisingly smooth overall. But, relations with France remained badly strained over the Algerian problem.

Muhammad V was a remarkably successful ruler until his unexpected death in 1961, when Moulay Hassan succeeded him as King Hassan II. Parliamentary elections were held in 1963. The two halves of the former "Istiqlal" party formed the opposition, while a party supporting the king's government was created out of miscellaneous elements and known as the "Front for the Defense of Constitutional Institutions" (FDIC). This group was predominantly Berber and rural. The country was split nearly fifty-fifty between these two parties and deadlock ensued. The king was forced to dissolve Parliament after only one year, resuming personal control of the government. Beginning in 1970, Morocco went through a series of political crises, failed coup attempts, and bitter fighting with Algeria and Mauritania over the fate of Spanish Sahara. The king remained popular and effective through all this. But, by the early 1980s, bad harvests, a sluggish economy, and the continued financial drain of the Saharan War increased domestic instability.

In 1964, fighting broke out between Morocco and Algeria over the iron ore deposits around Tindouf. By 1970 the "Organization of African Unity" was able to arrange a solution by which this resource was shared between the two countries. But it was in the "Spanish Sahara" that things got really difficult. In November 1975, after a UN mission reported the majority of Sahwaris wanted independence, Hassan responded with the "Green March". He called for 350,000 volunteers and sent them unarmed across the border to claim Spanish Sahara for Morocco. Spain was overwhelmed and signed an agreement relinquishing the territory. The region was given over to joint Moroccan-Mauritanian administration as "Western Sahara".

#### Foreign Wars

During WWII, Moroccan troops served with the Allies in the Italian campaign and took part in the occupation of Germany. In the 1950's, Moroccan troops served with the French Army in Indochina. From 1960 to 1964 1,900 Moroccans served with United Nations peacekeepers in the Congo. In 1973, King Hassan bowed to pressure from other Arab leaders to contribute troops to the "Yom Kippur" war. Morocco sent three brigades to the front lines, including 2,500 men to Syria, serving on the Golan Front. From April 1992 to March 1994 Moroccans served in Somalia, protecting civilian relief workers. And most recently, Moroccan troops have participated in the IFOR, SFOR, and KFOR peacekeeping operations in the Balkans

#### War in Western Sahara

About 1975, a group called the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia, el Hamra, and Río de Oro" (Polisario), also began operating in Western Sahara. These guerillas claimed to be a popular Sahwari nationalist movement and formed a government in exile in Algeria called the "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic". The Polisario were supported, trained, and lavishly supplied, first by Algeria and later by Cuba, North Vietnam, and Libya.

Cuban and Vietnamese delegations even visited Algeria in the mid-seventies. Soon "volunteers" from both countries began serving directly with Polisario units. These units, based inside Algerian territory, regularly struck Moroccan security forces in Western Sahara. Morocco responded by attacking an Algerian outpost at Angala Oasis in January 1976, killing two hundred Algerians and taking over a hundred prisoners. An Algerian counterattack the following month retook the outpost, killing one hundred forty-eight Moroccans and capturing thirty-six. The last Spanish troops left within weeks, leaving Morocco to struggle with the Polisario alone.

King Hassan offered a referendum to the residents of the area in 1981, but the Polisario leadership rejected it. Fighting continued. By 1986, Morocco had secured about two-thirds of the territory within defensive walls. The Polisario, Algeria, and Morocco were able to agree on a UN brokered peace treaty in 1988. This lasted until Polisario attacks the following year prompted King Hassan to cancel further talks. Even so, the creation of the "Arab Maghrib Union" in 1989 raised hopes that a solution to this and other problems might soon be found.

#### More Politics

In 1993, Moroccan politics were dominated by parliamentary elections. The first round took place on June 25th, resulting in victory for the left-wing "Socialist Union of Populist Forces" (USFP). In early October, however, the USFP announced that, for various reasons, it would not form a government. A new government was eventually drawn from the ranks of the loyalist parties. It was clear that continuity and stability were the main goals. Continuity was also emphasized by the opening of the Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca, the largest in the world outside Saudi Arabia, at a cost of \$500 million.

The Western Sahara issue continued to dominate foreign affairs. Morocco's relations with Algeria remained strained over it. A self-determination referendum for the area was planned. A major stumbling block to this seemed to be the voting lists to be used. The Polisario Front insisted on using the 1974 Spanish census as a guide. Morocco demanded inclusion of an additional 120,000 Sahwaris, who, they said, had been forced out of the territory by Spain. The UN tried to revive negotiations with a visit by Secretary-General

Boutros Boutros-Ghali in June announced preparations for a new census.

The conflict continued to drag on throughout 1995, with new difficulties emerging over the registration process for voters. As a result, the referendum was postponed until mid-1996. Tensions in the Western Sahara were raised in midyear when eight Sahwaris were condemned to long periods of imprisonment (later reduced) for anti-Moroccan demonstrations in El Aaiun.

1997 was a year of constitutional restructuring in Morocco. Changes approved by Moroccan voters in 1996 came into effect, with municipal elections in June and legislative elections for the new bicameral parliament in November. Center and right-wing parties gained 56% of the vote, to the surprise of most observers. It had been expected that the left-of-center Democratic Bloc (Koutla) would do better than the 32% vote it received. Morocco's major diplomatic problem, the Western Sahara dispute, apparently moved closer to solution when the new UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, appointed a former US secretary of state, James Baker, as his special envoy. After four face-to-face meetings, Baker announced that Morocco and the Polisario Front had agreed to certain concessions. The long-delayed referendum would be held in 1998.

#### Economics

The most difficult problems facing Morocco during the early nineties were economic ones. Negotiations for a new association agreement with the European Union (EU) were finally concluded in November, 1995. This agreement was based on the idea of an industrial free-trade area, developed with Morocco specifically in mind. During the negotiations, however, many problems emerged, especially with Spain over fishing rights. Morocco refused to sign until these were resolved. Drought caused Morocco's 1994 harvests to drop over eighty-two percent from the previous year. The Moroccan overall "GDP" fell by about four-percent compared with an increase of twelve-percent in 1993. A major economic recovery in 1996 was followed by reasonable growth in 1997, but both were based primarily on better than average crop yields. Despite decades of economic restructuring, rain (or the lack of it) continues to dominate Moroccan economics.

#### Spanish Morocco

The Spanish protectorate over Morocco covered about one-tenth of the kingdom, a mountainous, Berber-speaking area often beyond the sultan's control. It also included a strip of desert land in the southwest, known as Tarfaya, bordering Spanish Sahara. In 1934, when the French occupied southern Morocco, the Spanish added Ifni to the "Zone". During WWII, the Spanish temporarily occupied Tangier as well. A Spanish "khalifah" (viceroy), chosen from the Moroccan royal family was nominal head of state and provided with a puppet government. This enabled Spain to conduct affairs independently of the French while nominally preserving Moroccan "unity". Tangier, though it had a Spanish-speaking population of 40,000, was officially an international zone. A "mandub" (resident), theoretically appointed by the sultan, was actually appointed by the French.

The Spanish Zone included the ports of Ceuta and Melilla, which had been Spanish territory for centuries, and the iron mines of the Rif Mountains. The capital of the "Zone" was Tétouan. As in the French Zone, European-staffed departments were created. The country districts were administered by "interventores" (controllers). The first area to be occupied was the plain, facing the Atlantic, with the towns of Larache, Alcazarquivir (Al-Qsar al-Kabir), and Asilah. Asilah was once the stronghold of the Moroccan governor, Ahmad al-Raisuni (The "Raisuli"), a notable patriot and brigand. Difficulty in dealing with this rugged individual led to his replacement. In 1913 he "retired" to a refuge in the mountains, where he held out until captured by another Moroccan individualist, Abd el-Karim, twelve years later.

Abd el-Karim was a Berber chief and renowned scholar. His knowledge of both the Arabic and Spanish languages was superb and his insights into both ways of life was extensive. Imprisoned after World War I, he later went to Ajdir in the Rif Mountains. There he planned and executed an uprising against both Spain and France. In July 1921, after destroying a Spanish force sent against him, he established the "Republic of the Rif". It took a combined Franco-Spanish force, numbering more than 250,000, to finally overwhelm him. In May 1926 he surrendered to the French and was exiled. Things remained calm in Spanish Morocco until 1936, when Francisco Franco gathered a large force of Moroccan volunteers and Spanish "Legionarios" to fight in the Spanish Civil War.

Though the Spanish had fewer resources, their regime was more liberal and less subject to racial discrimination than the French. Instruction in the schools was in Arabic, Moroccan students were encouraged to go to Egypt for a Muslim education, and there was no attempt to set Berber against Arab as in the French Zone. After the Rif war, there was little cooperation between the two "protecting" powers. Hostility was more the rule. This reached a peak in 1953 over the deportation of sultan Muhammad V. The Spanish high commissioner refused to recognize this action, and Muhammad V was still regarded in the Spanish Zone as Morocco's ruler. Moroccan nationalists forced to leave the French Zone at this time found refuge here.

In 1956, however, when the French decided to grant independence to Morocco, Spanish authorities were taken by surprise and hesitated to follow suit. An agreement was nevertheless reached on April 7th, 1956, after which Muhammad V made a cordial official visit to Spain. The Spanish protectorate, therefore, ended without bloodshed. With the withdrawal of the Spanish high commissioner, the Moroccan khalifah, and other officials, Tétouan once again became a quiet, provincial capital. The introduction of the Moroccan franc to replace the peseta caused a huge jump in the cost of living, and other difficulties arrived along with French-speaking Moroccan officials. As in the former French Zone, there was a considerable drop in the number of European and Jewish inhabitants. Spain returned Tarfaya to Morocco in 1958 and Ifni was finally handed over unconditionally in 1970. Ceuta, on the Strait of Gibraltar, and Melilla, farther east on the Mediterranean coast, with overwhelmingly Spanish populations, continue to be Spanish enclaves in Morocco. In October 1978, the United States turned over Kenitra, its last military base in Africa, to Morocco.

#### **FOREIGN WEAPONS**

Steyr SK-105 - AS; 81mm M61L, 105mm AMX/Mle 50, 155mm AMX/F3, AML-H90, AMX-10RC, AMX-13/75, EBR-75 - FR; Ratel - SA; 155mm FH70, Scorpion, "Milan" ATGM - UK; 105mm M101, 105mm M108, 155mm M109, 155mm M114, 106mm M40 RcR, M48, M60, M113, M167 Vulcan, M577, TOW ATGM - US; All other foreign weapons - RU

#### **TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT MOROCCAN BRIGADE: 1973 (ARAB-ISRAELI WAR)**

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 30, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%**

Infantry Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(B)/BTR-152  
Support Company: 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/BTR-152, 2x107mm/B11 RcR/Jeep

Tank Company: 3xT54/55  
Recon Company: 2xBRDM-1[R]  
Engineer Company: 2xTL2 Engineer/BTR-152

Mechanized Battalion: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) HQ/BTR-152, 3xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
Tank Battalion: 3xTank Company  
Infantry Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) GHQ/BTR-152, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1xTank Battalion, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company, 1xZSU-23/4, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck

Notes: 1) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached AT-3 "Sagger" team(MP).  
2) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" team(MP).

#### MOROCCAN FORCES: 1975+

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 50, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%**

Mechanized Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(B)/M113, 1x81mm M61L Mortar(1)/M113, 0-1x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep or Jeep/Milan  
Tank Company: 4xAMX-13/75 or 4xM48A2 or 4xM60A1  
Armored Car Squadron: 4xAMX-10RC[R] or 4xEBR-75[R] or 4xAML-90[R]  
Support Platoon: 1xM-56 "Scorpion" or "Steyr" SK-105

Mechanized Battalion: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) HQ/M113, 3xMechanized Company, 0-1xJeep/TOWI, 1xSupport Platoon, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xM167 SP Vulcan  
Tank Battalion: 1xM48A2 HQ, 4xTank Company, 1xArmored Car Squadron  
Artillery Battalion: 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck, or 3x155mm M114A1(3)/Truck, or 3x155mm FH70(3)/Truck  
Artillery Battalion(SP): 3x105mm AMX/Mle 50(3) or 3x105mm M108(3) or 3x155mm M109(3) or 3x155mm AMX/F3(3)

Mechanized Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) GHQ/M577, 3xMechanized Battalion, 0-1xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)

MRL Battery: 1x122mm BM21(12)  
Heavy Artillery Battery: 1x130mm M46(3)/Truck  
Transport Helicopters: 4xAB205 Agusta/Bell "Huey", 2xSA-330 "Puma", or 2xCH-47 "Chinook"  
Attack Helicopters: 2xAB-212 Agusta/Bell "Gunships" , or 2xSA-341 "Gazelle"

Air Support: Mirage F1C, F5E/F "Tiger", and OV10D "Bronco"

Notes: 1) M113 APCs may be replaced with VABs or Ratels.  
2) One stand in each Battalion may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" team(MP).  
3) All weapons may be upgraded to TL3 types beginning around 1990.  
4) Morocco's M60A1 tanks were upgraded to M60A3's as these became available.

#### "POLISARIO" FORCES: 1975+

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 00, Class: Conscripts/Militia, Base Determination Factor: 25%**

Infantry Company: 2-4xTL2 Infantry(B), 1xTL2 Infantry Support, 0-1x82mm M37/43 Mortar(1)  
Recon Company: 2-4xTL2 Infantry(R)/BRDM1 or 3xAML-90[R] or 3xEland-90[R]  
Tank Company: 3xT55

"Polisario" Battalion: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) HQ, 2-4xInfantry Company, 0-1xTank Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)

Artillery Battery: 1x122mm D30(3) Howitzer/Truck  
MRL Battery: 1x122mm BM21(12)  
Anti-Aircraft Battery: 1xSA-6 or 1xZSU-23/4

Notes: 1) Infantry Companies may be equipped with BMP-1 or Ratel/20mm APC's.  
2) The "Eland-90" is a Panhard AML-H90 built in South Africa.  
3) One stand in each Battalion may contain an attached "SA-7" team(MP).  
4) All weapons may be upgraded to TL3 types beginning around 1985.  
5) Polisario forces contain approximately twenty-percent (20%) Conscripts/Volunteers. The rest are Militia.

#### TACTICAL NOTES

Morocco has been involved in fighting Algeria and the Polisario Front since 1964. Actions between these combatants have been classic Saharan battles, reminiscent of WWII in the Western Desert. Combat takes place across wide, flat, open ground with few landmarks or terrain features. Infantry is used primarily as an exploitation force or to occupy and hold the few wells and oases in an otherwise empty Western Sahara. Long range tank duels, short, sharp "armored car" raids, and night attacks on fortified positions should be the mainstay.

In the near future, open war is a distinct possibility in Western Sahara. If it comes, Morocco's new M60A3TTS tanks, with their enhanced "thermal" targeting capacity, may well be decisive in night operations. In addition, it is quite possible that troops from the Spanish "Foreign Legion" Parachute Brigade or even a US Expeditionary Force may come to Morocco's aid. Much depends on how far

the Polisario are willing to go to find backing. Currently, Libya is no longer capable of this, and to a large extent, neither is Algeria. But there are nations (and movements) willing to use the Polisario Front as a "proxy" force to engage the US and NATO. As a topic for wargame scenarios and mini-campaigns, the barren Western Sahara is fertile ground.

### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Agriculture accounted for about a third of Morocco's exports in 2001, and continues to employ over forty percent of Moroccan workers. Europe is Morocco's most important trade market and it is to Europe that Morocco looks for its future, despite calls for Arab solidarity from the country's religious leaders. Although there is a vocal Muslim fundamentalist movement in Morocco, it remains too weak to truly threaten the regime. This may be due in part to King Hassan II's efforts to improve Morocco's human rights record and bring more democracy to his country.

Hassan's death in 1999 brought his son Muhammad VI to the throne. Muhammad, though a great admirer of his father, appears to have his own way of doing things. Many of Hassan's most trusted advisors have been replaced by younger, more "Western-Minded" officials, heralding a "New Concept of Authority" for the kingdom. This includes a greater respect both for basic human rights and individual liberties. The new administration appears to be gambling that Muhammad's religious credentials, combined with the people's desire for greater freedom and opportunity, will overcome the power of the Muslim fundamentalist opposition.

The country continues to suffer considerable difficulties, however. The population increases by 1.8 percent annually. Sixty-five percent of Moroccans live in poverty. Fifty percent of Moroccan men and seventy percent of Moroccan women are illiterate. Most Moroccans live without electricity or safe drinking water. Ninety-three percent receive no medical treatment whatsoever.

During the 1990's it was estimated that one third of the Moroccan military budget went to the war in Western Sahara. In 2001, most of the budget continued to go there, even though the fighting was at a standstill. A final solution to this conflict must be found if the country is ever going to escape endless deficits and economic stagnation.

In 2002, Morocco's thirty-nine year old king is still promoting his "Constitutional Democratic Social Monarchy". He appears to believe in all forms of social, political, economic, and educational reform. His special target is Morocco's widespread illiteracy. Despite this, Morocco continues to struggle. Unemployment stands at fifty-five percent and drought plagues Moroccan farmers. The country's foreign debt increases every year and there seems to be no letup in sight.

The war in Western Sahara continues, and the long promised referendum still has not been held. There is growing realization among all parties concerned that the most recent UN sponsored talks may be their last chance for peace. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said, "The international community cannot continue to spend its scarce resources on the Western Sahara in the absence of any progress in the implementation of the plan that the two parties freely accepted thirteen years ago."

The current situation, where 170,000 Sahwari refugees continue to inhabit camps in southwest Algeria is particularly unacceptable to the Polisario. They have threatened to resume active warfare if no progress is made. But they admit they are not strong enough to drive the Moroccans out without outside help. Who they might go to for this help is an open question...

### 2002 MOROCCAN ARSENAL

Vehicles:	48xT-72, 320xM60, & 120xM48A5 Tanks, 105mm "Steyr" SK105 Tank Destroyers, 54xAMX-10, 360xM113, 55xUR-416, 290xVAB/VTT, & 60x"Ratel" APCs, 16xEBR-75, 110xAMX-10RC, 10xAMX10P, 140xAML-90, 30xAML-60, & 20xERC-90 Scout Vehicles
AT Weapons:	"Milan", "TOW", "Dragon", "HOT", & AT-3 "Sagger" ATGMs, 75mm & 106mm RCRs
Artillery:	30x105mm L118 (Light), 58x105mm M101, 18x130mm M46, 22x155mm M114, 30x155mm FH-70 Towed Howitzers, 40x155mm M109, 80x155mm AMX/F3, & 60x203mm M110 "SP" Howitzers, 81mm & 120mm Mortars
Anti-Aircraft:	10x"Chaparral", some "Crotale" and 100+SA-7 AAGMs, 100x20mm, 42x"twin" 20mm/VAB, 160x23mm ZPU-23/2, 40xM167 "SP" Vulcans, 37mm, 57mm, & 100mm AA Guns
Combat Aircraft:	28xMirage F1C, 14xF-5A/E/F, 24xArmed "Alpha Jet" Trainers
Helicopters:	32xAB-205, 16xAB-206, 5xAB-212, 25xSA-341 "Gazelle", 28xSA-330 "Puma", 4xAlouette-II, 8xCH-47C
Small Arms:	7.62mm HK4 & 9mm HK VP70 Pistols, 9mm MAC Mle50 & MAB PA-15 Submachineguns, 5.56mm Baretta 70/223, M-16A1, Steyr AUG & 7.62mm AK-47 Rifles, 7.62mm FN FAL, G3, Valmet M76, Baretta BM-59, RPD, M-60, AAT-52, & .50 cal Browning M2 Machineguns, 500x66mm LAW & 200x89mm STRIM-89 ATGLs

- Notes:
- 1) Morocco's T-72s were purchased in 2001 from Belarus Surplus.
  - 2) M60 tank numbers include 120xM60A3TTS equipped with "thermal" sights to enhance effectiveness in low light.
  - 3) An additional six L118 (Light) howitzers have been purchased from UK surplus.
  - 4) Plans for upgrading the Moroccan Air Force have been put on hold due to severe economic problems.

### POINTS OF CONTACT

National Defense Administration - Tel: ++212-7-62731, -60150, or -60805