

~~SECRET~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

13 September 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Allan Evans (OIR)  
Colonel H. J. Lemley, Jr., USA (ACSI)  
Captain W. S. Howell, USN (ONI)  
Colonel W. B. Sawyer, USAF (AFOIN 2B2)  
Colonel C. H. Dayhuff, Jr., USA (JIG)

SUBJECT: NIE 71.1-56: THE OUTLOOK FOR MOROCCO - Terms of Reference

1. Forwarded herewith are terms of reference for NIE 71.1-56. These were approved by the IAC representatives on 13 September.
2. While all agencies are invited to contribute to all questions raised in the terms of reference, State has the primary responsibility for submitting contributions to Sections I, II, III, VI, and VII. Defense agencies have primary responsibility for submitting contributions to IV. State and Defense contributions are requested on Sections V, VIII, and IX.
3. All contributions are due in ONE by Friday, November 9, 1956.

*William P. Bundy*

WILLIAM P. BUNDY  
Deputy Assistant Director  
National Estimates

Distribution "B"

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

13 September 1956

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE 71.1-56: THE OUTLOOK FOR MOROCCO

THE PROBLEM

To assess prospects for Moroccan stability and viability; and to estimate the probable orientation and policies of an independent Morocco.

SCOPE

NIE 71.1-56 should be "open-ended"; it should concentrate on developments in the area over the next year or two, but also project as far as possible into the future.

SECRET

SECRET

I. THE INDEPENDENT STATUS OF MOROCCO

France and Spain,  
Discuss briefly Morocco's relations with/ and the status of  
and Spanish-Moroccan  
French-Moroccan/negotiations. What limitations, if any, are there on  
Morocco's independence?

II. POLITICAL SITUATION AND TRENDS

A. The Present Moroccan Government

1. What are the current / character and composition of the Moroccan government? How circumscribed are its powers? What progress has been made in creating new administrative organizations? In drafting popular economic and social programs?
2. What is the present internal security situation? What armed forces can the government rely on? What is the current political status of the Liberation Army?

B. The Role of the Sultan

1. What is the Sultan's present position? What is the strength of his popular support? Of his political

SECRET

support? What influence does he possess among tribes of the interior?

2. What is the Sultan's likely role? What are his probable political views and intentions? To what extent might he seek outside assistance against nationalist extremists?

C. Political Parties and Groups

1. What is the current position of the Istiqlal-Islah Party? issues is it likely to On what/have majority support among the Moroccan population? What is its strength among the labor unions? To what extent is it split into moderate and extremist elements? What is the likelihood of a deeper schism?
  - a. What is the position of Allal el-Fassi in the party? Is he likely to retain his status as the foremost Istiqlal leader? What are his likely views and policies?
  - b. What are the strength and leadership of the moderate Istiqlal wing?
  - c. Are there important party elements outside the moderate-extremist categories?

- 3 -

SECRET

SECRET

2. What is the present strength of the PDI? How does it differ in composition and outlook from the Istiqlal? To what extent is it regarded as under French influence? What is its likely future role?
3. What is the status of the "Independents"? Are they largely personal supporters of the Sultan? Are they likely to form a political party under his sponsorship?
4. What is the position of the Liberation Army leaders? To what extent are they distinguishable from Istiqlal extremists? Will they be able to preserve an independent status in view of the merger of their forces with the Royal Army?
5. What are the nature and likely development of other political factors? What are the composition and role of the labor unions? What is the status of the various tribal groups?
6. What is the position of the Communists? What are their numbers? What are their contacts with other Communist parties and the Bloc? What success have they had in associating with the nationalists? To what degree have they infiltrated the Istiqlal or other political organizations? What strength do they have in the labor unions? What is the likely degree of Communist influence over the next few years?

- 4 -

SECRET

SECRET

D. French Influence and Policies

1. What / are / probable future positions / the current and / of French officials and advisors in Morocco? What is the degree of colon strength and influence? What is the outlook for the colons?
2. What are likely French policies toward Morocco? To what degree will the French government attempt to maintain protection for colon and French interests? What are the likely minimum French conditions for continued aid to Morocco? What are the likely French proposals for associating Morocco with the West?

E. Moroccan Political Trends

1. What are the likely composition and domestic policies of Moroccan governments over the next year or two? Will the Sultan retain all legal power in his own hands? Will he insist on coalition governments? Will he accept an all-Istiqlal government? Will he attempt to exclude the Istiqlal from any role in the government?

- 5 -

SECRET

SECRET

2. What are the prospects for absolute rule by the Sultan?  
For a constitutional monarchy? For a republic?
3. What is the likelihood of serious civil strife?

III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

- A. What is the present economic situation in Morocco?
  1. What natural resources are available? Are being developed?  
What are industrial and agricultural conditions? Development plans? What proportion of the population is unemployed? What is the foreign trade pattern? What is the balance of payments?
  2. What is the importance of French investment and enterprise in Morocco? What is the extent of French financial aid to the Moroccan government? What is the economic role of the colons?
  3. What is the impact of the US bases on the Moroccan economy? What is the size of local US military expenditures? Of expenditures by US personnel? What are their economic effects? What proportion of the Moroccan labor force is employed on the bases?

- 6 -

SECRET

## SECRET

- B. What are the prospects for outside economic assistance? What outside economic aid does Morocco presently receive? What is the likely level of French aid? How adequate will it be? What assistance is Morocco likely to ask of the US? Is it likely to seek aid from the Bloc, and under what circumstances?
- C. What are likely Moroccan government policies? Toward: (1) remaining in the franc area; (2) the Algeciras "open door"; (3) establishment of a free trade zone on Moroccan soil; (4) economic relations with Bloc countries; and (5) colon holdings?
- D. What are the prospects for economic growth? To what extent will economic growth depend on outside assistance?

IV. DEFENSE ISSUES

- A. What is the status of the Moroccan Armed Forces? What are the size, composition, quality, and disposition of the Royal Moroccan Army? What other armed forces exist? What are likely future developments regarding the armed forces?
- B. What French forces remain in Morocco? What is their mission? Their disposition? What is the likely Moroccan attitude toward them?

- 7 -

SECRET



SECRET

C. What Spanish forces are there in Morocco? Are they wholly confined to the presidios? What is the likely Moroccan attitude toward those forces?

D. What is the US military position in the area?

1. What are the size and composition of US forces? What is the Moroccan attitude toward them?
2. What facilities are currently used by the US? What is the status of the bases and of other facilities? What are the nature and adequacy of present security arrangements?
3. What is the extent of US dependence on Moroccan personnel? Would strikes and other labor disturbances seriously affect the US position?

V. MOROCCAN POLICIES TOWARD THE US BASES

A. What is the Moroccan attitude toward the base question? How does the Moroccan government regard the US position pending negotiations? Is it likely to refuse to include France in such talks?

SECRET

- B. What are the likely Moroccan conditions for continued US use of the bases? Will Morocco insist on high rental payments as well as economic aid? How long a period is it likely to contract for? Under what circumstances would it raise its price? Reduce its price? What other issues, such as status of forces, are likely to be important considerations?
- C. What are the likely security arrangements for the bases? Will Morocco insist on providing security with its own forces? What forces would be available? What would be their effectiveness?

#### VI. PROBABLE MOROCCAN FOREIGN POLICIES

- A. Toward Algeria? Will Morocco persist in extending both moral and material support to the Algerian rebels? What is the likelihood that Moroccan government forces might clash with French troops on the border? Is Morocco likely to persist in attempts to adjust the border in its favor? What would be its probably relations with a semi-independent Algeria?
- B. Toward France? What are the chances that French-Moroccan relations can be placed on a mutually satisfactory basis over the next several years? What territorial claims is Morocco likely to make against France? What ties might Morocco accept with France? In the absence of such an accord, what would be the likely Moroccan actions vis-a-vis French and colon interests? Would the US be asked to play the "honest broker" role?

- 9 -  
SECRET

SECRET

- C. Toward Spain? What is the likely Moroccan policy regarding Ceuta and Melilla, etc? Regarding Ifni, Southern Morocco, and Spanish Sahara? Will Morocco encourage Spanish attempts to act as a bridge between the Arab world and the West?
- D. Toward the Arab League States? What are the likely repercussions of the Suez problem? Is Morocco likely to join the Arab League? What are its probable relations with Egypt? Under what circumstances would it welcome increased Egyptian influence? Reject Egyptian influence?
- E. Toward the Soviet Bloc? What is Morocco's likely policy toward Bloc diplomatic representation? What are the prospects for Bloc influence on Moroccan policies? Under what circumstances might Morocco seek assistance from the Bloc?
- F. Toward International Organizations? What are Morocco's likely relations with NATO? What is the likely policy toward Tangier?
- G. Toward the US? What is the likely status of relations between Morocco and the US? The outlook for the preservation of US interests in the area?

- 10 -

SECRET

SECRET

VII. LONGER-TERM PROSPECTS FOR MOROCCO

In the light of the above factors, discuss briefly prospects for the stability and viability of Morocco, and for its orientation toward the West.

VIII. POST-MORTEM ON NIE 71.1-56

IX. VALIDITY STUDY OF NIE 71-55 (Insofar as it pertains to Morocco)

- 11 -

SECRET