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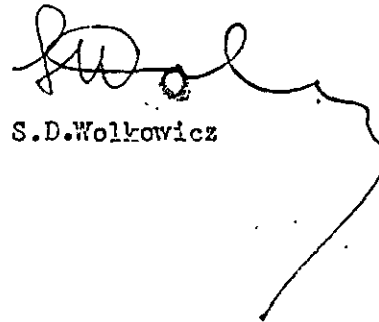
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OCT 20 1947

Gentlemen:

You might be interested in the enclosed surveys on relations
between different groups of the population in Poland and in
Morocco.

Sincerely yours,



S.D. Wolkowicz

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RESEARCH
OCT 21 1947

Handwritten notes and signatures:
A. H.
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WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

1834 BROADWAY
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September 22, 1947

SURVEY ON COMMUNITY INTERRELATIONS

S.D. Wolkowicz

COUNTRY: FRENCH MOROCCO

Q. Population.

A. 7,865,710 (93% of the total population) Berbers and Arabs. (census of 6/30/1943). The Berbers constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. They reside, in greater numbers in the interior. The Arabs constitute the more recent element. They began to colonize Morocco at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Many Berber tribes are arabized.

338,644 Europeans (4.3%) in June of 1943. 85% of the Europeans are French. The most important foreign European groups in 1936 were - 23,330 Spaniards, 14,038 Italians. There are also some Swiss, Portuguese and English.

Approximately 200,000 Jews - including 10,000 Berber Jews living in the mountains. To the numbers of Moroccan Jews should be added: 10,000 Algerian Jews, 3,000 foreign Jews and 1,500 French Jews.

Q. Religious affiliation of the non-Jewish population.

A. The Berbers and Arabs are Mohammedans of Sunnite rite. The Europeans are mostly Roman Catholics. There are a few atheists.

Q. Religious affiliations of the Jewish population.

A. Jews of Spanish origin, Berber Jews and Algerian Jews are Sephardim. French and foreign Jews are, for the most part, Ashkenazim.

Q. Economic set-up of the non-Jewish population.

A. Natives: About 6,800,000 Moroccan Moslems (92%) are farmers. One finds large estates in the plains. In the mountains, the soil is often the property of the entire tribe. About 1,010,000 Moslems (March 1941) live in towns. Most of them are workers or artisans. The upper-stratum includes large landowners, some industrialists, and Arab merchants (in the old towns of Fes, Marrakech and Sale-Rabat). The Moslem middle-class of Fes is, to a certain extent, of Jewish or

Spanish-Andalusian origin. The differentiation between the "have" and the "have-nots" is very sharp. The wealth is concentrated in the hands of few. The masses live in the most primitive conditions.

Europeans: The entire administration, the harbors, railways, etc. are French controlled. Most of the professionals are French. Industry and big business are French controlled. 1/10th of the cultivated soil is in French hands. 70% of the Europeans live in towns, - mainly in Casablanca.

Q. Economic set-up of the Jewish population.

A. Estimate.

Percentage of normally working population.

Business men, mainly small businesses	23%
Artisans	18%
Laborers	13%
White-collar workers	11%
Undetermined	28%
Junk and old clothes dealers	7%

The organization of native cooperatives by the French authorities might restrict the area of activity of Jewish commercial intermediaries.

The European and frequently the Algerian Jews who live in Morocco have enviable economic positions. They are in big-business, land-owners, doctors, lawyers, etc.

Q. Moslem political parties; leaders, eventual Jewish influence. Press connected with the parties. Party's attitude toward the Jews, and toward the Palestine problem.

A. Moroccan National Movement "Istiklal" (Independence) a successor to the former "Comite d'Action Marocaine" (Kutlat al'amal al-watani) and the Popular Movement (Al-Harakah-al-gawmiyyah). The party has very close ties with the Arab League.

Since 1934, the most important leaders of the nationalists were: MOHAMMED ALLAL FASSI, ABD-EL-JALIL, ABD-EL-AZIZ BEN DRISS, AHMED CHERKAOUI, MOHAMMED GHAZI, HASSAN OUAZZANI. The extreme nationalist section was led by ABDUL HALEK TORRES. The present Secretary-General of the Party is SI HADJ AHMED BALATRAY. Those leaders were arrested and released several

times by the French authorities. The former imperial city of Fes is the hot-bed of nationalism. Some of its leaders are of Spanish-Andalusian or Jewish origin. The families of Jewish origin became adherents to Islam several centuries ago. Nevertheless, those descendants of Jews are still proud of their origin, and to this day bear the names of Cohen, Levy, etc. Otherwise, there are no Jewish-Moroccan nationalists, although, among the Jews, one may find a few sympathizers. The majority of the Moslem population is sympathetic to the Istiklal.

Several nationalist papers were suppressed by the French. For the present, the French-controlled Es-Saada has its circulation limited to 6,500 copies.

Moroccan nationalists are trying to win over the Moroccan Jews by promising them equality in an independent Morocco. Moroccan Jews, however, are distrustful and fear that their present unenviable situation will become even worse in an independent Morocco.

Q. French political parties; their following - leaders - press connected with the party. Party's attitude toward the Jews and the Palestine problem.

A. The majority of Moroccan French are adherents to either the extreme rightist PRL, or to the conservative MFR.

P.R.L. (Parti Republicain de la Liberte), extreme rightist party. Of the three French-Moroccan delegates to the Council of the Republic, one is a PRL member (Jean Jullien). The party groups former supporters of Vichy, which means reactionary, anti-progressive and anti-Semitic elements. Attitude towards the Jews is officially neutral, in fact, it is rather unfriendly.

M.P.R. (Mouvement Populaire Republicain), groups Catholic and conservative milieus. One delegate to the Council of the Republic (Marcel Gatuing). Principal French Moroccan newspapers: "La Vigie" (circulation of 38,500), "Le Petit Marocain" (circulation- 38,500) and "L'Echo du Maroc", are more or less under their influence.

S.F.I.O (Socialist Party), One delegate to the Council of the Republic (Jean Leonetti). The Party groups some skilled French workers, civil servants, white-collar workers. The French Socialist Party of North Africa demands the equality of rights for Jews and Moslems in both Morocco and Tunisia. Press- Maroc Socialiste.

French Communist Party. Recruits its members in the same milieus as the S.F.I.O. One of its leaders, Germain Ayache,

Professor at the French Lycee of Casablanca, is of Jewish-Algerian origin. Press- Espoir; Editor- Rene Roux; circulation- 10,000 copies. Party's attitude toward the Jews- equality of rights as far as Morocco is concerned; anti-Zionist.

Q. Political affiliations of the Jewish population.

A. The overwhelming majority of Moroccan Jews is not organized and cannot claim any political affiliation. The youth, however, is becoming increasingly Zionist minded.

Q. Languages spoken in French Morocco.

A. On the coastal plains and in the urban areas, the Moslem population speaks Arabic. Berber is spoken in the interior of the country. The Europeans in almost their entirety, speaks French. The younger generation of the foreign groups use French rather than their native language (Spanish and Italian). The greater number of Jews speak Judeo-Arabic. Jews of Tangerian origin (several thousand) speak Spanish. Some thousand Jews speak Berber. In the cities, the younger generations have become increasingly gallicized.

Q. Mutual relations of non-Jewish national groups; French and Moors.

A. The occupation of Morocco by the French took place against the will of the Moors, who, generally offered resistance to the French penetration. Only a minority of Arab Lords favored the occupation. It took the French more than twenty years to pacify the country.

The present French-Moorish relations might be summarized as follows: The masses of the Fellahim have a rather clear idea of the improvement brought about by the French. Nevertheless, they would not be sorry to see the Roumis driven back into the sea. The only part of the population which supports the French are some members of the high bourgeoisie who profited materially and increased their fortunes since the occupation. This group fears a change because they do not know whether such a change would not be detrimental to them. Another opinion is represented by milieus grouped around the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui, who considers that for the present time, the almost complete absence of Moorish technicians and professionals renders the French Protectorate absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country.

The nationalists are at variance in their opinion. The most fanatical group (founded by Abdul Halek Torres) demands immediate independence. The majority of the nationalists realize, along with El Gloui, that for the present French rule is indispensable to the welfare of the country. But, they insist on an actual participation in the government, better schooling and progressive emancipation. Their relations with the French are far from cordial.

Q. Converted or
crypto-Jews.

A. At the time of Moslem oppression, repeatedly, Jews were compelled to convert to Islam. Thus, in Fes, among the high bourgeoisie, one finds Moslem families by the name of Cohen, Levy, etc.. Those descendants of Jews are completely assimilated. They hold important social and economic positions. Frequently one finds nationalist leaders among them. The obstinacy with which they cling to their originally Jewish family names proves that this origin is far from being considered shameful among the Moorish Moslems.

For the present, there are very few conversions to Islam. Conversions to Christianity are practically non-existent.

The above might help to understand the very special nature of Moorish Moslem anti-Semitism. It is not racial. Racial ideas are completely foreign to Moslems. In Morocco, religion and nationality are so intimately intermingled- the nation is considered a Moslem nation (El Ummah-el-Islamiah) that the very fact of belonging to another religion automatically excludes one from the national community. The new nationalist trend which considers Jews as being of Moroccan nationality, is rather a political manoeuvre. It should be emphasized that Jewish origin "per se" is not considered as something to be hidden.

Q. Interrelations
among the different
social classes.

A. It is an essential characteristic of Moroccan economy that social classes closely correspond to national or religious groups.

At the lowest rung of the social ladder, one finds the Fellahim, Berber highlanders, Moslem workers. Jews are predominantly in trade. Europeans are employed in the civil service, in large French corporations (industry, mining and big business) and as small businessmen. The top stratum consists of higher French officials, Moslem aristocracy and high bourgeoisie, and to a certain extent,

Jewish high bourgeoisie. It is singularly characteristic of the Moslem economy, that there is a very small Moslem middle class.

Under these conditions, social conflicts tend to become interracial conflicts. Besides, when social conflicts arise, they are confined to urban centers. The Moslem fellahim too frequently live under conditions reminiscent of slavery to be able to revolt against their fate. There is no social conflict in the mountains where, for the most part, the Berber villages have a communal economy. French leftist parties, particularly the Communists, try to organize under their leadership the entire working class, French, Moorish and Jewish alike, in order to eliminate race questions from the social conflicts, which, it is felt, might in the long run menace the unity of the French Empire.

The strict confinement of Jewish economic activity accounts for the fact that economic anti-Semitism is almost non-existent both among the Moslem masses and among the Moorish elite. This is not the case among the middle-class Frenchmen however, who very often find themselves competitors of the Jews.

Q. The attitude of the French Administration towards the Jews, Jews in the Administration. Is there any competition ?

A. In any colonial empire one finds the trend toward a "strong hand" policy and sympathy toward totalitarian ideas. The existence of a large Jewish population in Moroccan cities caused the French Moroccan totalitarianism to be tinged, in its very early stages, with anti-Semitism. Too frequently the administration played the age-long game of "divide and conquer", favoring alternately either Moslems or Jews.

During the Vichy period, the administration was more anti-Semitic in Morocco than in France. At present, although the high officials who belonged to rightist parties have been removed, in the lower brackets, anti-Semitism is almost as virulent as during the Vichy period.

The present legal status of Moroccan Jews does not allow them to attain to any position with the Cherifian Government. There are some French citizens of Jewish origin in the administration (Algerian and French Jews), but their numbers are very limited and the question of competition does not arise.

Q. The attitude of French colonists (farmers) toward the Jews.

A. French colonists are comparatively few. They are isolated in the rural areas (bled), surrounded by a very often hostile native population. Their attitude toward the Jews, who as the French form islets in the Moorish sea, is often friendlier than that of the city-French.

There is no economic competition between the Jewish trader and the French colonist.

With the exception of some Berber-Jewish tribes, there are no Jews in Moroccan agriculture. There are about twenty large estates which belong either to French or to Algerian Jews.

Q. The attitude of the French industrialists toward the Jews. Is there any competition?

A. French industrialists milieus in Morocco have always been strongly tainted with totalitarian tendencies. They frequently adopt the "keep the Jew in his place" attitude.

French industrialists have replaced Jewish artisans and importers. At any rate, they have no reason to fear Jewish competition in the industrial field.

French industries in Morocco are very often controlled by big French corporations and banks, and namely: La Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.

Q. The attitude of French Big-Business toward the Jews; - economic competition, - proportion of Jews, - groups in control of employment.

A. Before the advent of the Protectorate, almost all of the import and export trade was in Jewish hands. The part of the foreign trade which was in Moslem hands, was concentrated for the most part in Fes and Sale-Rabat, under the control of Moriscos (Spanish Moslems) and Fes Moslems of Jewish origin. After the French occupation, when big French corporations came into the country, a kind of economic competition between them and the long-established merchants developed. Since the corporations dealt chiefly with items like machinery, tools, cars, etc., which here-

tofore were little known in Morocco, this competition had little bearing on interracial relations.

Despite many adverse factors, the proportion of Jews in big business today is rather high.

Jewish employees find employment, for the most part, with Jewish businesses. When Jews are employed with French corporations, they usually have lower income bracket jobs.

Q. The attitude of the French middle class toward the Jews; economic competition.

A. Since Morocco's small businesses are to a great extent in Jewish hands, there is a sharp economic competition between the Jews and the newly-established French and French-Algerian middle-class businesses. This tension leads to anti-Semitic feeling among the Frenchmen.

Q. The attitude of the French white-collar workers; economic competition- proportion of Jews.

A. White-collar workers are rather friendly. They are often members of leftist parties. There is no economic competition within this group. For the present, the Moroccan Jewish white-collar workers have not reached the point where they are able to compete with the specialized French white-collar workers. The proportion of Jews within the lower brackets of this group is constantly increasing.

Q. Attitude of the Spanish population.

A. Excellent. Most Spaniards are Spanish republicans.

Q. Attitude of the Moorish upper class. (composed mostly of wealthy land-owners)

A. The attitude of the Moorish upper classes toward the Jews is both protective and contemptuous. Until the time of the French occupation, the attitude of the Moors toward the non-believers was strongly influenced by their reminiscences of the bitter centuries of fighting with Spaniards. The defeats which they suffered in this fight - which led

led to their final expulsion from Spain - made Morocco one of the most intolerant Moslem countries. The Jew was tolerated because he was needed. Spanish Jews had the export-import business in their hands, and often, due to the low cultural level to which the ruling Moslem class had sunk, Jews even represented the Sultan abroad. The attitude of the upper-stratum is still the same. However, in its striving for an independent Morocco, the upper-class is trying to win over the Jewish support. The Moroccan nationalist milieu, to which the majority of the upper-class belongs, is trying to gain favor among the Jews by promising them complete equality in an independent Morocco. The overwhelming majority of Moroccan Jews views these offers with distrust and they remain faithful to France.

The religion of this group is a negative or positive factor in Jewish-Moslem relations depending upon the view held by the marabouts and mullahs in different regions. In general the Moslem faith in Morocco is far more fanatical than in other North African and Near Eastern Moslem countries.

In old Morocco, except for its northern part, there was no linguistic cleavage between the Jews and the Moslems. For the present, the Moors resent the fact that the younger Jewish generation wears European clothes and speaks French. From the economic viewpoint, there is no competition between the Jews and the Moslem upper-class.

Q. Attitude of the lower class fellahim, craftsmen, workers.

- A. There is a traditional anti-Semitism which is a result of the inferior condition of Moroccan Jewry throughout the ages. The education of Moroccan masses has hardly begun. It is impossible to foresee whether the schools which are now being operated for the Moslem masses will tend to drive the masses to a more narrow nationalism or toward tolerance. One can only hope that the French authorities will be careful in selecting and in supervising the teaching body of the Moslem schools.

Q. Educational system - discrimination.

- A. There are three separate school systems in Morocco; the European, the Moslem and the Jewish. About 50% of the Jewish school population receives no schooling at all. It should be stressed that the proportion of Moslem children who receive no schooling is still higher. Primary education is given to Jews either in the schools of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, or in the Franco-Israelite Schools.

The European schools (primary, secondary, and Institut des Hautes Etudes du Maroc) were intended for European children only. They do, however, accept Moslem and Jewish children to a certain extent. If Morocco were a democratic country this system might be called a discriminatory one. But, Morocco is a protectorate in which it is implicitly admitted that the different elements of the population do not have the same rights. Consequently, the present situation, in which the percentage of Jewish pupils in European schools is higher than that of the Moslems, might be considered as fairly satisfactory. The reason for this lies in the fact that there are fewer Moslem candidates who wish to receive a European schooling.

Q. Legal discrimination.

A. ~~Before~~ ^{Before} the Protectorate, Jews were considered as a foreign nation " El Taifah-el- Yahudiah", and as such were proteges of the Sultan. When at the close of the XVIII century, European powers acquired capitulatory rights in Morocco, wealthier and more influential Jews succeeded in obtaining the protection of some foreign powers. However, the overwhelming majority retained their inferior " protege" status.

After the French occupation, there was a legal controversy which lasted for several years, among French jurists as to whether Moroccan Jews were or were not subjects of the Sultan. Although according to the old Moslem law Jews were not subjects but, " a protected Foreign Nation", for reasons of expediency, the decision of the French jurisprudence was that those Moroccan Jews who could not claim any other nationality were Moroccan subjects.

In several respects the status of Moroccan Jews is inferior to that of Moroccan Moslems.

(1) Moroccan Jews are unable to attain to any position in the Civil Service of the Cherifian Government. Although they are submitted to the Native Secular Jurisdiction, they are unable to become Pashas or Caidis. In this respect, their situation is worse than it was centuries ago when, for practical reasons, they were often called to high official positions by the Sultan of Morocco.

(2) Moroccan Jews are not admitted into either the French Army or into the Moroccan formations of the French Army.

(3) Furthermore, Moroccan Jews have no influence whatsoever on the Government of the Protectorate. This situation results in a marked discrimination against them in many fields, and namely: as far as housing projects are concerned.

Q. Social anti-Semitism.

- A. There is little, if any, contact between the different groups of the population in Morocco. The Moslem world is almost impenetrable. Contacts between Moslems and Jews are limited almost exclusively to commercial purposes. There is evidence of the beginnings of social relations between the French and the Jewish upper strata, but those contacts are limited by the predominance of anti-Semitic elements among the French population.

It must be mentioned that the French fear a Moslem-Jewish understanding. This almost hysterical fear is evidenced in the fact that during Coronation Day (1946) the Jewish Community of Casablanca wished to invite the poor Jewish and Moslem children to a repast so that they might meet together. This was forbidden by the French Administration.

Q. Violent anti-Semitism.

- A. In old independent Morocco, anti-Jewish outbreaks were frequent occurrences. One must remember that insecurity was a permanent situation in those days.

After the French Republic established the Protectorate, peace and security reigned throughout the country. Except for some minor outbreaks and incidents, there were no anti-Jewish violences during the Vichy period. The first serious anti-Semitic riots occurred in November of 1942, after the liberation of Morocco by the U.S. troops. The uprisings were instigated by the French Fascist milieus.

In 1943-45, the French rightist milieus, which still dominated the administration, instigated anti-Jewish violence at Rabat, Meknes, Casablanca, Marrakesh, Fes, Mazagan, Sefrou. On July 30th 1944, a real pogrom took place in Sefrou. Section of Fes of the "Federation de la France Combattante" overtly declared that the outbreaks were instigated by French Fascists still in control of the administration in the town of Sefrou.

On May 8, 1945, V.E. Day, serious rioting broke in Casablanca. According to several reports received, the native population attacked the Jews. The local police did little to protect the Jews.

The rioting is done by the Moors, but the instigation comes from the French rightist milieus. At present, for reasons stated above, Moroccan nationalists are against anti-Jewish violence.

Since the beginning of 1946, the attitude of the French Administration, whose upper level has been purged, has

manifestly improved. This does not prove that in the future new outbreaks will not occur.

Q. Attitude of the press.

A. The most important Moroccan French daily papers are:

		<u>Circulation limited to</u>
<u>Casablanca</u>	La Presse Marocaine	38,500
	Le Petit Marocain, editor- Antoine Mazella	38,500
	La Vigie Marocaine	38,500
<u>Rabat</u>	Echo du Maroc	20,000
<u>Casablanca</u>	Espoir (Communist) editor- Rene Roux	10,000

Other less important papers are:

<u>Casablanca</u>	L'Intransigeant Marocain- editor- Maurice Carmuzet	
	Le Journal Du Maroc	10,000
<u>Rabat</u>	Maroc-Matin Maroc-Soir	

The most important Moroccan French periodicals are:

Vaincre, editor- Pierre Sarrat	35,000
Maroc Catholique- editor- Achille Leon	
Opinions et Documents- editor- Lucien Chadne.	

The most important paper in Arabic is Es-Saada, which has a circulation of 6,500. There are no other arabic papers listed in the official Moroccan compilations. From time to time, illegal nationalistic sheets appear.

As a rule the French daily press does not speak of Moroccan Jewish problems or of the Palestine problem. The press is under the influence of the MPR and other rightist groups. The Communist " Espoir" does take a very definite anti-Zionist stand with regard to the Palestine problem.

The French population in Morocco is influenced to a great extent by the French metropolitan press. Since the majority of the French population belongs to the rightist parties, it favors the French rightist press, which, as a rule, avoids mentioning the problem of interracial relations.

The extremely limited circulation of the Arabic press proves to what extent the Moslem masses are still illiterate.

Q. Anti-Jewish
propaganda.

- A. Two sectors of the population have to be considered separately, - the French, and the Moslem.

The first French settlers were by no means anti-Semitic. Quite to the contrary, they welcomed the cooperation of the Jewish population. The Jewish upper stratum spoke French, and in many respects facilitated the French penetration in the first difficult years of the Protectorate. But, when Morocco began to be colonized by settlers of Algerian origin a country in which the French-speaking population of various origins developed a very strong anti-Jewish bias at the time of the Dreyfus affair, anti-Semitism made its first appearance in Morocco too. Gradually, as economic competition arose between the firmly established local Jewish merchants and the French newcomers, the shift from good relations to estrangement became more pronounced between the Jews and the French. The situation deteriorated considerably after the advent of the Blum Government (1936) to power. Anti-Jewish propaganda sheets were sold more and more in the streets of Moroccan towns. During the Vichy regime, although the daily press avoided any mention of Jewish problems, anti-Semitic French sheets inundated Morocco. For the present, anti-Semitism manifests itself especially in the economic field by the exclusion of Jews from many positions controlled by the French, and by anti-Jewish discrimination as far as business, export and import permits are concerned. There is no organized anti-Jewish propaganda, but often deprecatory anti-Jewish remarks are to be heard.

The attitude of the Catholic Church is neutral. It avoids any reference to the Jewish question.

Q. Defamation in
schools, textbooks.
Attitude of teachers.

- A. Textbooks do not contain any anti-Jewish remarks. The attitude of some teachers, members of French rightist parties and often former Vichyites, is not very Jewish friendly.

Conclusions

It is very difficult to foresee the future of the two-hundred thousand old Jews of Morocco.

It might be said that Moroccan Jewry is between the " devil and the deep sea ". On the one side the French of Morocco are far from being friendly to the Jews. On the other hand, the Moroccan masses, whose Moslem elite looks more and more toward Cairo and the Arab League, constitutes a danger to Moroccan Jewry. Even though this

danger is not immediate, it should not be underestimated.

Until now, and too often, the French Administration has capitalized upon playing the Jews against the Moslems, and the Moslems against the Jews. It is to be hoped that this policy of divide and conquer will be abandoned by the French Administration.

In brief, it might be said that an independent Morocco, governed by Moslems, would look to Cairo for inspiration. This would signify the tolling knell of Moroccan Jewry. In other words, the French Protectorate of Morocco, in spite of all of its shortcomings, is the condition sine qua non for the survival of Moroccan Jewry.

In summary, we might only hope that the present French Government will ameliorate the living conditions of Moroccan Jewry by improving its legal status, educational facilities, housing conditions, etc..