THE "HIDDEN TRANSCRIPT" OF RESISTANCE IN MOROCCAN TAZMAMART PRISON WRITINGS

By Brahim El Guabli

> This death made us realize the seriousness of the situation. We were sentenced to die from hunger, cold, vermin, and illness without succor, mercy, or any other resources except our faith, youth, and our ability to endure and fill time.[1]

Introduction

This article analyzes the "hidden transcript"[2] of resistance in Moroccan prison writings through an examination of the memoirs of two Moroccan army officers,[3] Ahmed Marzouki and Aziz BineBine. Both men spent eighteen years in the enforced disappearance camp of Tazmamart for executing military orders from their superiors during the failed coup d'état of 1971. Because the Moroccan state denied their whereabouts and jailed them in a prison that operated outside the purview of the Ministry of Justice, the inmates of Tazmamart prison meet Amnesty International's definition of victims of enforced disappearance.[4] I argue that instead of crushing

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their will, weakening their endurance, or turning them into malleable uncritical beings, imprisonment and disappearance in the prisons of the *makhzen*—the Moroccan regime—endowed these two men with a greater consciousness of the oppressive nature of the Moroccan regime and to resist prison authority, if subtly. Throughout the reconstructed narratives of the period of their forcible disappearance (1973–91), the captives never yielded to prison discipline willingly, and never internalized the fear the Moroccan regime strove to instill in them. Instead, they employed a myriad of resistance and coping strategies to subvert prison authority and create spaces where they reconnected with freedom, even while they were in total confinement and isolation. Additionally, I will show that the publication of their prison memoirs, and those of other political prisoners from the "years of lead" (1956–99), pushed the boundaries of fear and contributed to the emergence of a culture of defiance in the wider Moroccan society. The state apparatus had indeed the means to obliterate people and make them disappear but, as Tazmamart narratives show, it was not able to overcome the detainees' refusal to submit to an abject death.

Drawing on Irving Goffman's analysis of the functions of "total institutions"[5] and Michel Foucault's seminal work *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*,[6] this article explores how Tazmamart captives resisted prison conditions, discipline, docility, and authority through their writings. James Scott's notion of "hidden transcript," which describes "discourse that takes place "offstage" beyond direct observation by powerholders,"[7] is especially useful in revealing "the disguised, low-profile, undeclared resistance"[8] that took place in Tazmamart during the "years of lead." By applying Scott's theory to Marzouki's prison memoir, *Tazmamart Cell 10*,[9] and BineBine's *Tazmamort: Eighteen Years in the Jail of Hassan II*, which portray the detention experiences of the two authors in the secret detention camp of Tazmamart in the period between 1973 and 1991, I will elucidate these everyday forms of resistance to discipline and prison authority, and demonstrate how survival was part and parcel of resisting this authority, while recognizing its cultural and political implications for the larger Moroccan society.

Contextualizing the Years of Lead and the Birth of Tazmamart (1956-99)[10]

The "years of lead," otherwise known as the "dark years" or the "years of ember and lead,"[11] refer to the period between Morocco's independence in 1956 and the death of King Hassan II in 1999, a period during which state terror reigned over Morocco and muzzled the entire society politically and intellectually. Mass and systematic violations of human rights, including long-term forced disappearance of political dissidents and army officers, characterized the lawlessness and total impunity with which the state security apparatus operated. The former political detainee, Noureddine Saoudi[12] described the "years of lead" as:

> a long dark period of our Moroccan contemporary history, during which serious violations of human rights were committed by a regime that, despite a multipartite façade, pursued a policy of systematic and violent repression of any opposition, with all its corollaries of arbitrariness and barbarity of another age.[13]

Saoudi goes on to enumerate crimes the Moroccan state perpetrated against its own citizens during a period when the state considered any political engagement subversive. The traumas that Saoudi describes during this period are too numerous to be detailed here. Nevertheless, a major consequence of this repressive political atmosphere was the sabotage of all forms of trust between Moroccans and their state institutions.[14] In democratic states, institutions like the judiciary, as well as the parliament and political parties, serve as a bulwark against abuse of power, but their Moroccan counterparts were part and parcel of the dictatorial project. The deleterious consequence of this situation was that a large section of Moroccan people became suspicious of schools, libraries, courthouses, universities, theaters, and even the cinema. Public entities, including the political parties and nongovernmental organizations, lost their credibility, having been infiltrated by the state. Until recently, Moroccans would not engage in conversation about any political topic, no matter how mundane, in a public space unless they trusted their interlocutors. The existence of Tazmamart deterred them from voicing their political opinions. Consequently, Tazmamart became synonymous with disappearance, "*ghabra*,"[15] or even "deletion" from the face of the earth in the collective imagination.[16]

Postcolonial Morocco emerged from its struggle against French colonization (1912-56) only to be caught in the throes of what Jack Mapanje defined as "the Kenyan predicament,"[17] which

> manifested itself in almost every independent African country, where variants of colonial legislation were never substantially revised; instead they were extended to sustain African leaders' programmes of corruption, nepotism, imprisonment, exile, torture, and elimination of political dissent.[18]

The Moroccan version of the "Kenyan predicament" engendered a violent political struggle between the monarchy and the elites of the colonial period on the one hand, and the leftist opposition on the other hand. While the monarchy and its acolytes were taking Morocco toward a capitalist dictatorial system, the leftist forces, especially the National Union of Popular Forces[19] and the remnants of the National Liberation Army, fought for a more democratic regime.[20] Consequently, the Moroccan state imprisoned,[21] tortured or simply forcibly "disappeared" thousands of Moroccan citizens who were engaged in a bone-breaking struggle against the monarchy's political and economic project.[22] The newly independent Moroccan state ironically prevailed itself of colonial laws to exterminate political opposition and silence the challengers of its political legitimacy.[23] The notorious *dahir* (decree) of 29 June 1935, which Moroccans disparagingly nicknamed *dahir kullu ma min sha'nihi* ("anything the nature of which is of the sort"), drastically curtailed individual liberties.[24] According to the stipulations of this colonial decree, resistance, both active and passive, to the colonial authorities was outlawed.[25] Moreover, the decree—the wording of which is very ambiguous—prohibited incitement to public disorder and disrespect of the authorities.[26] The later *dahir* of 20 July 1936 "mandated prison terms for demonstrations and other actions that disturbed order, peace, and security."[27] The amendment of the latter on 26 July 1939 helped instate a loophole that criminalized any sort of political action against the colonial power. The amendment established a prison term for the "fabrication, the distribution, or the sale of tracts '*de nature à troubler l'ordre, la tranquilité ou la sécurité*.'"[28] King Hassan II's regime availed itself of these colonial laws to spread "state terror," in its attempt to nip dissent in the bud. Until recently the mere mention of the police or the gendarmes was enough to

spread terror in an entire village.[29] Instead of the Sûreté Nationale (Police) providing a feeling of security and quietude for the citizens, it became an institution of "national terror" due to its long history of torture, kidnapping, and brutal assassination of political dissidents.[30]

Throughout his extensive rule (1961-99), King Hassan II wielded both political and religious authority with a democratic façade.[31] Article 19 of the Moroccan constitution consecrates "the king, 'amir al-mu'minin' (commander of the faithful)," as "the supreme representative of the nation and the symbol of the unity thereof."[32] As a result of his unlimited prerogatives, the king is above the law. A new style of government was born, under the name of Hassanian democracy, which "allowed for multiple political parties as long as the king's position as leader of the country and the faith was not questioned."[33] Behind this institutional façade, set up to impress the West, the security apparatus operated with total impunity, sequestering, torturing, maiming, and even "dissolving" people in Darb Mawlay Sharif.[34] The intentional obliteration of political opposition, and the forcible national aphasia that resulted from such an aggressive response to dissidents, fostered a state of corruption that deepened the economic and social disparities between Moroccans. When King Hassan II declared a state of emergency between 1965 and 1971, the country became a police state where General Mohamed Oufkir and Colonel Ahmed Dlimi ruled ruthlessly on behalf of *sidna* (our master).[35]

Despite his unlimited authority under Hassan II, Oufkir harbored larger political dreams. Having won the highest honors that the French army bestows on its officers, Oufkir was an ambitious man who was not content with playing a secondary role as a member of the king's retinue. He therefore conspired with young upstanding army officers from different backgrounds to foment two consecutive coups d'état, the first on 10 July 1971 (the Skhirat attack on the king's forty-second birthday) and the second an attack on the king's plane on 16 August 1972.[36] The coups d'état failed and those either directly or indirectly involved in them, including Oufkir himself, were executed or "disappeared" to serve as an example for other officers in the future.[37] With the failure of the coups d'état and the subsequent "suicide"[38] of Oufkir in August 1972, the Moroccan gulag was born in 1973, under the name of Tazmamart. Fifty-eight officers and non-commissioned officers, including Ahmed Marzouki and Aziz BineBine,

were forcibly disappeared from the official Kénitra Civil Prison where they were serving their jail term. They were sent to a clandestine detention camp, in the middle of the desert in what is now called Errachidia governorate.

It is important to point out that General Oufkir and Colonel Dlimi each played a primary role in shaping the history of state violence in Morocco during this period. While Oufkir was a pure product of the colonial school, which he served diligently, Dlimi was a brilliant graduate of the prestigious Académie Royale. After the suspicious suicide of General Oufkir, Dlimi became the king's most trusted military adviser until a car "accident" took his life in 1983 in the chic la Palmerie neighborhood in Marrakesh. Tazmamart detainees, especially Ahmed Marzouki, the author of *Tazmamart Cell 10*, suggest that Dlimi was the person in charge of their dossier, and hence the person most responsible for their ordeal.[39] Muhammad al-Qadi, the notorious director of Tazmamart, was from Meknes, Dlimi's native city, which may explain his unbound feeling of impunity.

The Liberating Effects of Prison Literature on Moroccan Society

To the *makhzen*'s disappointment, not all the detainees perished in the death camp, making the denial of its existence and its erasure from memory impossible. The existence of survivors, and their undertaking to consign their lived experience to different artistic genres, including memoirs, novels, poetry, cartoons, and paintings, challenged the *makhzen*'s continued denial of the existence of Tazmamart throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, these writings brought attention to the suffering of the victims and their families, as well as to the impact of the "years of lead" on their larger communities. Tazmamart memoirs, specifically, share two major characteristics. First, they are written in an accessible language—both in Arabic and French—that does not deploy arcane or abstruse terminology. Second, they focus on the direct recollection of the disappearance experience the way the prisoners lived it or retrospectively remember living it. As a result, the experience is made accessible to a wider Moroccan readership. Therefore, these qualities make these narratives easier to read and identify with.

The publication of Tazmamart narratives, and many other prison accounts, would have been a major event for Moroccan intellectual and

political life even if the narratives were of no literary or linguistic interest. Beyond the atrocities they recount, however, these prison narratives reconstruct both language and literature—and the powers invested in each—from the ground up. Their publication by the victims both in Morocco and abroad, in Arabic and French, and the unprecedented success with which the Moroccan and international readership met their publication, laid the foundation for an entrenched culture of resistance.[40] One of the consequences of these publications was the acceleration of the process of intellectual emancipation of Moroccans and the unbridled opportunities it offered them to denounce, condemn, and protest the long-established reign of fear. "Prison literature," in the words of Munir al-Akhdar, "played a role in the emergence of a human rights and political consciousness which will pressure the political regime to furnish political and constitutional guarantees that are required to overcome the past, preserve the collective memory and avoid the repetition of what happened."[41] Tazmamart, through the literature that its prisoners produced, metamorphosed into a haunting curse. Not only did it put an end to the prevailing notions of state authority and its fear, but it also greatly undermined the legitimacy of the political regime whose might relied on disabling the agency of its citizens through ingrained fear. Moreover, these memoirs allowed Moroccans to see the *makhzen* not as the undefeatable regime it portrayed itself to be, but rather as a disoriented system gnawed upon by corruption from within.

The hundreds of texts authored by the victims of the "years of lead" laid the ground for the emergence of personal truths. The firsthand nature of these personal truths, being the result of the detainees' experiences in the detention centers, acted as a catalyst for "the cultural vibrancy of the 2000s which seem to have responded to a vital need" to revisit this past.[42] The cultural vibrancy Abdelfattah Fakihani, himself a former political detainee, is referring to here was a major cultural and literary moment in the history of postcolonial Morocco. During the last five years of King Hassan II's life, an atmosphere of political openness reigned in the country. Free nonpartisan newspapers were established, such as *Le Journal Hebdomadaire, al-Sahifa*,[43] and *al-Ahdath al-Maghribiyya*,[44] which made utmost use of the climate of freedom to unearth the past. Nevertheless, it was the death of King Hassan II in 1999 that gave a fresh impetus to the flourishing genre of memoir. Moroccans were able to read the serialized memoirs of Mohamed

Raiss, a former Tazmamart detainee, in Arabic in *al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki*, for instance. It is also during this cultural moment that Ahmed Marzouki, Fatna el-Bouih,[45] and others published their accounts of their disappearance and prison experiences, creating a national mood of unprecedented demand for more prison literature. It appears to me that the "vital need" in Fakihani's statement refers to a collective desire on the part of Moroccan people to revisit the dark past, rethink the role of the Moroccan state in perpetrating these crimes, and renegotiate its place in society. Additionally, I suggest that the "vital need" was not a need for catharsis. It was rather a collective desire to see the state acknowledge, apologize for, and atone for its crimes. On the occasion of the investiture of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission on 7 January 2004, the king, Mohammed VI, acknowledged the difficult nature of dealing with this past, yet he fell short of admitting the state's responsibility for its past transgressions or formally apologizing to the Moroccan people.[46]

Liberation, however, is not a given. It is rather the result of sociopolitical actors' multiple sacrifices in the struggles of their society toward emancipation. The ultimate outcome of any social mobilization can only take effect after crossing the threshold of resistance.[47] The spillover of prison resistance into Moroccan society accelerated people's emancipation from fear of the state. However, this collective emancipation would not have been possible without the favorable international climate, which, after the fall of Berlin Wall, put more emphasis on the respect of human rights. The existence of countries applying universal jurisdiction, especially in Europe—the closest Western neighbor of Morocco and its first foreign economic partner—forced the Moroccan officials to curb their erstwhile aggressive policies. The work of Amnesty International and the internal mobilization of homegrown human rights NGOs played a major role in strengthening this resistance and guaranteeing its continuity. This process changed the nature of the relationship between the *makhzen* and the people.

Tazmamart Cell 10 and Tazmamort: Eighteen Years in the Jail of King Hassan II

Merzouki's memoir, *Tazmamart Cell 10*, was published both in French and Arabic in 2001–2. The publication of BineBine's prison narrative, *Tazmamort*,

however, had to wait until 2009. The novelization of his disappearance experience, by the renowned Moroccan francophone writer, Tahar Ben Jelloun, and the ensuing acrimony may partly explain this delay. A first rendering of BineBine's prison memoir appeared as a fictionalized novel by Ben Jelloun in 2001, entitled *Cette aveuglante absence de lumière*.[48] After its publication, Ben Jelloun faced accusations of plagiarizing BineBine's narrative and profiting off of the suffering of Tazmamart survivors. He was also criticized for not using his international stature to condemn the imprisonment of the disappeared army officers in Tazmamart.[49] Former Tazmamart detainees, with Marzouki and Rais at the helm, threatened to sue Ben Jelloun for using their collective misery as grist for his novel. They finally decided to denounce Ben Jelloun's use of their story without resorting to the justice system. While Ben Jelloun faced these accusations, other professional writers, such as Abdelhak Serhane, co-authored books with former prisoners. In addition to his novella *La chienne de Tazmamart*,[50] Serhane published *Kabazal, Les emmurés de Tazmamart* with Salah and Aida Hachad.[51] Rabea Bennouna, the spouse of the disappeared Captain Abdelatif Belkbir, authored *Tazmamart côté femme: témoignage* chronicling the consequences of the disappearance of her husband.[52] These examples give us a glimpse of the complex world of Tazmamart narratives. Tazmamart, and political detention in Morocco during the "years of lead," affected the prisoners and their immediate families, as well as their larger communities. These collective effects of the "dark years" imposed themselves on the Equity and Reconciliation Commission (ERC), which the king established to investigate these past violations. The ERC's final report underscores awareness of the collective dimension of the healing process. Therefore, the report underlines that the Commission's focus "on communal reparation" was motivated by "the damage incurred by certain communities and regions, whether directly or indirectly, as a result of political violence and violations."[53]

Co-authorship is a prevalent characteristic of Tazmamart prison narratives. Even though co-writing is not specific to the Moroccan experience of incarceration, the total isolating nature of Tazmamart and the military background of the prisoners obliged most of the writers to seek outside assistance to write their memoirs. Radwa 'Ashur, the Egyptian academic, rightly notes that prison narratives, as a genre of Arabic literature, "have been produced . . . by professional writers, by one-book authors, and by

ex-detainees who have recorded their prison experience in interviews, oral testimonies, and fragments."[54] 'Ashur underlines the richness of Arabic prison narratives and highlights the diversity of the backgrounds of their writers, which applies to the entire production of Tazmamart prison memoirs.[55] Despite the fact that some victims—like Raiss, Marzouki and BineBine—were able to author their memoirs without or with limited assistance, others relied on professional co-authors to convey their experience.

Tazmamart Cell 10 and *Tazmamort* share many literary and stylistic characteristics, but they depict two rather different incarceration blocks in Tazmamart. Marzouki spent his captivity years in Block 1 while BineBine spent his in Block 2. A slight difference in the topographic locations of the two buildings played a major role in the death toll that was registered in each block. While Block 2 was built in a stream, Block 1 was a little higher. Because of rain in the winter, the inmates of Block 2 were exposed to more humidity and toilet clogging (because of mud and rainwater), which had a damaging effect on their health. Additionally, the social disparities between the somewhat wealthy occupants of Block 1 and their less fortunate fellow prisoners in Block 2 explains the difference in longevity.[56] It might seem strange that social disparities mattered in a disappearance center, but they were a reality in Tazmamart. It was thanks to the ability of some rich disappeared officers to "buy off" the guards that they were able to transgress prison authority. Smuggled money allowed the prisoners to buy medicines and thus limit the death toll in Block 1. Out of twenty-nine prisoners in Block 2, only six survived, while among the twenty-nine prisoners of Block 1, only seven died.[57]

Therefore, the two narratives, despite reconstructing events that happened in the same space of Tazmamart, offer different insights into what happened in their own blocks: the relationships between prisoners, between prisoners and guards, and between prisoners and their incarceration space. Marzouki even asserts that appending *Cell 10* to his narrative was a conscious decision to "not pretend that [he] saw, recounted, and witnessed everything that happened."[58] Nevertheless, he insists on having "witnessed part of what happened in Skhirat and Tazmamart."[59] Marzouki's caveat is a response to Mohamed Raiss who was criticized for adopting an omniscient author's position in his memoir. Raiss wrote about the events he witnessed in person and those he heard about from his colleagues. He never explained, however,

whether he was present when a specific event he reported took place. Yet it is difficult to blame Raiss for desiring to witness everything that happened in Tazmamart. The need to witness may have temporarily influenced his ability to distinguish his story from that of his colleagues. Total objectivity cannot but be elusive, starting with the word *Tazmamort*, which is composed of the first half of the Amazigh word Tazmamart (*Tazma*) and *mort* (death), a pun of its second half (*mart*), that is, *Tazma* and death. It is impossible to be objective when forced to face death.

The former prisoners insisted on both the veracity and objectivity of their narratives for two reasons. First, they were aware that what happened to them belongs to the realm of imagination. Since people cannot visualize it, then it might not have happened. Second, since the authorities erased all the material traces that could support this truth, all that is left for the former prisoners is the process of writing and their claims of veracity. What they witnessed and remembered witnessing was the truth of what they endured. This quest for objective truth is further exacerbated by the "lack of alternative written sources on imprisonment."[60]

Fragmentation and abrupt ending are salient characteristics of the two memoirs. Both Marzouki's *Cell 10* and BineBine's *Tazmamort* follow a linear "three-stage" narrative progression. The first part is dedicated to the years before Tazmamart and the events leading up to the authors' unjust incarceration. They describe the summer of 1973 and their kidnapping from La Prison Centrale de Kénitra,[61] before providing the litany of their tribulations and sufferings in the death camp. The use of "we" is conspicuous throughout the first chapters in which the authors describe Tazmamart. The pronoun "I" is present only when the writers describe the "special suffering" they went through in their own cells, or in Marzouki's case, when he describes his "child" in Tazmamart, Faraj, the pigeon.[62] Interestingly, when the captives are taken from Tazmamart and sent to a makeshift hospital in Ahermoumou military base, the narrative shifts back to "I."[63] It is ironic that the prisoners were taken back to Ahermoumou where Colonel M'hamed Ababou, the director of the Ahermoumou Military Academy under whose orders they attacked Skhirat palace on the king's birthday, conceived and implemented the coup of 1971. BineBine's account ends with his release from prison and return to Marrakesh. Marzouki's, however, continues with his reflections on his post-incarceration life. He describes his time at the University of

Rabat, where he studied law and where he experienced the secret police's perpetual harassment due to their knowledge of his book project in 1995.

Exposing state atrocities was not the sole goal of these two memoirs. Paying tribute to their companions in secret detention is another aim that pervades the narratives. The comrades who died, who are not here to witness and share their piece of truth about Tazmamart, inhabit the two accounts. The narratives resuscitate them in the realm of words and written truth. Because the cases of the dead comrades are treated at such length, the reader may even imagine that they are the authors of the memoirs. Therefore, the obsessive resurrection of comrades, their dialogues, specific sufferings, and outstanding courage in times of despair, gives a perpetual voice to those whose voices were silenced by death in the disappearance camp. As if to demonstrate that he is aware of the lengths to which he goes to celebrate his dead colleagues, Marzouki furnishes a justification of his choice:

> If we are providing examples of the way in which our colleagues died, it is because we want to commemorate their memory and pay tribute to their resistance. We want to show the Moroccan people what their brothers in religion, humanity, and fatherland endured so that they remember them whenever they face a disaster. Remembering is loyalty and loyalty is acknowledgement, and acknowledgement is esteem, commemoration, and condemnation of injustice so that it does not happen again.[64]

The authors question the end result of Tazmamart. Existential questions permeate the narratives and the writers incessantly interrogate the nobility of human nature. Marzouki muses:

> So what? What did the torturers gain from all this useless torture? Favors? Importance? Wealth? Rank? Distinction? Important positions? Medals? So, where is the fear of God? And if they don't believe in God, where is their conscience? Where are values? Where are principles? Where did the human in them disappear? Weren't bullets easier and more merciful since they were determined to kill us anyway?[65]

This indictment of subservience, cupidity, and absence of principles, if taken at face value, might seem directed at the people involved in the prisoners' captivity. A deeper analysis, however, reveals that it is the whole Moroccan

society that is the object of criticism for its failure to rise up against the state abuses. Behind Marzouki's questioning of human nature lies a clear desire to expose the indirect complicity of Moroccans with the *makhzen* in its violations of human rights. Silence, motivated by opportunism or sheer fear, prolonged the suffering of the disappeared in Tazmamart and other secret detention camps. That, according to the writer, is sufficient to make all Moroccans accomplices in the torture enterprise. Marzouki propounds indirectly that society can only expunge this deadly sin from its record by refusing to stand by such state atrocities in the future. Standing by is, in itself, a form of participation in the torture meted out on the disappeared detainees of Tazmamart; inaction becomes a posture in itself. The bread uprising in Casablanca (1981) and the popular revolt in Nador in the Rif (1984) against the government's decision to increase food prices show that Marzouki is not entirely correct that the people were resigned to injustice. Yet his allegation that society did not do enough to liberate itself from tyranny contains some truth. Mustafa Khalifa, a Syrian political detainee of the 1980s and 1990s, leveled the same accusation at Syrian society in his prison memoir, *The Shell: The Diary of a Voyeur*: "But is it believable that this great people do not know what is happening in their country? If they do not know, that is a disaster. If they know and they do not do anything to redress the situation, the disaster is even greater. I concluded that this people must be either doped or stupid."[66]

Imprisonment, Discipline, and Hidden Transcript

Irving Goffman coined the term "total institutions," whose "encompassing or total character . . . is symbolized by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests, or moors."[67] Goffman divided these total institutions into five categories according to their social functions. They include institutions designed for special needs people, sanitaria and mental hospitals, prisons and P.O.W. camps, military bases, and cloisters.[68] Prisons belong to the third category, which is designed to "protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it."[69] Goffman found that despite the intent of total institutions to sever ties between inside and outside, the inmates try to foil control by

resorting to numerous strategies, including "messing up," which "involves engaging in forbidden activity."[70] He also discusses "secondary adjustments" which "provide the inmate with important evidence that he is still his own man."[71] By finding ways to escape, circumvent, and minimize the effects of prison control, the prisoners cling to their humanity and refuse to become subservient. This refusal to abdicate one's humanity is tantamount to challenging prison authority and standing up against the power vested in the institution. At the same time, Foucault proposed the idea that the aim of the prison system, which appeared in the eighteenth century after popular outcry against public torture of convicts, is to create "docile bodies,"[72] which "may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved."[73] This docility materializes by the intentional breaking of the inner self of the prisoners through the internalization of discipline, even after their release. By their very nature, prisons, in their efforts to reeducate prisoners, are designed to rob inmates of agency. Foucault's analysis focuses on the intention of the carceral institution, but overlooks the interactions that develop between the inmates inside the institution itself. This interpersonal contact, in turn, creates a culture of counter-discipline among the prisoners. Moreover, reality belies the assertion that prisoners are reformed after their release; recidivism rates provide a clear challenge to this claim.

According to Foucault, the appearance of the prison system necessitated the refinement of technologies and "procedures for the individual and collective coercion of bodies."[74] Even prison architecture was designed "to transform individuals; to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them."[75] Foucault asserts that "[s]tones [i.e., disciplinary institutions] can make people docile and knowable."[76] Moroccan prison narratives, however, including BineBine's and Marzouki's, contradict Foucault's conclusion that prison space and its myriad technologies transform inmates into "docile bodies"[77] who internalize discipline. Foucault's conclusion relates to the final goal of imprisonment. But the various forms of resistance that inmates undertake to subvert, eschew, and limit the power of the prison system contradict the notion that docility is inevitable. From smuggling a magazine into Tazmamart to buying antibiotics and corresponding with their families, the prisoners demonstrated the limits of this carceral enterprise. Moreover, writing memoirs and joining human rights organizations after

eighteen years of disappearance proves that incarceration transformed the detainees into staunch resisters of tyranny.

While acknowledging the influential contribution of Foucault's scholarly research in understanding the workings of power in society, Scott challenges his assertion that discipline is what defines people's behavior in unequal positions of power.[78] For that purpose, he devised the concept of "hidden transcript" to describe "the discourse that takes place 'offstage' beyond direct observation by power-holders."[79] Scott distinguished between two levels of resistance among the subordinate groups: the "open, declared form of resistance, which attracts most attention" and "the disguised, low-profile, undeclared resistance."[80] Due to the unique legal nature of their imprisonment, Tazmamart detainees opted for continuous everyday forms of resistance.

Tazmamart writings are consistent with Scott's analysis. While prisoners in Tazmamart had no respect for the warders, they tended to show them deference for two reasons. First, the warders had the power to take away their small privileges, such as allowing them to help a sick colleague or keeping the peepholes of their cells open to let in air and light. Second, the prisoners had a long-term strategy for winning the warders' friendship, which would serve to attract international organizations' attention to their plight. Only the guards had the ability to serve as a liaison between the inside and the outside of Tazmamart. Nelson Mandela best expressed this pragmatic resistance in his memoir, when he explained how he and the other prisoners "became aware that in terms of [their] daily lives…an ordinary warder, not a sergeant, could be more important to [them] then the Commissioner of Prisons or even the Minister of Justice."[81] Warders in Tazmamart, even more than on Robben Island, had an absolute power due to the obscure legal status of the detention camp, which operated outside the control of the Ministry of Justice. BineBine, however, reports a case of categorical resistance,[82] when one day he confronted one of the guards directly. "You know, for all the treasures of the world, and even if they would last till the end of time, I would never exchange places with you," he writes.[83] This categorical refusal to exchange places with torturers is a pervasive theme in the prison narratives documenting the "lead years." This stance shows the degree of contempt and disrespect the detainees held for their jailers.

More importantly, sometimes the prisoners had more power than their guards. The jailers, in their Tazmamart solitude, sought the sympathy

of the prisoners to ease the pain of the flagrant dissonance between their behavior and their consciences. This situation tipped the balance of power, since prisoners, entrusted with secrets of their jailers, wielded a sizable wealth of information that could put an end to the jailers' careers if a prisoner divulged them. The apparently powerless prisoner saved his jailer's life and provided an attentive ear to his misfortunes. The captives became the psychologists of their jailers as is shown by this passage from *Tazmamort*:

> From time to time, the prison guards would have a bout of melancholia during which their remorseful souls forced them to look for a sympathetic ear to assuage their conscience. Not daring to open up to their colleagues, because of fear of calumnious denunciation, they fell back on our passivity. In general, they chose the most discreet prisoner.[84]

This situation is exceptional. The jailer, regardless of all his might and the destructive state power vested in him, seeks his victims' sympathy in order to express empathy, however indirectly, for the prisoners. To prevent guards from feeling any sympathy for the inmates, prison authorities instruct them "not to grow close to the prisoners but rather to impose a regime of institutional violence and random persecution."[85] Sympathizing with the prisoners was a risky enterprise for those who engaged in it, for Captain al-Qadi, the prison director, established an internal surveillance system. I suggest that some of the guards realized that the whole situation was absurd and Tazmamart was beyond what might be considered acceptable punishment for the victim's "crime." One moment that stirred the guards' awareness was when Mbark Taouil, a young officer who was married to a US citizen, enjoyed preferential treatment thanks to his wife's lobbying efforts. As a result, the guards became more sympathetic to the other prisoners. Raiss reports that one of the guards told him that the privileges that Taouil received showed that Moroccan "women were worthless, which made [the guards] angry."[86] They thought it was unjust to treat Taouil differently, just because he was married to a foreign woman. On many an occasion, the guards would openly express their anger at the alleged lesser value of those married to Moroccan women.[87] Defending Moroccan women's honor seems to have justified the risks of sympathizing with the prisoners.

Resisting Prison Conditions: Facing Traumatic Kidnapping

Everything from the trial process to their kidnapping to Tazmamart indicates the Moroccan authorities' intention of creating "docile bodies" out of the army officers as a way to set an example.[88] BineBine and Marzouki received ten and five-year prison terms, respectively, in 1973. One of the paradoxes of their trial was that it was held in a military tribunal under the chairmanship of a civilian judge. Marzouki describes the judge to be the "opposite of the independent judge" who should have been appointed to be in charge of "such a dangerous trial."[89] He condemns their unjust trial, which was tainted with different procedural flaws that rendered its decisions void and null. Two years into their predicament, some officers were released, while fifty-eight others remained in the Prison Centrale de Kénitra to serve their long jail terms. Instead of remaining in a legally recognized prison and being treated as political prisoners, they were abducted and disappeared in the Moroccan gulag for eighteen years.

The authorities carried out this traumatic kidnapping in order to break the prisoners and crush their will and, by so doing, embody the perfect example of *tarbiya makhzeniyya* (discipline).[90] The people responsible for this illegal jail could have transferred the prisoners during the day, but the operation was designed to shock and set an example for future military personnel. Therefore, the regime sought to prove its boundless ability to punish those who dare carry arms against the king. *Tarbiya*, in the *makhzeni* sense, does not refrain from using any means necessary to create the most subservient, deaf, mute, and obsequious beings imaginable. BineBine's account provides a vivid description of the prisoners' collective journey to the unknown:

> In the middle of a sweltering hot August night in 1973, a swarm of policemen and gendarmes stormed our building and opened the cells. One by one, they blindfolded us, handcuffed us, and loaded us in trucks that had been parked inside the prison yard. Even during the events, I have not seen such a deployment of force. They must have prepared their strike; the operation did not last for a long time. In a jiffy, they emptied the cells, loaded us on the trucks, and the trucks took the road toward the air force base where army jets had been ready. At dawn, we arrived to a place we did not know and which we

> could not see anyway: Errachidia airport. Other military trucks were waiting for us this time. Our journey into the unknown had started.[91]

The prisoners were not just kidnapped from their "legal" imprisonment but were also subjected to various forms of sadism, which foreshadowed the torture awaiting them. Marzouki's account contains multiple instances of the prison authorities' deliberate endeavors to rob the prisoners of their humanity. While the prisoners were being flown to their new location, a police officer mercilessly whispered in the ear of one of them that they "were going to be thrown into the sea, in this dark night, to be served as a delicious food for the hungry whales."[92] This incident had an enduring psychological impact that Tazmamart captives did not neglect to mention.

Kidnapping, fear, sadism, and inhuman treatment mingle to constitute the special rites of passage to the subterranean world of Tazmamart, which required from prisoners extreme levels of endurance and a highly definite hidden script of resistance in order not to surrender and succumb. After their arrival on site, army officers and gendarmes probed the prisoners' identities before opening the cells, where they would be buried alive for almost twenty years. Marzouki likened the brutality of that passage to "delivery to 'Izra'il [the archangel of death]."[93] This constitutes a predictive metaphor of the sufferings that they were to endure. Most of the warders of Tazmamart, however, represent the antithesis of the characteristics of this archangel, 'Izra'il, who is believed to be merciful at taking people's lives. The same leitmotif is found in *Tazmamort* where BineBine describes his cell number 13 as the "grave of [his] life."[94] Yet, and contrary to what the state agents think, this intentional torture of the detainees is a symptom of weakness. Elaine Scarry, in her epochal study of torture, found that it is "precisely because the reality of power is highly contestable, the regime so unstable, that torture is being used."[95] The myriad forms of pains deliberately inflicted on the Tazmamart inmates, though deployed to reify state power on the bodies of its subjects, instead brought to light the tenuous nature of the regime's self-declared authority. Hence, the *makhzen*'s power could be construed as emanating only from its ability to inflict pain, and not from a higher philosophical ethos that Moroccan people were supposed to share. This rule of pain, opposite to all expectations, showed its limitedness and exposed the fragility of state power in front of the stranded and tortured bodies of its victims in Tazmamart.

No sooner had the kidnapped prisoners reached this infernal location than the questions of survival arose. Survival implies a continuous struggle to dominate the incarceration space and defeat the mental discipline that the jailers seek to instill. After entering his cell and seeing a five-liter plastic jerrycan, a shabby blanket dated 1936, a plate, and a plastic cup, BineBine inferred that his sojourn there was not going to be an excursion.[96] Two months after they arrive to Tazmamart, the *makhzen*'s captives tried an open "act of defiance":[97] an open hunger strike to ameliorate their incarceration conditions. But one of the guards, Ahmad Kharbush, who was the prisoners' only ally and consequently lost his job and was himself jailed in Tazmamart, convinced the prisoners that their effort was futile "as long as international opinion does not know anything about your situation, and as long as the director [of the prison] is one of these people who only understands the language of iron and fire."[98]

Kharbush epitomizes Mandela's previous quote. The prison wardens have the power to be devils, as well as the power to be angels. By advising them to stop their hunger strike, Kharbush assisted the prisoners in devising viable alternatives to sustain their struggle in the long run. Kharbush's criticism of al-Qadi and his superior in the military hierarchy marks not only a conscientious guard's condemnation of the injustice meted out to fellow military personnel, but essentially a rare endeavor from a guard to prod the prisoners to resist prison authority. Additionally, Kharbush's act could be interpreted as the first act of resistance to Tazmamart from within the system itself. It is unusual for a noncommissioned officer to openly criticize his/her superior without having a very strong intellectual framework from which the criticism emanates and which can ameliorate the consequences should the criticism be exposed and punished. Nothing indicates that Kharbush regretted the actions for which he was jailed in Tazmamart after Ahmad Shahbun, his colleague and undeclared enemy, informed al-Qadi of his gestures toward the prisoners.[99]

Kharbush's advice opened the prisoners' minds to negotiating ways to survive collectively and individually without abdicating the right to communicate their conditions of incarceration to the world. BineBine was inspired to "react quickly, make some radical decisions, eradicate from [his]

mind any questioning, anything that would obstruct, paralyze or pull it downward towards the abyss of regret and despair."[100] Survival for him, at the individual level, implied forgetting the outside and concentrating on dealing with the inside, the disappearance camp. Finding ways to adapt to, deal with, and surpass the four walls of the cell, and connect to a higher sphere that transcends the immediate outside, he writes:

> I decided to forget about the outside. I had neither family nor friends, neither intimate memories nor future. I am here and nowhere else other than here. My cell was my universe; my friends of misfortune were my society, my culture, my faith, all my richness. It was imperative to be resigned, forget the whys and the wherefores.[101]

BineBine's awareness that his survival depended on his behavior inside his new universe provided survival options that would ultimately allow him to withstand Tazmamart and tell his story. The mere use of the word "universe" to describe his cell denotes his success in seeing constellations of opportunities where others saw only death, decrepitude, deprivation, and depression. Perceiving a universe, with all its infinitude, in a dirty, cold, insect-infested, and lonely cell must have been the outcome of BineBine's fertile imagination, which offered him unlimited options in resisting the prison space. BineBine achieved self-transcendence, which Florence Paravy considers one of the paradoxes of "this strange place where, in the most inhuman conditions, a subject is pushed to make marvelous human progress."[102]

Marzouki alludes to the same survival strategies, but focuses on the group perspective in Block 1. Throughout the first chapters of his autobiography, the urgency of adjusting to prison conditions as a prerequisite to survival is palpable. He praises the wisdom and intelligence of his co-detainees who immediately felt the need "to organize [them]selves and resist with the means available in order to keep [their] morale high or at least to keep the beam of hope that will allow [them] to continue this infernal journey until Allah might accomplish a matter already enacted."[103] The hidden transcript of resistance is turned toward devising ways to survive the imminent death the makhzen sent them there for. Storytelling, Qur'anic recitation, fictitious visits to Paris, and imaginary invitations over dexterously made, delectable dishes constituted the ingredients of this collective hidden transcript of resistance.[104] BineBine even considered his being in Tazmamart a fulfillment

of a higher purpose. Storytelling "was my contribution to the collective life: the travel by voice. I did not just happen to be there fortuitously."[105] In order for him to devoutly carry out the celestial mission entrusted to him, he made huge sacrifices to bring happiness to Block 2 by sharing French, Russian, and American stories he memorized:

> I took a trip into the past each night. I dusted off my old readings, revisited popular cinema theaters in my neighborhood, and I revived the warm and engaging voice of my nanny who filled my nights with extraordinary stories. Then, during the day, I narrated my nocturnal harvest to some prisoners…who drank every word I said, and took advantage of this escape, of this window that opened on the dream or on another culture for some of them.[106]

Storytelling was the prisoners' connection to the outside. They told each other stories and roamed the streets of the major cities in the world while sitting in their dark isolated cells in southeast Morocco. Additionally, they organized mental visits to each others' kitchens to relish the most succulent dishes, and satiate their famished bodies by listening to the most mesmerizing words, evoking tagines and ripe fruits. One day an inmate sent BineBine a chunk of bread to show his gratitude and admiration.[107] Giving away a piece of bread in Tazmamart is the summit of altruism. It is a generous act that shows how BineBine's stories contributed to the collective survival in Block 2. It also shows the tacit agreement that existed between the prisoners to fight for survival. If the storyteller survived, so would everyone else, for his stories took the prisoners to alternative imaginary spaces where freedom ruled.

The "outside" was equally a source of defeat, however, for those prisoners who failed to remove its beckoning images from their minds. Nostalgia for the past was a source of suffering for those who were not able to redeem themselves from its grip, like Shumaysha, "Little Sun" in Moroccan Arabic. He was one of the prisoners in Block 2 who failed to remove, or at least block, his personal past from interfering with his present. His was the lot of all those who were not able to rid themselves of the outside and the deleterious nostalgia as a corollary to it:

> To the last breath, Shumaysha never understood nor accepted what happened to him—his presence in this hole. He could not understand

> why his life, his career, that he was so proud of, and his social status that he acquired thanks to his hard work (were gone). He could not understand why everything evaporated like smoke.[108]

Banning thoughts of the outside is part and parcel of the prisoners' endeavoring to conquer the prison space. Blocking thoughts about family, friends, sweet memories, and beloved ones allowed them to channel their energy toward the crucial ongoing battle of circumventing al-Qadi's all-encompassing authority, and his guards' panoptic breath-counting surveillance.

By surviving and refusing to be subdued by the jail authority, Tazmamart prisoners would defeat the *makhzen* twice: physically and morally. Marzouki renders the insistence on physical survival as a collective enterprise in Block 1. It is the result of their awareness that their mere physical survival would be a blow to the pride of the makhzen. Withstanding torture, seclusion, hunger, and dire weather conditions to come back to life after two decades of interstitial existence is in itself a clear announcement of the failure of the makhzen's efforts to stifle the truth about Tazmamart. This truth, specifically, cannot be manipulated due to the concrete presence of the tormented bodies, the survival of the resistant souls, and the written words that wove torment and resistance into a two-sided tableau on which the state could see its defeated face. Years later, Marzouki would describe the "pleasure he derived from [his] feeling of victory over this *makhzen* that used all means to crush [him]."[109]

Resisting Tragedy through Humor

In her study of Argentine women's writings, Edurne Portella argued that former prisoner writers used black humor to "find courage and alertness to resist their oppressive situation."[110] In the same vein, Marzouki and BineBine's use of humor ridiculed the *makhzen*'s inability to break their will to survive. Moreover, dark humor indicates that the prison and disciplinary technologies have only a limited ability to prevent prisoners from moving beyond their pain, thus transforming the circumstances of their confinement into a space where they can laugh, joke, and experience happiness. Prison authority had no power to stop the inmates' natural desire to laugh and have fun.

Marzouki reported an instance of "off-stage"[111] discourse of black humor in his remembrance of another Block 1 prisoner, Mahjub Elyakidi,

who received a twenty-year jail sentence. Contrary to what would be expected from a person whose fate was sealed, Elyakidi found humor in the situation. He established parallels between the two hard currencies at that time and his long prison term: "Twenty years are the equivalent of the dollar and the deutschmark.... Only strong and prosperous people, like me, use it in their dealings. Three years, five years...are worthless. They are weak currencies that are only used by weak and pathetic beings like you."[112]

By reappropriating the traumatic effects of such a heavy jail period, Elyakidi overcame his sadness and focused his attention on prison space itself, transforming his long sentence into a risible topic. His words convey not only the pleasure he derived from ridiculing his hopeless situation, but his ability to find laughter in the midst of tragedy. What would be more painful to the might of the *makhzen* than ridiculing its enterprise and its inability to stamp out a prisoner's enthusiasm for life? Ridiculing the sentence revealed an even deeper contempt for the judiciary system, whose judges were turned into foolish clowns. To challenge the putative sanctity of the judicial decisions, the prisoners poked fun at them.

Another subversive use of humor appears in the story of Captain al-Qadi, the prison director, who was the object of a highly elaborate hidden transcript of resistance. Despite al-Qadi's godlike authority, the captives created a hidden transcript in which they mocked him under the code name *l'homme à babouches* (the man with the slippers).[113] Al-Qadi was so confident of his above-the-law status that he ruled his prison-military-base in civilian clothes. The law requires military personnel to wear official attire even when they are no longer on duty. Yet, al-Qadi, fully aware of the exceptional nature of his mission, ran roughshod over the dress code. The prisoners' narratives abound with allusions to al-Qadi's cupidity and his embezzlement of the meager food supplies. They described him and his prison guards only with contempt and disdain, considering them "residues of colonization, poor wretches who lost their souls after selling their conscience to a system of which they are the byproducts and of which they understand nothing."[114] The system they represented not only tortured people to death, it also embodied, for the prisoners, moral corruption and exploitation, evoking the bygone era when humanity had no qualms about justifying colonialism. Al-Qadi is described as "an old *goumier* . . . cannon fodder . . . the executor of the dirty work."[115]

One of the many ironies of Tazmamart is the educational divide between the majority of the prisoners and the guards. While the officers attended the best Moroccan, French, and US military academies, their warders—including al-Qadi—were mostly low-ranking soldiers in the military hierarchy who had no understanding of the political implications of the enterprise in which they were participating. Since al-Qadi and the prison guards represented the Moroccan regime, the prisoners, by ridiculing their low educational achievements also indirectly ridiculed the entire political system. Marzouki contrasted al-Qadi's broken French with the highly educated army personnel who were at his mercy: "Ji ni sui quane simbel ixicuta" (*je ne suis qu'un simple exécutant*/ I am only a simple executive).[116] This is a realization of Bakhtin's assertion that "[l]aughter demolishes fear and piety before an object."[117] By ridiculing its agents, the prisoners desacralize political authority and clear themselves of its fear.

Interestingly, the same topic is present in other prison works in Morocco. Abraham Serfaty, the Moroccan opposition leader, who was incarcerated in la Prison Centrale de Kénitra, described how he was offered a painting representing "a multicolored buffoon, holding a big stick," and how he used this picture to decorate the door of his cell. Since the latter "was usually open during the day, this clown became [his] way of mocking tyranny."[118] Humor was directed to tyranny in its bastion, inside the prison walls. Salah El Ouadie, a former political detainee, considers humor "the last resort where a human soul—subjected to oppression, obliteration, and humiliation—can preserve its will . . . . It (humor) is the most destructive weapon against which oppression can do nothing."[119] Finding humor in Tazmamart was the most transcendental expression of the prisoners' will to refuse humiliation and accept death with dignity.

Laughter is the prisoners' efficient tool to refuse their dehumanization. Elizabeth Oswald states that "laughter (like singing) served two purposes in prison—opposition to the authorities and spiritual renewal of the prisoner himself."[120] Oswald's conclusion concerns political imprisonment in South Africa; it also holds true in the Moroccan context, and Tazmamart specifically. Mohamed El Ghalou's valorous stance on death illustrates the ability of laughter and fun to generate spiritual renewal. Marzouki's description of El Ghalou puts us in front of a man whose death was imminent, but refused to surrender. He was able to "tell funny jokes,"[121] even though bedsores

were gnawing at his flesh and his fleshless bones were rubbing against the floor of his lonely cell.[122] In addition to clinging to his humorous spirit, El Ghalou sent the most beautiful lyrics to his beloved:

> My beloved…if our reunion becomes impossible
> Come to me, so that we, together, melt in a long embrace
> If we die and are buried together
> Our bones will, in our grave, embrace forever.[123]

Had El Ghalou not internalized the spirit of resistance, his morale would have sunk, and regrets would have eaten him up even quicker than bedsores. Having regrets in this death camp was the pathway to docility, which constitutes the antithesis of the prisoners' hidden transcript. The Tazmamart as reconstructed in prison memoirs was a place where small and big acts of resistance challenged, with every breath, the authority of the system that was able to "disappear" the prisoners. But it was not able to quell their intent to resist its schemes.

Subversive Activities in Tazmamart: Owning a Radio and Inventing a Coded Language

When one is free, owning a radio can be a trite affair. But managing to smuggle radios into Tazmamart and keeping them working for almost a decade was an act of heroism and open defiance to the disciplinary institution. It was also a tangible proof that Tazmamart captives' hidden transcript of resistance succeeded at opening a sizable breach in the prison camp's isolating walls. Manipulating human cupidity and reversing the rules of the prison environment, Bouchaib Skiba, one of the detainees in Block 2, traded his gold wedding ring for a radio.[124] Possessing a radio per se is not as significant as the symbolic success of this operation. It meant broaching the thick walls of prison and opening a window to the world. The radio was the starkest circumvention of the security apparatus and sign of its failure to tame the incarcerated. Despite the risk of punishment, prisoners insisted on using their radios to stay informed. Thanks to these magic boxes, they knew that during their incarceration the United States changed presidents four times and France twice. Radios also allowed them to stay abreast of the efforts that were underway all over the world to liberate them. BineBine, nevertheless, recounts a devastating incident when his mother's name was

mentioned in the news among the people decorated by the king. Shaken by this event, he struggled to regain control over the situation, and not succumb to his emotions.[125]

> While I was listening to the news on the national radio station one night, the speaker recited one by one the names of the recipients of the *Wissam de mérite* and I heard my mother's name. She was a financial inspector then. I was shaken by the news, but I regained my senses very quickly. I had no right to cling to such emotions. The most important thing was that my mother was alive, good for her! It was imperative that my mind reintegrate my cell, my universe.[126]

When the bribed guard delivered the radio, the detainees in Block 2 cast their votes to choose the person who would be in charge of it. The choice fell on BineBine, who was tasked with "listening only to the news and reporting them to the group" using a coded language "full of humor and derision, which took years to invent."[127] Reading BineBine describe elections in Tazmamart was the zenith of irony. A group of wretched prisoners were able to vote democratically on a decisive issue, such as operating a radio, despite their "disappearance," while their "free" co-citizens participated in farcical elections. The subtext of BineBine's account constitutes a trial of the electoral processes in Morocco during the "dark years." While voting in Tazmamart was at least worthwhile, because of the tangible effects it had on the lives of the prisoners, participating in the "Hassanian democracy" had no concrete consequences on the electorate's life, for it was merely a masquerade to embellish the façade of authoritarianism.

The invention of a coded language is an indicator of the level of prisoners' self-awareness and their long-term resistance project. "Tazmamarti language" was the result of the exceptional conditions of solitary confinement during which they were held captive and the thick walls of their cells impeded normal communication. Because yelling was the only means of communication available, it was all the more essential for the disappeared to be cautious when they were engaged in their discussion sessions. Aware that "warders were listening to [them] before and after they come to the cells,"[128] protecting their privacy "was necessary and inevitable,"[129] especially so since by the end the 1980s, they had "managed to smuggle transistors, which allowed [them] to capture international news, and because [they]

drowned in discussing these news and analyzing them loudly, [they] came to realize the dangers of speaking without codes."[130]

The Leavening Effect of Prison Resistance

Fran-Lisa Buntman argues that "studies of resistance seek to explain political change, change in individual subjectivity, and collective attitudes, that is the relationship between structure and consciousness."[131] It is important to underline the connections that Buntman establishes between individual subjectivity, collective attitudes, consciousness, and political change. In other words, there are wider social, political, and intellectual implications of individual resistance, the least of which is acquiring a higher consciousness about the oppressive reality of a given society. The resistance of a very limited number of sequestered individuals in Tazmamart, the way it was depicted in their memoirs or reported in their interviews with the media after their liberation, helped establish propitious conditions for a culture of resistance and a collective desire for liberation. Investigating how the writings of and about Tazmamart captives instigated Moroccans to disobey the *makhzen*, question the integrity of the state agents, and dispel the culture of fear can elucidate the "leavening effect" of these writings on the dough of a generalized culture of resistance.

Habib 'Isa, a Syrian dissident who spent several years in jail for founding a human rights organization in Syria in the late 1990s, conceptualized the liberatory mission in a way applicable to the Moroccan detainees. His is an insightful look into the workings of resistance and more importantly of the importance of political prisoners' writings. The former political prisoner has a liberating mission: liberation from both fear and dictatorship. Resistance engenders change, and makes the final walk to the grave full of pride:

> I will write to challenge fear . . . . We should penetrate the prison, even if we had been imprisoned, in order to liberate ourselves from its fear. We should move from the stage of complaining to the stage of change; the state of terror should disappear in order for us to regain our humanity. That is why I decided to write. I decided to send the last call for the Arab people of my generation that our last steps to our graves should be confident, brave, walking tall, and with our

> heads held high. We will, thus, leave a new imprint for the future generations to substitute all the deformities that have taken root in their minds because of decades of fear, humiliation, disappointment, failure, defeat, hesitation, capitulation."[132]

Writing about incarceration experience will remain a multipurposed quest. First, it liberates the writer, in this case 'Isa, from the years of accumulated fears. One would think that experiencing prison would be an eternal antidote against fear. But surmounting its powerful effects on the prisoner demands Herculean courage and, hence, long-term preparation for relentless fighting. Second, by engaging in the process of writing about prison experience, the former prisoner-turned-author makes a clear political choice to side with the forces of liberation. Mustering the courage to revisit and inscribe the prison experience marks a shift from the passive position of complaining to the proactive position of change-making, even though this does not necessarily apply to either of the two authors studied in this Moroccan context. Third, the former prisoner takes on the arduous responsibility of giving faith back to society and, especially, to the younger generations, by revealing the long-occulted forms of resistance that contradict the culture of defeatism that the state apparatus propagates. Breaking the chains of fear and disseminating true stories of what happened in jails and disappearance centers shatters uncritical defeatism that large sections of the population accepted as a fate for a long time. Finally, prison literature offers a new world of possibilities for people to struggle for their rights.

Salah El Ouadie best expounds this latter idea in the Moroccan context in his analysis of the pedagogical role of prison writings in society. Tazmamart taught Moroccans about a period of their history that would have otherwise been forever shrouded in secrecy, but the persistence of the victims and their mastery of the art of writing made their works a public archive. The state has yet to discredit or even correct this archive. It has not provided its own version of what happened. Through these prison narratives, Moroccan society contrasted the political rhetoric with reality. The debunking of the state narrative, which portrayed Morocco as a democracy, took the most solemn form: writing. Through writing, the victims questioned the behavior of the state and engendered debate about the other ways the state could have handled political dissidence. El Ouadie goes as far as to say that

prison writings "awaken a dormant consciousness that the conduct of the state was not right."[133] Oppressed people's liberation cannot happen if they do not gain awareness of their oppressive reality.[134] I believe, following El Ouadie, that Tazmamart writings managed to do just that: they focused the attention of Moroccans on their oppressive reality.

Toward the end of Marzouki's book, when he describes his pride in winning the battle of survival against the *makhzen*, he cannot resist contrasting the political engagement of students during the 1960s and 1970s with that of today. His well-deserved victory was bittersweet: "The huge difference between the students of [his] generation and those of today," in terms of political activism and sociocultural engagement, unsettled Marzouki and prompted him to express his concerns for the future of the country.[135] The distinction was even more salient when Marzouki specified that "the majority of the students in that era were both politicized and hungry for culture. They carried the concerns of their country in their hearts, moreover, ready to side with it and make the dearest sacrifices for it."[136] This open critique of the students specifically demonstrates the former prisoner's perpetual angst and his belief that Morocco cannot achieve a better future if the youth do not participate in shaping it. Marzouki and his colleagues returned from hell to find youth mired in "nonchalance and total resignation from politics,"[137] and it was clearly incumbent on them to revive the activism and political spirit of the past. Needless to say, Marzouki's analysis had some truth to it. The resignation of the largest segment of the Moroccan youth from public affairs was the result of the "years of lead." What Marzouki did not realize is the fact that, as he was rediscovering his freedom, Moroccan youth were trying to reemerge from the ashes of the "dark years." Tazmamart narratives were to blaze the path for this political regeneration that Marzouki was longing for.

When Moroccans discovered Tazmamart narratives, with the serialization of Mohamed Raiss's memoirs by the widely read newspaper, *al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki*, in 1999–2000, they were in a state of denial. What Raiss's memoirs depicted was not their Morocco; it was not the country where they thought they lived. Everything that happened in the disappearance dungeons was antithetical to the political public discourse they had heard for thirty-seven years under King Hassan II. This traumatic encounter with reality catalyzed Moroccans' awareness of the extent of the crimes perpetrated by the state

against their fellow citizens. Consequently, what used to be whispered became public knowledge, the taboos were broken and Moroccans people's discontent with the socioeconomic and political conditions was further exacerbated by these revelations. Raiss's highly developed narratives skills, seconded by 'Abd al-Rahim Jamahiri's strong translation abilities into an accessible-to-all simple Arabic, succeeded in bringing the magnitude of state oppression home to every Moroccan.

The publication of Raiss's somewhat omniscient work,[138] coupled with the publication of individual interviews with survivors of Tazmamart at the time, conquered and opened up new spaces of freedom for Moroccans to express their ideas freely. Tazmamart narratives did not alone push the boundaries of censorship, but they have contributed to the emergence of a culture of defiance, which was embodied in frequent protests, more assertiveness vis-à-vis the police, and less fear in discussing politics in public. Raiss's *From Skhirat to Tazmamart: A Round Trip to Hell*, Marzouki's *Tazmamart Cell 10*, Salah and Aida Hachad's *Kazabal: The Walled of Tazmamart*, as well as many other prison memoirs, stunned Moroccans with their details of atrocity and increased their interest in revisiting the history of that period.

This awareness-building about the past, in the period after Hassan II's death, paved the way for a decade of contestation which culminated not only in putting an end, at least temporarily, to the flagrant disappearance of dissidents, but also made the rehabilitation of the victims of the "dark years" a national priority.[139] Moreover, the rediscovery and forceful return of such emblematic figures in Moroccan political discourse as 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, Mahdi Ben Barka, Shaykh al-'Arab (Ahmad Agouliz) and al-Faqih al-Basri is just one among many other examples that show the success of prison literature in keeping open the questions of memory, history, justice, and continual struggle against dictatorship.

Conclusion

BineBine and Marzouki's renderings of their prison experiences in Tazmamart show no remorse for their involuntary participation in the coup d'état. Both writers transmitted the heroic collective actions of the detainees and shed light on their collective resistance of humiliation, subservience, and abject death. They showed the existence of a hidden transcript of resistance to and

subversion of the omniscient institution. Throughout their narratives the authors allow their audience to see Tazmamart from inside out. Tazmamart, this Moroccan epitome of interminable suffering, is recast as a space that the detainees managed to tame, conquer, and surpass. The camp of death managed to reap the lives of many talented officers, but it failed in its initial mission to dehumanize the prisoners, to deprive them of agency and the ability to take initiative. For despite their advanced decay, the prisoners foiled their jailers' systematic efforts to strip them of personhood.

Writing, during and/or after incarceration, is the most common form of prison resistance. It challenges the desire of the prison authorities to break the will of the imprisoned and defies the "hostile space" itself.[140] In addition to its cathartic value, providing a testimony for the prisoners of Tazmamart is a tribute to the "hole of memory" which, according to Sabine Sellam, makes survival of incarceration possible.[141] Telling through writing establishes a balance of narrative between the truth of power and the power of truth. The truth of power does not need to convince; it requires recognition, acknowledgement, and probably no rejoinder. The power of truth, on the other hand, is all about subverting the truth of power by the exposition of its falsehood. The Moroccan state's truth of power had one irrefutable narrative: Morocco was a democracy where citizens enjoyed the benefits of their citizenship. Yet it could not face the power of truth that emanated from the narratives of its victims or refute their existence as a truth. Those who survived consciously insisted on producing narratives to confront the state truth. In this clash of narratives, the victims' power of truth has the upper hand. The state failed to "tame the voice of the dissidents and make them join subjecthood quietly and subserviently." This failure per se turned Tazmamart prison writings into a beacon of resistance, which has illuminated the path of the Moroccan people in the past decade.[142]

By writing about their collective subversive activities and exposing their hidden transcript of resistance in Tazmamart, BineBine, Marzouki, Raiss, and their companions in misfortune shed light on another aspect of prison life: the bravery and the intransigence of the detainees in their refusal to accept imprisonment as a fate. The narrative resurrection of the prowess of their companions, both those who survived and those who died in Tazmamart, allows the prison authors to appropriate the public space to further resist the encroachments of the state. The organization of

pilgrimage caravans to Tazmamart, public readings from prison memoirs, book signings, media interviews, and sham trials are some of the activities that allowed Tazmamart (and political detention in general) to occupy the public space and embarrass the *makhzen*. Furthermore, Tazmamart narratives, and all Moroccan prison narratives, paved the way for the negotiation of better political and legal conditions wherein Moroccans can enjoy some benefits of citizenship (even though not totally guaranteed) and continue to question their status as the monarch's subjects.

Tazmamart narratives teach us much more than the capability of the state to inflict boundless pain; they show us how this state-inflicted pain meets its match in the form of individual and collective resistance in the mostly unlikely of places. In their total isolation, in the abyss of Tazmamart, the prisoners made the will of life victorious over the will of a dictatorial capital sentence, thanks to their multiple hidden transcripts of resistance. Tazmamart, therefore, serves as a school for subversion and creative action against authoritarianism wherever it is. More importantly, the availability of these narratives helps Moroccans reconstruct and reinterpret their modern history. It is a remarkable feat of resistance that Moroccan prison narratives acquired an archival value about a period the state strove so hard to erase from memory.

1 Aziz BineBine, *Tazmamort: Dix-huit ans dans le Bagne de Hassan II* (Paris: DENOEL, 2009), 72.
2 James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.
3 BineBine had already graduated from the Académie Royale while Marzouki was a student officer at the time of the 1971 coup d'état.
4 Ahmed al-Marzouki, *Tazmamart: al-Zinzana Raqm ⊠Ashara* (Casablanca: TARIK, 2003).
5 Irving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 5.
6 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
7 Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 4.
8 Ibid.
9 Amnesty International, http://www.amnesty.org/en/enforced-disappearances.
10 There is a disagreement among scholars over the exact period covered by the "years of lead." While some scholars limit them to King Hassan II's rule (1961–99), others believe that they started with the independence of Morocco in 1956. The commissions set up by King Mohammed VI however, had the mandate to investigate the entire period from 1956 through 1999.
11 In Arabic *al-Sanawat al-Sawda'*, *Sanawat al-Jamr wa-al-Rasas*, and *Les Années de Plomb* and *Les Années Noires* in French.
12 Unless otherwise indicated, all the translations from Arabic and French contained in this article are mine.
13 Noureddine Saoudi, http://www.mernissi.net/civil_society/portraits/noureddinesaoudi.html.
14 Abdelfattah Fakihani, *Le couloir: Bribes de vérité sur les années de plomb* (Casablanca: Tarik, 2005), 163.
15 *Ghabra* means disappearance in Moroccan Arabic.
16 Fatna el-Bouih reports in her memoir *Talk of Darkness [Hadith al-'atama]* that el-Yousfi Kaddour threatened her, saying, "If you lift the band, I will delete you." The assuredness with which he communicated his threat to el-Bouih is indicative of the state of impunity within which el-Yousfi and his likes were operating.
17 Jack Mapanje, *Gathering Seaweed: African Prison Writing* (London: Heinemann, 2002), 5.
18 Ibid.
19 NUPF was created on 6 September 1959, after a major split within the Istiqlal party. The new political formation had among its ranks members of the National Liberation Army, members of the then-very powerful union l'Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT) and former members of the Istiqlal party.
20 Lise Storm, *Democratization in Morocco: The Political Elite and Struggles for Power in the Post-Independence State* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 17.
21 Estimates vary depending on the sources. It is, however, certain that thousands of Moroccans were victims of the state's relentless and systematic recourse to unwarranted repression to quell dissidence.
22 Storm, *Democratization in Morocco*, 17.
23 The irony is that the post-independence Moroccan state used the same colonial laws to repress many of those who played a key role in gaining Moroccan independence.
24 Marguerite Rollinde, *Le mouvement marocain pour les droits de l'Homme, entre consensus*

national et engagement citoyen (Paris: Karthala, 2002), 27.

25 Eugene Cotran and Chibli Mallat, *YearBook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law,* vol. 1 (London : Kluwer Law International, 1995), 40.

26 Rollinde, *Le mouvement marocain*, 28.

27 Ibid., 27.

28 Ibid.

29 Moroccans started witnessing a qualitative change in terms of respect of human rights and freedom of expression in the last two years of Hassan II's rule. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the international community's emphasis on human rights forced King Hassan II to establish the Human Rights Advisory Council in 1991. It was King Hassan II's death in 1999 that was the major turning point, however, initiating a gradual (though very shaky) reconciliation process between Moroccans and politics.

30 Police brutality is a recurrent topic in Moroccan prison memoirs. There is a general agreement in both civilian and army detainees' narratives on the brutality of the police during their arrest and interrogation.

31 John Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite—A Study in Segmented Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970). King Hassan II became Commander of Faithful in 1962. It was most likely a maneuver to use these newly constitutionalized religious attributes to stifle the leftist opposition.

32 Kingdom of Morocco, *The Constitution Adopted on September 13th, 1996*, http://www.mincom.gov.ma/english/generalities/state_st/constitution.htm (4 of 13) 29 March 2007.

33 Patricia J.Campbell, http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i1a3.htm.

34 For more details see Ahmed Boukhari's memoir *Le secret, Ben Barka et le Maroc*, especially the section about the disappearance of Mahdi Ben Barka.

35 *Sidna* means "our master" in Moroccan Arabic.

36 Gregory White, *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 126.

37 For more details about the disappearance of Oufkir's family and the messages it was meant to send to future plotters, see Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 93.

38 Oufkir's death is the subject of a lot of controversy. While the official narrative advances the theory of his suicide, many independent commentators state that he was executed. For more information see: Touria Khannous, *African Pasts, Presents, and Futures* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 60. See also Christine Daure-Serfaty, *Letter from Morocco* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2003), 23.

39 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10* (Casablanca: Tarik Editions, 2003), 74-75.

40 *Tazmamart Cellule 10* sold more than 65,000, copies in Arabic and French. This makes *Tazmamart Cellule 10* one of the most widely read books in Moroccan history.

41 Munir al-Akhdar, "Adab al-Sujun wa-Muqawamat al-Istibdad al-Siyasi bi al-Maghrib," *al-Hiwar*, 20 March, 2007, 1860.

42 Abdelfattah Fakihani, *Le couloir*, 163.

43 Aboubaker Jamai, a well-known Moroccan journalist, co-founded these two weekly newsmagazines in 1997.

44 This daily Arabic newspaper was founded in 1998 by members of Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP).

45 Fatna el-Bouih, *Hadith al-'Atama* (Casablanca: Fennec, 2001).

46 Here is an excerpt from the king's speech on the occasion of the investiture of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission: "Political prisoners have been pardoned and their

employment-related problems solved; exiles have returned home; victims of arbitrary detention and forced disappearance have received compensation; and cases of missing persons have been investigated." http://www.ier.ma/article.php3?id_article=1297.

47 Fran L. Buntman, *Robben Island and Prison Resistance to Apartheid* (New York: Cambridge, 2003), 236.

48 Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Cette aveuglante absence de lumière* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

49 Valerie Orlando, *Francophone Voices of the "New" Morocco in Film and Print (Re)presenting a Society in Transition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 58.

50 Abdelhak Serhane, *La chienne de Tazmamart* (Paris: Paris-Méditerranée, 2001).

51 Abdelhak Serhane, *Kazabal, les emmurés de Tazmamart*, (Casablanca: Tarik Edition, 2004).

52 Rabea Bennouna, *Tazmamart Côté Femme: Témoignage*, (Casablanca: al-Dar al-'Alamiyya lil-Kitab, 2003).

53 Justice and Reconciliation Commission, *Summary of the Final Report*, http://www.ccdh.org.ma/sites/default/files/documents/rapport_final_mar_eng-3.pdf.

54 Radwa Ashour, *Arab Prison Literature*, http://www.raḍwaashour.net/arab-prison-literature/.

55 Questions of authorship and outside influences on the narrative and the ways in which the co-authors handled the task of remembering and forgetting during the writing partnership are raised. While the veracity of these narratives is not questionable, authorial intervention, especially in the cases where outside helped was acknowledged, needs more probing to determine what was left out and why. This question is beyond the scope of this article, however, and I intend to examine it in a future work. Moreover, it would be interesting to know how the presence of an "outsider" interrupted the flow of memories. The co-author must have had acted either as a stimulator or inhibitor of this work of memory. It takes total trust between what I call the immediate writer (the one who lived the experience and on whose body and memory the book inscribed itself) and the intermediary writer (the one who knows how to write professionally) for the latter to grasp the essence of the unspeakable experience. The prison narrative could be considered a product of a highly elaborate work of intersemiotic translation, thanks to which the author, and the co-author, endeavor to transfer the carceral experience from the realm of the unseen, the memory, and the unspeakable into the realm of written word: the text. Since neither *Tazmamart Cell 10* nor *Tazmamort* was co-authored, these remarks serve only as caveats to keep in mind whenever one deals with prison narratives in general.

56 Wealthy prisoners, like Salah Hachad, bribed the guards to smuggle decent amounts of money from their families. These funds were used to pay the guards to smuggle letters and buy medicines. The prisoners' relationships were strained, however, after the introduction of large amounts of money into the prison space. Some of the prisoners wanted to "monopolize" the money and medicines that their families were sending them. Some prisoners were singled out for their reluctance to contribute to the collective survival endeavor. (See Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10* and Raiss, *From Skhirat to Tazmamart: Return-Ticket to Hell*).

57 We have to keep in mind that the numbers vary due to the fact that some prisoners from Block 2 were transferred to Block 1, because of the arrival of Burayqat brothers and other prisoners from a sub-Saharan African country. Marzouki reports that only seven prisoners perished in Block 1 while twenty-seven lives were lost in Block 2.

58 Abderrahim Houzal, *Writings and Prison: Interviews and Texts* (Casablanca: Ifrikia Ash-sharq, 2008), 35.

59 Ibid.

60 Paul Gready, "Autobiography and the "Power of Writing": Political Prison Writing in the Apartheid Era," *Journal of South African Studies,* no. 3, (September 1993), 491.

61 This is the equivalent of a US high security prison.
62 It means, among other things, happiness after suffering, solution, happy ending and comfort.
63 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 232.
64 Ibid., 172.
65 Ibid., 164.
66 Mustafa Khalifa, *al-Qawqa'a* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 2012), 287.
67 Goffman, *Asylums*, 4.
68 Ibid., 5.
69 Ibid., 5-6.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., 53.
72 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.
73 Ibid., 136.
74 Ibid., 169.
75 Ibid., 172.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., 138.
78 Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 19-23, 83-84.
79 Ibid., 4.
80 Ibid., 198.
81 Buntman, *Robben Island and Prison Resistance to Apartheid*, 114.
82 Ibid., 113.
83 BineBine, *Tazmamort Dix-huit ans dans le Bagne de Hassan II*, 205.
84 Ibid., 155-156.
85 Chuck Korr and Marvin Close, *More Than Just a Game: Soccer vs. Apartheid: The Most Important Soccer Story Ever Told* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2008), 35.
86 Mohamed Rais, *From Skhirat to Tazmamart: Return-Ticket to Hell* (Casablanca: Ifriquia al-Sharq, 2010), 195.
87 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 135-145.
88 The mystery surrounding Tazmamart indicates that the *makhzen* purported to make the captives serve as an example to deter officers from fomenting future coups d'état.
89 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 48.
90 From the Arabic verb *rabba,* which means to educate and discipline. Officials in Morocco say "*ghadi n-rbbik*" (I will discipline you) when they want to threaten someone. This "education" refers to torture, imprisonment and humiliation. "*Al-Makhzen kayrbbi*" means the *makhzen* redresses/disciplines.
91 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 41.
92 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 58.
93 Ibid., 59.
94 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 42.
95 *Elaine Scarry, The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 27.
96 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 44-45.
97 Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 224.
98 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 97.
99 The prisoners had two nicknames for him: Ben Driss and *silk* (the wire).
100 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 45.
101 Ibid.

102 Florence Paravy, "Espace Carceral, Espace Littéraire," in *Littérature et Espaces*, eds. Juliette Vion-Dury, Jean-Marie Grassin, and Bertrand Westphal (Limoges: Presses Univ. Limoges, 2003), 149-56.
103 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 95.
104 *Susan Slyomovics, The Performance of Human Rights in Morocco* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 62.
105 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 51.
106 Ibid., 53.
107 Ibid., 54.
108 Ibid., 67.
109 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 266.
110 Portela, *Displaced Memories*, 76.
111 Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 4.
112 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 190.
113 Ibid., 285.
114 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 113.
115 Ibid., 87.
116 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 140.
117 M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 23.
118 Abraham Serfaty and Christine Serfaty, *La Mémoire de l'Autre* (Casablanca: Tarik, 2002), 250.
119 Houzal, *Writings and Prison*, 77.
120 Eirwen Elizabeth Oswald, "Writing in Hostile Spaces: A Critical Examination of South African Prison Literature" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Johannesburg, 2007)
121 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 160.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
124 BineBine, *Tazmamort*, 158.
125 Ibid., 161.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 119.
129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
131 Buntman, *Robben Island and Prison Resistance to Apartheid*, 249.
132 Habib 'Isa, *al-Nida' al-Akhir li al-Hurriyya* (Paris: Europe, 2002), 15.
133 Houzal, *Writings and Prison*, 82.
134 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1996).
135 Marzouki, *Tazmamart Cellule 10*, 266.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
138 Even inmates criticized Raiss's narrative for its lack of nuance and its author's pretense to have seen and witnessed everything that happened in Tazmamart.
139 The king set up the Independent Arbitration Commission in 1999 to receive and adjudicate the applications of victims of disappearance and those of their survivors. In 2004, he established the Equity and Reconciliation Commission, under the chairmanship of Driss Benzekri, and tasked it with "completing the extrajudicial equitable settlement of the

gross human rights abuses that occurred in the past, and this within the framework of a comprehensive approach which is intended to heal the wounds of the past, compensate for the damage, establish the facts and learn the lessons of the past in order to reconcile the Moroccans with their history and themselves and release their creative energies"; http://www.ier.ma/article.php3?id_article=1395.

140 Oswald, op cit.

141 Sabine Sellam, *L'Ecriture Concentrationnai*re ou la Poétique de la Résistance (Paris: EPU, 2008), 132.

142 Nazih Abu Nidal, *Adab al-sujun* (Beirut: Dar al-Hadatha, 1981), 13.