TEACHING EMPIRE & IMPERIAL TEACHINGS:

A PROPOSAL FOR CONCEPTUALIZING IMPERIALISM IN MOROCCAN HISTORY

CURRICULA

By

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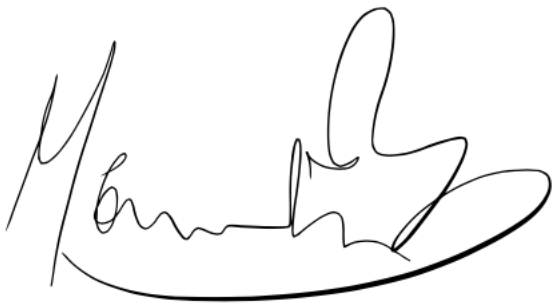

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I, the undersigned, Mariame Maouhoub, candidate for the MA degree in History in the Public Sphere (HIPS), declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research, and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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ABSTRACT

This capstone project intends to contribute to the pedagogical conceptualization of imperialism in Moroccan high school history textbooks. This project suggests an alternative to the Ministry of Education's attempt at defining imperialism for 11th-grade Science branch students in Morocco. To that end, it proposes three textbook chapters that help define the historical phenomena of Western European imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries through different imperial tools. By focusing on defining empire through its tools, this project aims to allow Moroccan high-school students a more concrete understanding of this concept and its empirical illustrations. The proposed chapters give special attention to illustrations from the African continent thus engaging students in a pedagogy of solidarity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I.   Introduction:

This capstone project intends to contribute to the pedagogical conceptualization of "imperialism" in Moroccan high school history textbooks. To that end, it proposes three textbook chapters that help define the historical phenomena of Western European imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries through different imperial tools. Concretely, this project suggests an alternative to the Ministry of Education's attempt at defining imperialism for 11th-grade Science branch students.[1] The proposed chapters are conceptualized in a way that they can be included in 11th-grade history textbooks and follow the same basic structure shared by Moroccan high school history textbooks.

These chapters aim to allow an understanding of the complex ways in which empires function and the tools that are essential to the imperial structure. This contribution is warranted through the existing ambiguities around the concept of empire as portrayed currently in Moroccan high school history textbooks, which focus on establishing a narrative of perpetual Moroccan statehood to the detriment of providing an adequate explanation of empire and imperialism to their audiences. To that end, this study begins with a contextualization of this project's theoretical foundations, before introducing the case of Moroccan high school history textbooks

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[1] A note on history textbooks production in Mororocco: While the production and publication of textbooks is outsourced by the Moroccan Ministry of Education, all textbooks must be made according to the pedagogical directives set by the Ministry which include detailed directives for lesson topics, titles, thematic structures and textbook tables of content. The textbooks produced by private parties then have to be vetted by the Ministry of Education before dissemination. As a result, while each region tends to have a selection of history textbooks, they all include the same information, structure and themes as the ones determined by the Ministry of Education. In this context the criticism and alternatives offered by this capstone project can be applied to all textbooks used in Moroccan high schools since this project focuses its criticism on the Ministry of Education's directives to textbooks makers. That said, this project does offer an example of what Moroccan textbooks look like for reference through the example of *Mawrid Al-Tārīkh-Wa Al Jughrāfiā* (The Resource for History and Geography), one of the textbooks currently used in the Marrakech-Safi region (See Annex 1).

and justifying the proposed alterations, then finally introducing the proposed textbook chapters that promote a concrete understanding of the concept of imperialism with diverse empirical illustrations.

II. **Theoretical Framework:**

1. *Issues in Defining and Escaping Empire:*

The definition of concepts such as "imperialism," "colonialism," and "empire" is central to the purposes of this study. Yet defining the aforementioned concepts is not easily done, and any effort can but inscribe itself as yet another contribution to the dilemma suffered by all historians of empire. Indeed, the controversy around defining these concepts has grown to the extent that it is now commonly acknowledged at the start of every scholarly work concerned with empire studies. That said, this project must choose a working definition of these concepts, not least because it will be useful in evaluating the textbook chapters that accompany this thesis. The need for a working definition is further strengthened by the textbook's clear statement of objectives. In following governmental directives, Moroccan high school history curricula aims to provide an understanding of global movements in the 20th century, namely capitalism and imperialism.

The textbooks' statement of this objective justifies this study by portraying the importance of such an inquiry into the Moroccan history curricula's pedagogical conceptualization of such phenomena. This hereby study thus attempts to contribute to a first step towards mirroring the complexity of scholarly debates and concepts in the field of history into the history curriculum for high school students. As such, I consider that the questions this study poses around the need to create nuance in students' understanding of empires is a reflection of a bigger issue that

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considers the need for a more nuanced and complex understanding of history as a discipline among these students. In so doing, before coining the working definition for this project, I will explore both the general and case-specific challenges faced when attempting to define such concepts.

The first challenge to creating a definition of empire is the issue of analytical value. Indeed, defining concepts is useful because it contributes to the analytical value of the case study or theory that a scholar is interested in. Yet, with the words "empire" and "imperialism" being used to describe a political entity and its behavior, respectively, across time, we fall into the issue of anachronism and uselessness. Indeed, the usefulness and accuracy of this concept are questioned when the word empire can be used to refer to political entities such as the Roman Empire in 31 BC, the Byzantine Empire throughout the Middle Ages, the Ottoman Empire in the early modern era, British Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the modern United States. Considering the vastly different chronological and geographical contexts, as well as the variations of these political formations, any attempts at coining a definition applicable to all entails a lack of analytical value for any individual case. Beyond accounting for empirical data of imperial history, conceptualizations of empire and imperialism must account for the discourse around empire as negotiated by actors living within the imperial metropole, what John Mackenzie terms the *imperial idea*.[2] As an example, the self-proclamation of the United States as an empire in the late 18th century was motivated by an interest in establishing the image of the United States as a self-governing entity, as such the discourse of empire in this case must be acknowledged side by side with the empirical data around of the functioning of the American empire.[3]

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[2] See John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
[3] See Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

This is further complicated by the continuing domination of imperial epistemologies which puts historians in the difficult situation of having to study empire through the use of categories, concepts and epistemic traditions born from imperial ideologies.[4] This engages historians of empire in a seemingly never-ending cycle of deconstructing epistemologies and categories, and creating alternatives that challenge them. One such ever-present challenge of studying and teaching "imperialism" is doing so without relying on essentializing and bipolar representations of imperial history, which misrepresents the reality of fluidity, agency, and negotiations of identities and relations across imperial boundaries.[5] Thus, defining, much less teaching, imperialism in a way that allows for a complex and nuanced understanding of the implications of overseas and overland expansionism for all involved, beyond categories of colonizer/colonized, civilized/uncivilized, modern/archaic, is a difficult task to perform from within systems of knowledge that are based on such antagonisms. This can best be seen through Edward Said's groundbreaking conceptualization of Orientalism, which ended up relying on the same bipolar categorizations that it aimed to criticize.[6] While recent scholarly work in empire studies has relied on a variety of interdisciplinary approaches and research methods that have allowed for a more holistic and nuanced understanding the dynamism and fluidity of empires and how they have functioned in particular circumstances, Empire continues to be as difficult to explain as it it is to escape.[7]

A second major hurdle in providing a definition empire and related concepts, is the issue of ambiguous continuity/rupture in relation to modern nation-states. Indeed, while the end of

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[4] Tadashi Dozono, "The Passive Voice of White Supremacy: Tracing Epistemic and Discursive Violence in World History Curriculum," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 1–26, https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2020.1721261, 4.

[5] Clancy-Smith, Julia Ann. *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an age of migration, c. 1800-1900.* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2012).

[6] See Sa'di, Ahmad H. "Orientalism in a Globalised World: Said in the Twenty-First Century." *Third World Quarterly* 42, no. 11 (July 22, 2020): 2505–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1788935.

[7] The work done by scholars such as Julia Clancy-Smith, Ann Laura Taylor, Susan G. Miller, Abdullatif Ahmida, Alan Mikhail, and many others has consolidated the standard of nuance, richness, and complexity expected from scholars of empire.

empires is widely theorized to have been brought about by a wave of decolonization and the expansion of nationalism in the second half of the 20th century, scholarly work on the intersections between the ideology, forms, and tools of governance used by nation-states and empires has long challenged these beliefs. The significant scholarly tradition that understands empires and nation-states as antithetical continues to pervade theorizations of empire and related concepts as can best be seen through the example of the concept of decolonization. Indeed, in *The Encyclopaedia of Empire*, Michael Collins's entry focusing on the concept explains that while distinctions are often made between the concepts of empire, imperialism, and colonialism in history and the social sciences, the concept of decolonization is usually used to encompass all forms of actions and processes that "counteract, reverse, or terminate all of these phenomena."[8] He argues that through the instrumentalization of Western European humanist liberation rhetoric in the second half of the 20th century, colonized countries were able to attain flag independence and restructure the international system's normative basis through a delegitimization of empire as a form of rule. While he does not consider decolonization to have ended with the attainment of flag independence, he considers it a more epistemic-focused critique of imperialism and colonialism interested in deconstructing the remnants and legacies of colonialism in the form of neocolonialism and postcolonialism.[9]

Yet, recent attention to the tools of governance of post-World War II political formations such as the United States, have challenged the idea that empire has been undermined or extinguished as a legitimate form of rule through a focus on the cotinuities of certain tools of governance.[10] Indeed, both Adeeb Khalid's theorization of the Soviet Union as an imperial formation and Daniel Immerhwar's theorization of the United States as a hidden empire, have relied on attention to what Burbank & Cooper have termed *tools of empire* for their analysis. In the case

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[8] Michael Collins, "Decolonization," in *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 1

[9] Michael Collins, "Decolonization," 11

[10] See 1. Jackie Assayag, "East and West: Orientalism, War and the Colonial Present," *Etnografica* 11, no. 1 (May 1, 2007): 253–69, https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.1943.

of the United States, Daniel Immerhwar focuses on the annexation of territory through conquest, economic hegemony, military interventionism and the creation of a system of subordination for various segments of the population.[11] Similarly, Adeeb Khalid focuses on the absence of such a system of hierarchical subordination in the Soviet Union to create a distinction between what he considers an imperial formation specific to the 20th century with the more straightforward imperial formation that is Tsarist Russia.[12] Among the main standards for the recognition of imperial formations in both cases is the focus on what Burbank & Cooper termed *the politics of difference*.[13]

This showcases the centrality of using what Burbank & Cooper called the *repertoires of imperial power* to recognize and analzye different types of imperial formations.[14] Indeed, Burbank & Cooper explain that the durability of the imperial political formation relied largely on the capacity of empires to create and adopt strategies of rule, habits, and practices that were the result of specific historical constraints and that led to specific power structures and conflicts.[15] As such, Burbank & Cooper's definition of imperial repertoires "as flexible, constrained by geography and history but open to innovation" is remarkably useful in making sense of the fundamental practices that have come to define imperial structures.[16] This approach can be particularly useful when combined with Krishan Kumar's understanding of nation-states and empires as variable forms of "political imagination," to mean possibilties available to political elites, rather than antithetical forms of rule.[17]

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[11] Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Picador/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019).

[12] Adeeb Khalid, "The Soviet Union as an Imperial Formation: A View from Central Asia," essay, in *Imperial Formations*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter Perdue (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 123–51.

[13] Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022), 12

[14] Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*, 16

[15] Ibid., 16

[16] Ibid., 3

[17] Krishan Kumar, "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States: Two Principles, One Practice?," *Theory and Society* 39, no. 2 (January 12, 2010): 119–43, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-009-9102-8, 120.

This conceptualization can allow us to move beyond the understanding of rupture inherent to the idea that nation-states are born out of the end of empires, into an understanding more reflective of modern realities whereby empires and nation-states can co-exist, converge, often have overlapping features, even alternate in specific circumstances, while remaining different forms of political formation.[18] The difficulty in defining empire and its related concepts is without doubt exacerbated by the difficulty of talking about and teaching ongoing processes in world politics and their inherent ambiguities and uncertainties. What this project suggests is not that empires and nation-states should be considered the same political formations, instead this project argues for a challenging of the formulation of objects of study in world politics in terms of rupture/continuity. As scholars theorizing concepts like colonialism, imperialism, and decolonization face the same issue of falling into the same order/change dichotomy of completeness, or at least the possibility of determining the rupture or continuity of these processes with certainty, perhaps accepting our incapacity to grasp these overlaps might be more useful in defining empires and related concepts. That being said, the issue taken up by this study is the absence of the reflection of such a rich tapestry of entangled perspectives and approaches to the study of empire in history curricula for young students.

2. *Towards a Working Definition:*

In the context of such challenges in defining empires and imperialism, this project relies on a conceptualization that best serves the purposes of this study. As such, this project's conceptualization does not aim to explain all that is empire, and istead focuses on the particularities of Western European imperialism in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. In so doing, avoiding any attempts at charcterizing the type of political formations, this project

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[18] Krishan Kumar, "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States," 134-138.

instead borrows Burbank & Cooper's approach of understanding empires through the concept of repertoires of power. As such this project attempts to create an understanding of how Western European empires have functioned through the imperial tools they relied on for the creation, functioning and legitimization of imperial rule. In this theoretical context, I use the concept of "empire" to signify a political entity that utilizes a variety of repertoires of power to create and maintain its project of rule to exercise political, economic, and cultural dominance, whether formally or informally.

For the sake of simplicity, I understand imperialism to be a reference to the way empires function and colonialism to refer to this same practice with a focus on settler colonial settings. As an extension of these definitions, the definition of Western European Imperialism that this project proposes is an oppressive system of domination and exploitation, in the wake of the industrial revolution, that relies on the use of various repertoires of power to create and maintain an imperial structure, underpinned by an ideology of Western/White Supremacy. At the heart of this project is thus an understanding of White Supremacy following Frances Lee Ansley's definition as "a political, economic and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings."[19] This definition aligns with what Charles Mills terms a *multidimensional system of domination*, that is to say a global oppressive system based on an ideology that turns racial difference ino relations of domination through the exercise of various forms of epistemic and physical violence.[20] This chosen defintion determines much of the attention paid to White Supremacy as an imperial ideology

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[19] Frances Lee Ansley, "Stirring the Ashes: Race Class and the Future of Civil Rights Scholarship," *Cornell Law Review* 74, no. 6 (1989): 993–1077, 1024.

[20] Charles W. Mills, "White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System," essay, in From *Class to Race: Essays in White Marxism and Black Radicalism*, ed. Charles W. Mills (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 35–48, 42.

and the various forms of violence used to practice and uphold it.[21] This choice is contextualized in this project's positioning in conversations around teaching forms of colonial violence and imperial history that have been at the heart of the public debate around the purposes of history education.

While this attention to colonial violence has encouraged rich academic production on the exercise of imperial violence, it has been the subject of much backlash from conservative academics and politicians who consider the purpose of history education to be the reinforcement of patriotism and nationalist pride.[22] The confrontation between different understanding of the purposes of history education has thus given rise to tensions by bringing radically conflicting memories of empire and imperial violence into the public space. In the academic sphere, with the exception of few conservative scholars,[23] this has given breath to a renewed effort to detail different forms of imperial violence, their uses and rationales, and their perpetrators and victims. In this context, in its continued argument for a bridging of academic production on empires and history education, this project proposes to create a pedagogical conceptualization of Western European Imperialism through three main imperial tools: The use of physical violence, the violences of knowledge production, and the use of post-independence structures. The theoretical foundations behind the choice of these tools are detailed in the following section.

3. *Theorizing Empire Through its Tools:*

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[21] More details on the correlation between White supremacy and empire that this project relies on can be found in: Aisha M. Beliso-De Jesús and Jemima Pierre, "Special Section: Anthropology of White Supremacy," *American Anthropologist* 122, no. 1 (December 30, 2019): 65–75, https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13351.

[22] Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England, 1870-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 6-13.

[23] Bruce Gilley, "The Case for Colonialism," *Third World Quarterly*, September 8, 2017, 1–17, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369037.

1. Physical Violence:

In this context, this project's conceptualization of physical and epistemic violence as an imperial tool is informed by Slavoj Žižek's theorization and typology of violence. As such, this project relies on the necessary distinction between what Žižek termed subjective violence, where both the violence and its perpetrators are visible, and objective violence, which can take the form of symbolic or systemic violence and can be likened more to a process than an act.[24] As a reflection of this theoretical concern, the Physical Violence Unit attempts to provide students with a variety of examples of different forms of colonial violence. This is done through a structuring of the unit into a first part that deals with conjunctural (event-based) violence (Activities n°1 and 2) and a second part focusing on examples of structural (quotidian/non-event) violence (Activities n°3 and 4).

To understand both the workings of empires and the effect they have had on colonized peoples' bodies and histories, it is fundamental to gain an understanding of the various forms that colonial violence might have taken, its rationales, and the justifications used to legitimize it to the colonial metropole. As such this project's understanding of colonial violence is heavily influenced by Deana Heath's seminal work *Colonial Terror: Torture and State Violence in Colonial India* (2021). In her work, Heath showcases through a detailing of existing literature how the theorization of colonial violence has often obscured the extraordinary systemic violence inherent to colonial projects in favor of an overfocalization on scandal/event-based cases of colonial violence, which serves to exonerate empires from forms of violence where actors cannot be readily named.[25] This was done through the creation of what she terms regimes of exception that encompassed "both the suspension of the law and the legalization of

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[24] Slavoj Žižek, *Violence*, Wordpress (New York, NY: Picador, 2008), https://aordet.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/zizek-z-violence-2008, 1-2.

[25] Deana Heath, *Colonial Terror: Torture and State Violence in Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021)

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exceptional measures and practices" to legitimize the violence they relied on.[26] This can be seen through the use of states of emergency as a practice of legitimizing brutal violence against colonized people, as in the case of the Mau Mau rebellion and the Algerian war. In so doing, Heath succeeds in reframing scandal/event-related violence as the explosion of the ordinary violence that is "normally contained" within a given colonial project.[27]

An example of quotidian violence is in the contact between the imperial metropole and the colony as embodied by settler colonial communities, beyond the obvious inherent violence of settler colonialism and its logic of native-elimination.[28] Indeed, colonial settlers' socio-economic ascendance over indigenous populations and their imbuement with ideas of racial superiority, necessarily engendered an oppressive environment where violence was inevitable.[29] Once settler communities were established, the imperial use of violence and its purposes became far more complex as a differentiation needed to be made between the interests of the imperial metropole and those of settler communities on the ground. This divergence of interests can best be observed in the exercise of what Caroline Elkins termed *settler tyranny*, especially in the latter stage of Western European colonialism where settlers violently opposed the metropole's decision to exit the colonies thus causing significant violence against indigenous people.[30]

Another example of normalized extraordinary quotidian violence inherent to the imperial project is the imperial normalization of famine and food weaponization against indigenous

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[26]Deana Heath, *Colonial Terror*, 179
[27] Ibid., 10
[28] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387–409, https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240, 388-389.
[29] Michelle Gordon, "The Dynamics of British Colonial Violence," essay, in *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*, ed. Amanda Nettleback and Philip Dwyer (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 153–74, 154.
[30] Caroline Elkins, "Race, Citizenship, and Governance: Settler Tyranny and the End of Empire," essay, in *Settler Colonialism In The Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 203–22, 214.

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populations. Theorizations on the use of famine as a violent tool for socio-economic engineering - where starved indigenous populations were forced to work for food wages that were not sufficient to keep them alive, which only served to enhance the economic value of the local resources that were sent to the imperial metropole - bring necessary attention to the correlation between rationale and form of violence. Indeed, the purpose of using violence heavily determines what form of violence is to be used; the type of violence used for the conquest of a land is not the same as is used for the extermination of a population or the exploitation of another. This brings our attention to the multitude of structures, actors, policies, and spaces that make this violence possible. A central element of these operations is the colonial police force, which embodied the colonial state's daily contact with indigenous populations as coercive agents intended to protect the colonial state's commercial interests and process of wealth extraction.[31]

Additionally, the discourse around these various forms of brutal colonial violence is also a subject of interest for this project. Considering how the Western self-construction in a position of moral superiority in the context the civilizing mission was left undisturbed by the savage use of violence both by the imperial regime and its agents on the ground is particularly interesting. Emily Gordon explains that when outbreaks of violence against indigenous communities turned into a scandal, the imperial strategy of blame-shifting allowed for the argument that the use of violence by the colonial government was a regrettable necessity, a morbid act imposed on the colonial government by the violence of the indigenous people's nature or their prospective attempt at revenge.[32] The conceptualization of violence as defensive, somehow preemptive, was made possible by the invention of narratives and discourses around the possible threats that indigenous

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[31] Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918-1940* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 326.
[32] Michelle Gordon, "The Dynamics of British Colonial Violence," 164-165

populations posed to the settler communities enacting the violence.[33] This disavowal of the violence enacted by settler communities encompasses the very nature of the settler project and the foundational violence it relies on.[34] Such formulations enabled settlers and imperial regimes to deny responsibility for violent acts that contradicted the normative values of their own societies.

2. *Violences of Knowledge:*

As a fundamental part of this project's argument for teaching colonialism and imperialism to high school students through a focus on tools of empire, this chapter introduces and emphasizes the essential role of various forms of epistemic violence in creating and maintaining the colonial project. To that end, this unit attempts to introduce students to various forms of colonial knowledge production that have sought to justify the colonial project, facilitate the exercise of colonial control and governance over colonial subjects, and establish the mythology of White and Eurocentric supremacy. This is an important endeavor to encourage the questioning and redressing of the European narrative of normative European historical trajectory towards progress, which both brushes off the intrinsic ties between this narrative and European colonial projects overseas and relegates non-European actors to marginal, static, and passive subjects in world history.[35] As such this section takes on the role of setting the theoretical foundations of the various forms of epistemic violence used as a part of Western European imperial projects, by focusing on the creation of colonial hierarchies.

In her focus on the Deli population's lived experience in the Indies under Dutch colonization, Ann Laura Stoler analyzes the creation and hierarchization of racialized and gendered social

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[33] Ibid., 164

[34] Lorenzo Veracini, "Settler Collective, Founding Violence and Disavowal: The Settler Colonial Situation," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29, no. 4 (November 2008): 363–79, https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802372246, 365-366.

[35] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 6.

categories inside the colonies, *the creation of colonial categories*.[36] In a different imperial concept, the same concept is mirrored in Thomas Metcalf's seminal book *Ideologies of the Raj*, in which he exposes in great detail the different ways in which the British Empire attempted to make sense of India and its relationship to it through a process of classification, organization and, at times, transformation that would eventually serve to legitimize their rule over India.[37] This goes to show that governance based on the non-equivocation of various populations within a multi-ethnic political entity remains a distinctive characteristic of imperial formations. This governance based on non-equivocation was termed by Partha Chatterjee *the rule of colonial difference*.[38] These different concepts are all rooted in the understanding that European colonial exploitation depended on the exclusion of colonized peoples from claims to equality allowed by the European states, thus creating systems where colonized peoples were subjected to colonial knowledge production, which categorized and codified indigenous societies to create social hierarchies that the West could dominate.[39] These attempts at categorization and "knowability" relied on the weaponized theorizations of social scientists and scholars whose knowledge production was essential to the subsequent codification through institutions, most notably in the case of socio-legal structures.[40] This is a characteristic aspect of the colonial project that the proposed chapters attempt to address through the Violences of Knowledge unit (Activities n°3 and 4).

In his study *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (2001), Nicholas Dirks shows how British ethnographers and historians redefined the politico-religious category

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[36] Ann Laura Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 1 (January 1989): 134–61, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0010417500015693.

[37] Thomas R. Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 1998).

[38] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 10.

[39] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 6

[40] Nicholas B. Dirks, "Castes of Mind," *Representations* 37 (January 1, 1992): 56–78, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928654, 76.

of caste in a way that failed to account for ethnographic specificity and socio-political complexities and then used it as a defining religious trope of Indian society, thus creating a social order more fit for colonial authority. Scholars of Indian nationalism, such as Dirks and Chatterjee, have then gone on to showcase how the danger of this colonial strategy lay in its capacity to disguise such forms of colonial representation as traditional, indigenous, and pre-colonial aspects of Indian society. This would later result in the re-appropriation of this iteration of the caste system by anti-colonial and post-independence movements in India as markers of traditional Indian society, thus engaging in what Terrence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm have aptly termed the "invention of tradition."[41] This theme is explored in the *Violences of Knowledge* lesson unit through an activity on the French invention of the Kabyle and Berber myths in Algeria and Morocco, respectively. Similarly to the case of India, the colonial myth of an Arab/Amazigh binary would later be reappropriated by Amazigh movements in post-independence North Africa, thus perpetuating a colonial invention as a precolonial fact of North African society.[42]

The codification of these mythologized hierarchies through the colonial reform of legal systems not only justified the act of conquest but also acted as a mechanism to maintain imperial rule.[43] The academic production on law as a tool of empire has allowed a rich understanding of how state and non-state-conceptions of legal ordering have interacted to create social order under colonial rule.[44] Indeed, recent historiography has been incredibly useful in refocusing indigenous agencies by drawing attention to practices such as "forum shopping," whereby various individuals across the colonial divide could negotiate with imperial structure to make existing

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[41] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

[42] See Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

[43] Russell Smandych, "The Cultural Imperialism of Law," essay, in *Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy of Cultural Domination*, ed. Bernd Hamm and Russell Smandych (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2005), 268

[44] Caroline Humfress, "Thinking through Legal Pluralism: 'Forum Shopping' in the Later Roman Empire," essay, in *Law and Empire: Ideas, Practices, Actors*, ed. Jeroen Duindam et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 234

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legal systems work for them.[45] For the purposes of the proposed unit, attention to legal pluralism as *habitus* and as a scene for inter-imperial and intra-imperial negotiations has provided particularly interesting insights on the case of colonial and pre-colonial Maghreb.

3. *"Post"-Colonial Structures:*

By focusing on modern structures that perpetuate Western European domination, the "Post"-Colonial Structures Unit seeks to trace the legacies of 20th-century colonialism for post-independence nation-states. By introducing conversation around cases of litigations emerging from certain colonial cases (See Introductory Activity and Activity n°2), discursive patterns around reparation and restitution (See Activities n°1 and 3), and continuing structures of economic dependency (See Activity n°4), this unit attempts to engage students with the challenges of undoing colonial legacies from within the legal, economic and political systems that emerged from them. This unit thus attempts to encourage students to understand decolonization as an ongoing process of undoing imperial legacies beyond the Moroccan history textbooks' conflation of decolonization and flag independence. As such, this unit demonstrates the continuing forms of oppressive systems and discourses that stand in the way of seeking justice for oppressed communities. This section thus details the theoretical foundations behind these claims by focusing on the conitnuities of imperial legacies in the post-independence world.

The most obvious criticism of the conceptualization of rupture between the colonial era and the post-independence era lies in the questionable achievement of sovereignty for previously colonized countries. Indeed, while nominal sovereignty was achieved for most, with notable exceptions such as the Palestinian case, the continuous and unending forms of sovereignty

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[45] Caroline Humfress, "Thinking through Legal Pluralism," 248

breaches exercised with impunity by Western states provide interesting cases for the study of continuing imperial legacies. Whether in terms of economic control (Françafrique, international financial organizations), cultural control (linguistic and cultural domination), or physical military invasion, as can be observed through the cases of the United States and NATO, there is no doubt that sovereignty, and as such rupture, never truly materialized for most.[46] Similarly, the discourse around the exercise of colonial violence and what Deana Heath terms the *Displacement of Colonial Blame Thesis,* as discussed in the Physical Violence section above, has been recurrently used by various Western European nation-states in reaction to modern demands for reparations. This is exemplified through the litigation case brought by Kenyan survivors of the British Empire's crackdown in the aftermath of the Mau Mau Rebellion, as presented in the Post-Colonial Structures Unit (See Activity n° 2). Despite the availability of damning evidence for the violence perpetrated against the Kikuyu people, the British government deflected responsibility by arguing that the case should be brought against the Kenyan government, thus transmitting blame to victims of colonial violence and their descendants.[47] Beyond discursive methods of culpability-denial, the above described oncept of "regimes of exception," i.e., systems that encompass "both the suspension of the law and the legalization of exceptional measures and practices" to legitimize the violence they relied on can be observed in the establishment of a state of exception by the United States during its so-called War on Terror.[48] Additionally,the methods of torture, legal justifications, and the narratives of denial used during the War on Terror by the British and American governments can all be traced back to colonial origins.[49] Indeed, as theorized by Deana Heath, while new configurations of

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[46] See Peter McLaren et al., "Teaching in and against the Empire: Critical Pedagogy as Revolutionary Praxis," *Teacher Education Quarterl*y 31, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 131–53, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23478424.

[47] *Mutua & Ors v Foreign and Commonwealth Office* [2011] EWHC 1913 (QB), section C, https://www.asser.nl/upload/documents/20130311T095828-mutua-v-ors-judgment%20judgment%2021-07-2011.pdf

[48] John Reynolds, "Emergency Doctrine: A Colonial Account," essay, in *Empire, Emergency and International Law* (Maynooth: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 68–108, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316779095.005, 69-70.

[49] Ruth Blakeley and Sam Raphael, "British Torture in the 'War on Terror,'" *European Journal of International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 16, 2016): 243–66, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066116653455., 245

colonial governance can be said to have emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War, in the same way, they did in the aftermath of the First World War, the logic beneath the violence through which these configurations was un-ruptured between the colonial and "post-colonial" eras.[50]

As to the matter of the legitimacy of imperialism in the new liberal world order, modern imperial violence is reconciled with the norms of liberal societies in the West in the same ways that past imperial violence is reconciled with sanitized national histories through the use of silence. Through the case of the British and Dutch empires, Price shows how various forms of silence and denial allowed Western European empires in the past and their descendant nation-states in the present to separate the colonial violence they perpetrate from the projected narrative of their identities as renditions of the same political units that continue to claim moral superiority over unchanging "others."[51] Indeed, ideas of Western and White superiority continue to make up the material and epistemic structure of the world we live in, whether in terms of "civilization" renamed "modernity," "democracy," or "liberalism," or in terms of access to humanity. The hierarchies and binaries justifying this superiority have not only been maintained but rebaptized with more "scientific" terminology as can be seen through the use of the Democratic vs Authoritarian and Developed vs Underdeveloped binaries.[52] Additionally, among the new strategies developed by Western nation-states is the decentering of race as a primary marker of difference and hierarchy in favor of more "respectable," seemingly harmless categories such as religion, culture, and ethnicity.[53] Through these new forms of social ordering, based on culture instead of race, both Western conservatives and liberals could claim

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[50] Deana Heath, *Colonial Terror*, 10

[51] Richard N. Price, "The Psychology of Colonial Violence," essay, in *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*, ed. Philip Dwyer and Amanda Nettleback (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 38, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320473110_The_Psychology_of_Colonial_Violence

[52] Banafsheh Ranji, "Traces of Orientalism in Media Studies," *Media, Culture & Society* 43, no. 6 (June 9, 2021): 1136–46, https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437211022692.

[53] Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Orientalism in a Globalised World: Said in the Twenty-First Century," *Third World Quarterly* 42, no. 11 (July 22, 2020): 2505–20, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1788935.

humanitarianism and liberal values as they facilitate, enact, and ignore violence perpetrated against colonized peoples and their descendants within normative structures that normalize such violence.

Here, the Palestinian case provides an enticing case study for how imperialism continues to function within a liberal world order. Beyond the presence of settler colonialism and the enactment of brutal colonial violence, the case of Palestine is, for many reasons, a crystalization of this section's argument against the common understanding of decolonization as rupture. More than most other cases, the matter of Palestinian sovereignty or lack thereof shows that the right to sovereignty, the very condition upon which rupture is conceptualized, can still be maintained just out of reach in perfectly legal and legitimized ways. As the criteria to access human rights in the modern international system is tied to statehood, the refusal of this status to Palestinians, amongst others, allows them to be continuous victims of colonial oppression and violence, not only without repercussions for perpetrators but also for profit.[54] More importantly, this modernized imperialism relies on the same type of historical inter-imperial cooperation to facilitate exploitation and oppression, as can best be seen when, so to say, following the money of weapon industries.[55] This provides an image of intertwined imperial structures that legitimize and reinforce one another through updated repertoires of power such as discourse, corporations, alliances, and international organization, among other tools, as they continue to exploit, dominate, and oppress non-White and non-Western people all over the world.[56]

III.   Literature Review:

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[54] See Antony Loewenstein, *The Palestine Laboratory: How Israel Exports the Technology of Occupation around the World* (S.l.: Verso Books, 2024),

[55] See Andrew Cockburn and Qarie Marshall, *The Spoils of War: Power, Profit and the American War Machine* (Holland: Dreamscape Media, 2021).

[56] See Linda Colley, "The Difficulties of Empire: Present, Past and Future*," *Historical Research* 79, no. 205 (August 2006): 367–82, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.2006.00395.x.

1. *Critical History Education (CHE) & Undoing Imperial Legacies:*

History education has long been considered a tool for state indoctrination and propaganda.[57] That said, in an interconnected, "globalized" context of increasingly diverse societies and the multiplication of non-state actors with the same capacity for indoctrination, history education has come under increasing scrutiny.[58] In this context, with the advent of postcolonial theory, postmodernism, history and history education, among other disciplines, have been subjected to a problematization of discourse.[59] This led to a reconsideration of the definition of history from a narration of past events to a reframing of historical accounts by historians.[60] This understanding of history as a social construction laden with values has led to calls to include this self-consciousness to various aspects of history-education as well.[61] As such, critical pedagogies or a critical approach to history education can simply be understood as a recent effort to shift the focus in history classes from the "question what do we know?" into "what do we know and how do we know it?"[62] In other words, critical history education attempts to move beyond factual claims in historical accounts and encourage students to question these accounts through their contextualization and assessment.[63]

While this was a revolutionary turn in history theorization and practice, this radical approach has failed to bring on the changes that might be expected, both in society and in the classroom. Indeed, much of its most radical characteristics have been minimized and overlooked to create

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[57] Floor van Alphen and Mario Carretero, "The Construction of the Relation between National Past and Present in the Appropriation of Historical Master Narratives," *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science* 49, no. 3 (April 18, 2015): 512–30, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12124-015-9302-x, 515.

[58] See Sonja Varbelow and William Yaworsky, "Education, Democracy, and Propaganda: An Epistemological Crisis," *Critical Questions in Education* 14, no. 1 (Winter 2023): 1–13, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1369502.pdf.

[59] Avner Segall, "Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 27, no. 3 (June 1999): 358–74, https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.1999.10505885, 360.

[60] Seixas, 1999, 332

[61] Avner Segall, "Critical History," 363

[62] Peter Seixas, "Beyond 'content' and 'Pedagogy': In Search of a Way to Talk about History Education," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, no. 3 (May 1999): 317–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/002202799183151, 332.

[63] Peter Seixas, "Beyond 'content' and 'Pedagogy,'" 332

a sanitized version of this approach that fits better with the liberal capitalist state's interest in performative critical thinking.[64] Indeed, the radical nature of CHE education has been drowned through its weaponization by the liberal state, which corrupted its essence through strategies of "bowdlerization, vulgarization and domestication."[65] This can best be observed through so-called CHE approaches to studying conflicts and transitional justice. Indeed, while this constitutes a sizeable portion of the academic production engaging with CHE, most of the conflicts considered are post-colonial inter-state or inter-ethnic conflicts that rarely give importance to the naming and acknowledging of underlying oppressive structures and their effect on these conflicts. In this context, the American imperial discourse of democratization is continued, legitimized, and obscured by dissociating socio-political conflict and violence from wider systemic implications and constraints on knowledge production around these conflicts.[66] This process, coupled with conversations around the success or failure of transitional justice systems, independently of their nature as a tool of American imperialism, leads to the displacement of structural determinants behind the socio-cultural identities at hand into racial and ethnic categorizations, thus perpetuating imperial dogma.[67]

This is particularly relevant in a context where imperial knowledge continues to pervade various aspects of the lived experiences of marginalized people. Indeed, beyond imperialism's subordination of states and subjects to an imperial metropole, imperial knowledge creates images of racialized populations that it uses to design political, economic, social, and education policies that shape their lives in the metropole and the periphery.[68] As such, the legitimization

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[64] Peter McLaren et al., "Teaching in and against the Empire: Critical Pedagogy as Revolutionary Praxis," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 131–53, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23478424, 140.

[65] Peter McLaren et al., "Teaching in and against the Empire," 142

[66] Peter McLaren et al., "Teaching in and against the Empire," 142

[67] Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 41–67, https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18633/15557, 43.

[68] Roland Sintos Coloma, "'We Are Here Because You Were There': On Curriculum, Empire, and Global Migration," *Curriculum Inquiry* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 92–102, https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2016.1254505, 95.

of the patronizing and domineering discursive portrayals of imperial subjects, their colonial origins, and their consequences on modern policy is in itself a form of epistemic violence. This allows for the continuing paradoxical existence of marginalized people, especially in the metropole, as both visible subjects of the colonial imagination that can be commodified, rejected, or reformed and as invisible subjects of colonial domination through the silencing of their historical experiences and their subjection to continuing systems of oppression.[69] This is particularly relevant to the case of Morocco, where 13% of the population lives abroad and constitutes the largest foreign-born diaspora in the European Union.[70] The exercise of imperial domination through imperial knowledge, as outlined above, is thus best exemplified in the treatment that Moroccans, and North Africans in general, are subjected to in France.[71] The importance of acknowledging the systems that govern the lives of marginalized people as a necessary part of undoing imperial legacies is phrased by Gaztambide-Fernández as follows:

> White supremacy and hetero-patriarchal order violently enforce colonial modes of human relationality, fabricating subject positions through intersecting and interlocking discursive regimes of gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability, among others. As more and more people come into contact, these subject positions are largely enforced—yet sometimes contested—through the manifold human encounters that are the definitive marker of the complex social world at the turn of the 21st century… In the context of these changes, educators are called upon to play a central role in constructing the conditions for a different kind of encounter, an encounter that both opposes ongoing colonization, and that seeks to heal the social, cultural, and spiritual ravages of colonial history.[72]

A crucial part of this exercise must include the recognition of the forms of physical and epistemic violence that these oppressive systems have historically relied on and their continuing legacies in the present. Indeed, in citing forms of curricular epistemic violence, Tadashi Dozono explains that White Supremacy is perpetuated in historical curricula through a reliance on the passive voice that never recognizes the active violence perpetuated by Europeans. This is most commonly done through the silencing of Indigenous experiences of violence altogether, an all

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[69] Roland Sintos Coloma, "'We Are Here Because You Were There,'" 92

[70] Déterminants des transferts et des investissements des migrants marocains à l'étranger (2022), https://www.hcp.ma/Determinants-des-transferts-et-des-investissements-des-migrants-marocains-a-l-etranger_a3640.html#:~:text=Les%20Marocains%20r%C3%A9sidant%20%C3%A0%20l,transferts%20de%20revenus%20au%20pays.

[71] Jennifer Howell, *The Algerian War in French-Language Comics: Postcolonial Memory, History, and Subjectivity* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 11-12.

[72] Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 42

too familiar experience for the histories of Indigenous communities and communities of colour, as was famously theorized by Gayatri Spivak.[73] Additionally, when mention of violence is unavoidable, as in lessons on colonialism, this is done through the removal of European subjects as enactors of violence while still maintaining the disempowerment of non-European subjects who are refused agency.[74] Dozono considers this attitude to be in itself a form of discursive epistemic violence that serves to create what he terms "a haunting spectre of White supremacy," which remains undetectable so far as it refuses students the tools necessary to notice and recognize, much less criticize, the European identity's claim to universality and normativity.[75]

This project's advocacy for the inclusion of conversations of imperial violence is not an encouragement to subject students to gory or violent accounts or images of colonial violence. Instead, it is a challenge and an encouragement for history educators to consider creative methods and mediums and create a controlled environment where students from marginalized communities can gain intellectual tools to make sense of the violence that they continue to be subjected to. This is aptly portrayed in the recent use of comic books as historical sources to discuss complex topics centred around conflict and colonial violence while humanizing historical actors and victims of violence.[76] Recent efforts in this direction have resulted in successful attempts at using primary sources, comics, political cartoons, and films to discuss violent history, especially in the case of the Palestinian Nakba and the Algerian War.[77]

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[73] Rosalind C. Morris and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

[74] Tadashi Dozono, "The Passive Voice of White Supremacy: Tracing Epistemic and Discursive Violence in World History Curriculum," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 1–26, https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2020.1721261, 4.

[75] Tadashi Dozono, "The Passive Voice of White Supremacy," 4-5

[76] Jennifer Howell, *The Algerian War in French-Language Comics*, 14

[77] See Yakin, Boaz, and Nick Bertozzi. *Jerusalem: The Story of a City and a Family*. (First Second, 2009), 1. Joe Sacco, "Palestine," cartoon, *Palestine Collection* (Fantagraphics Books, 2014), with an introduction by Edward Said, and the film Ari Folman, *Waltz with Bashir*, 2008.

Yet, despite the importance of garnering a wider understanding of colonial experiences, undoing imperial legacies in and through the history curriculum must involve more than a simple accumulation of knowledge about racialized peoples and colonial cases.[78] Scholars and educators must collaborate to avoid the epistemic pitfall of simply incorporating knowledges about racialized people into the existing frameworks and educational logic that continue to propagate narratives and systems of White Supremacy. Using Foucault's concept, Colloma argues that this exercise calls for an "insurrection of subjugated knowledges," which includes conversations around historical and ongoing tools of empires and subempires, as well as disqualified knowledges, as in the case of the experiences of migrants.[79] This exercise requires pedagogies that shift the focus from explaining these social formations to seeking to challenge them and the imperial logic they rely on.[80] It is in this context that calls have been made for the development of what Gaztambide-Fernández terms a *pedagogy of solidarity*. Gaztambide-Fernández argues that the Western epistemic individual and nation-state-based conceptualization of modern existence must be challenged and replaced with a pedagogy of solidarity that relies on an understanding of decolonization as a common objective that unites racialized people, colonized subjects, Indigenous people, and their allies across the globe in a solidary struggle against oppressive systems.[81] In the words of McLaren:

> We need to develop a critical pedagogy capable of engaging all of social life and not simply life inside school classrooms. We need, in other words, to challenge capitalist social relations whilst acknowledging global capital's structurally determined inability to share power with the oppressed, its constitutive embeddedness in racist, sexist, and homophobic relations, its functional relationship to xenophobic nationalism, and its tendency towards empire… It means struggling to develop a lateral, polycentric concept of anti-capitalist alliances-in-diversity in order to slow down capitalism's metabolic movement — with the eventual aim of shutting it down completely. It means developing and advancing an educational philosophy that is designed to resist the 'capitalization' of subjectivity…[82]

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[78]Roland Sintos Coloma, "'We Are Here Because You Were There,'" 99

[79] Ibid., 100

[80] Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 49

[81]Ibid., 57-60

[82]Peter McLaren et al., "Teaching in and against the Empire," 139

2. *History Education & Curriculum Studies in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA):*

In the MENA, knowledge production on history curricula reflects wider trends in social sciences scholarship about the region in two main ways. The first is the relative abundance of scholarship centred around cases in the eastern Mediterranean to the detriment of North Africa.[83] Indeed, while attention to history curricula in the MENA is generally limited in comparison with other regions, North Africa is largely ignored except for research on narratives of the Algerian War of Independence. Additionally, the existing research tends to focus on representations of the Algerian War in French history textbooks, making attention to pedagogical conceptualizations and narratives of empire in newly-independent countries rather scarce.[84] Considering that a regional focus on North Africa tends to be overlooked in African studies as well - as they tend to focus on Sub-Saharan African states - the lacuna in knowledge production patters in the region has resulted in several issues. Significant among such issues is the lack of cross-regional comparisons and analyses that restrict the study of historical phenomena to the boundaries of single case studies and exclude Maghrebin countries into what Abdelmajid Hannoum terms the "island of the Maghreb."[85] This lacuna is thus flagrant in the absence of a tradition for a broad modern history of the region and comprehensive systemic analyses and comparisons among existing political systems and societies in the Maghreb.[86]

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[83] Michael J. Willis, *Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

[84] See: Sara Mechkarini, "The Representation of the Algerian War in French High School History Textbooks," *History Compass* 19, no. 12 (November 2, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12696.

[85] See Hannoum, Abdelmajid. *The invention of the Maghreb: Between Africa and the Middle East.* Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021. Most notably Hannoum critically examines the historical, cultural, and geopolitical construction of the Maghreb region and argues that it is a constructed entity created through colonial and postcolonial processes, historical contingencies, and contemporary geopolitical interests that shaped the region's identity.

[86] Willis, *Politics and Power in the Maghreb*, 2

Additionally, academic production on history curricula in the MENA continues to reflect American imperialist narratives of peacebuilding in the region.[87] To that end, we must note that much of the scholarship on education in the Middle East focuses on the necessity of introducing reforms and the politics of reforming the education system.[88] Such scholarly works are usually interested in issues of modernity and the (in)ability to modernize educational institutions in the region from a governance-focused perspective. Indeed, for the few scholars working on curricula in the Middle East and North Africa, theories of democratization and peacebuilding are inescapable. As such, much of the work on curricula in the eastern Mediterranean focuses on the framing of political unrest in the region, especially inter-communitarian or inter-state conflicts that emerged in the late 20th century, with particular attention to the framing of the Palestinian case.[89]

As such, history education in North Africa remains severely understudied, especially from transcontinental, transregional, and trans-Mediterranean perspectives. Such trends are not only present in academic knowledge production but are also perpetuated in the region's "postcolonial" nationalist and independence movements that reassert these categorizations and divisions by grounding their histories within the borders of modern states.[90] While this project

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[87] Malini Johar Schueller, "Area Studies and Multicultural Imperialism:: The Project of Decolonizing Knowledge," *Social Text* 90 25, no. 1 (2007), https://doi.org/DOI 10.1215/01642472-2006-016, 46.

[88] See Nafez; Mazen Al Dakkak, "Obstacles towards Curriculum Reform in the Middle East: Using Jordan and the UAE as Case studies for Understanding Education Reform," Unpublished BA Thesis, Yale University, (2010).

[89] See: Betty Gilbert-Sleiman, "The Reform of History School Textbooks in Lebanon: Collecting Conflict Memories in a Peace-Building Process (1996–2001)," *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World*, May 23, 2016, 135–52, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315567839-12.; Hourani, Rida Blaik. "A Call for Unitary History Textbook Design in a Post-Conflict Era: The Case of Lebanon." *The History Teacher* 50, no. 2 (February 2017): 255–84. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44504482.; Yiannis Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus,'" *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 128, https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128.; Elie Podeh, "A Distorted Other: Jews, Israel and the Arab–Israeli Conflict in Egyptian School Textbooks," *Multiple Alterities*, December 19, 2017, 141–65, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62244-6_7.; Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)," *History & Memory* 12, no. 1 (2000): 65–100, https://doi.org/10.1353/ham.2000.0005.; Uri Ram, "Postnationalist Pasts: The Case of Israel," *Social Science History* 22, no. 4 (1998): 513, https://doi.org/10.2307/1171574.; Uri Ram, "Ways of Forgetting: Israel and the Obliterated Memory of the Palestinian Nakba," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 22, no. 3 (August 27, 2009): 366–95, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.2009.01354.x.

[90] Hannoum, Abdelmajid. *The invention of the Maghreb,* 225

concurs that history education can act as a tool for sustainable peacebuilding, the focus on recent conflicts is inadequate, with attention to colonial histories and legacies in history curricula. This is particularly interesting as imperial histories in North Africa share fundamental historical characteristics and processes that allow cross-regional analyses of imperial narratives in history curricula. This opportunity has yet to be seized by the scholarly community despite significant progress in academic production on the Maghreb that challenges nationalist histories of the region for the sake of multisided, multidisciplinary, and comparative approaches to the study of the region.[91]

3. *Making History Textbooks in Morocco:*

In that context, academic production around history education and curricula in Morocco has followed similar trends. With very little attention brought to the subject in the first place, the few scholars who have taken an interest in Moroccan history curricula focus on two main themes. The first is the Moroccan state's co-option of historical narratives to perpetuate the mythology of Moroccan nationhood as invented by the Moroccan nationalist movement. This crafted story of the Moroccan nation centers Arab Muslim identity to the exclusion of other ethnic and religious groups, all while propelling the Moroccan monarchy at the forefront of the Moroccan struggle for independence and national history. This is done in history textbooks first through a state monopoly over textbook production, whereby even if textbooks are made and

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[91] Most notably in: Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800-1900* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2012). Julia Clancy-Smith's book Mediterraneans offers a fine example of this recent scholarship through a detailed historical ethnography centered around the case of pre-colonial and colonial Tunisia. She relies on various sources, interdisciplinary methods, narrative strategies, and foci to create a layered tapestry of the dynamics, networks, and experiences of people living and moving in and out of Tunisia during the long 19th century. Her choice to focus on migration in and out of 19th century tunisia creates an "ethnographic voyage" through which the reader is taken through the various entanglements linking various groups of people as they sought to better their livelihoods in the backdrop of three imperial powers in the region. Additionally see: David Stenner, *Globalizing Morocco: Transnational Activism and the Postcolonial State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020); Matthias B. Lehmann and Jessica M. Marglin, *Jews and the Mediterranean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020); and Jessica M. Marglin, *The Shamama Case: Contesting Citizenship across the Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).

published externally, they rely on the guidelines and vetting of the Ministry of Education.[92] This is also done through a series of pedagogical and discursive methods through which Moroccan history curricula provide a sanitized account of colonialism by caging the account of the Moroccan colonial experience in the borders of the modern state and avoiding mention of imperial ideology, colonial violence, and colonial interference beyond changes to the creation of a shadow colonial government. This leads to an image of the colonial encounter as a simple footnote, a mistake, in the long, otherwise uninterrupted history of the Moroccan state.[93] Among the strategies used to achieve this narrative are the exclusion of inconvenient facts, figures, and the role played by workers, student unions, leading intellectuals, international networks and movements, and other experiences of colonialism across the globe. Additionally, the use of sources and documents that can be termed uncritical at best discourages students from considering the origins of sources, their nature, and their narratives.[94] This creates an image of the Moroccan anti-colonial struggle, and as an extension, the Moroccan nation born out of it as a diverse group of people united behind the figure of the Sultan.[95]

The second chosen theme of Moroccan history curricula studies relates to the Moroccan transitional justice process in the aftermath of the grave human rights violations perpetrated by the Moroccan state during the Years of Lead (1960s-1980s).[96] Academic production on the

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[92] Najwa Belkziz, "Education Reforms in Transitional Justice Contexts: Memory Studies versus Human Rights Education in Morocco," *Transitional Justice and Education*, July 16, 2018, 95–116, https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737008372.95, 105.

[93] Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.

[94] See Mostafa Hassani-Idrissi, "Pour une autre réforme de l'enseignement de l'histoire au Maroc," *Attadriss*, no. 4 (2008) : 78–79.

[95] See Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Abdelkrim: Whose Hero Is He? The Politics of Contested Memory in Today's Morocco.," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2012): 141–49, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590869.; and Lucette Valensi, "Le roi chronophage. La construction d'une conscience historique dans le Maroc postcolonial.," ("The Time-Consuming King: The Construction of Historical Consciousness in Postcolonial Morocco") *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 30, no. 119 (1990) : 279–98.

[96] Note for the reader: The Years of Lead refer to a time of deep instability for the Moroccan state under the rule of King Hassan II which were marked by violent repression of protests as well as by the targeting and disappearance of dissidents, especially leftist and opposition party leaders such as Mehdi Ben Barka (1920-1965). This era was also marked by purges in the army due to the army-led coups d'état attempted against Hassan II in 1971 and 1972. This era of Moroccan history can be contextualized within a wider climate of secularist and anti-monarchist sentiment popularized by pan-Arabism especially through figures such as Gamal Abdel-Nasser (1918-

matter focuses on the Moroccan state's failure to enact the necessary measures to engage the public in a fair conversation around the censorship, violence, and disappearances that the Moroccan people were subjected to during that time.[97] This is done through a similar strategy of narrative sanitization concerning King Hassan II's rule in the curriculum conversation around post-independence Morocco in 12th grade, as well as through a shrewd subversive strategy in which the state insists on differentiation between subjective views on history (those of the surviving victims and witnesses) and historical fact (the state's narrative).[98] The realities of both the Moroccan colonial experience and the Years of Lead have thus been shrouded in a wave of manufactured public amnesia, thus creating serious challenges in making sense of the legacies of both of these traumatic events.

In this context, an obvious critique of Moroccan history textbooks that remains missing is one that goes beyond the focus on the Moroccan state's ideological positioning through its curricula and focuses on the pedagogical goals set by the Moroccan history curricula. Indeed, beyond the Moroccan nationalist narrative, Moroccan history curricula have set pedagogical goals among which –to our purposes– is that high school students are expected to gain an understanding of the transnational movements that have shaped the global system in the 19th and 20th centuries, i.e., Capitalism and Imperialism.[99] The failure of Moroccan history curricula to provide a pedagogical conceptualization of imperialism is thus considered by the scholarship as a consequence of the Moroccan nationalist historical narrative. This oversight relies on an understanding of history curricula's pedagogical and ideological roles as antagonistic, implying that an account of imperialism cannot be given to students unless the curricula sacrifice their ideological role and vice versa. This capstone project relies on the premise that the Moroccan

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1970) which posed a threat to the continuation of the Moroccan monarchy, leading to a backlash against internal sympathizers that rallied with the pan-Arabist and secularist movements.

[97] Najwa Belkziz, "Education Reforms in Transitional Justice Contexts,"100

[98] Ibid., 101

[99] Directorate of Curricula, *Pedagogical Directives and Curricula for History and Geography for High School Students*. Ministry of National Education, November 2007, p. 8, 10.

history curricula's failure to attain its pedagogical goals can be analyzed and reformed without necessarily explicitly going against the ideological narrative-framing of the Moroccan state. That is to say that beyond ideological considerations of nation-building, the Moroccan state's pedagogical conceptualization of imperialism is worthy of criticism and should be the subject of review.

As such, this project proposes a definition of imperialism through an end-of-semester file focusing on imperial tools, thus creating three textbook chapters as follows: Physical Violence Unit, Violences of Knowledge Unit, and "Post"-Colonial Structures Unit. This file was made to be an addition to the existing Moroccan history curricula to replace the end-of-semester titled Globalization & Modern Challenges.[100] In so doing, I rely on a similar basic structure as that of Moroccan history textbooks, following the example of *Mawrid Al-Tārīkh-Wa Al Jughrāfiā* (The Resource for History and Geography), as showcased in Annex 1.

The intended audience for this project is 11th-grade students (second year of high school) from the Sciences branch, considering that the latter makeup most students in Moroccan high schools.[101] Additionally, considering the specialisation of the Moroccan higher education system, Science branch students are unlikely to take another history class after their graduation.[102] It is important to make clear that this project does not intend to propose lessons

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[100] As presented in figure 2.2

[101] Conseil Supérieur de l'Education, de la Formation et de la Recherche Scientifique, "Rapport Du Conseil Supérieur De L'enseignement Relatif À L'état Et Aux Perspectives Du Système D'éducation Et De Formation," 2008, 60.

[102] Note on the Moroccan Education System: The Moroccan educational system is organized into three major divisions: primary, secondary, and high school. High school is divided into three levels: a common core, a second year characterized by regional exam (11th grade), and a third year characterized by a national baccalaureate exam (12th grade). Before entering high school, students are expected to specialize in one of three tracks: Sciences, Humanities, Economics, or Professional training. History is a mandatory course for all students throughout high school, but the curricula differ from one track to the other, allowing humanities students more details. History is only considered to be a discipline of major importance in the first year of secondary school for Science and Economics students, because it is among the subjects on which they are tested in the regional exam. In the following year, history becomes less important to them in comparison with concentration courses, and thus becomes optional.

on colonialism in Morocco but is instead interested in suggesting an approach to define Imperialism through its tools, thus meeting the set pedagogical goals for 11th grade Science students' history textbooks. In the following section, I will present an overview of the main issues with the Moroccan textbook's characterization of Imperialism. Then, I will detail the pedagogical and theoretical tools I rely on to suggest alternatives.

Section 2: Reforming Imperialism in Moroccan High School History Curricula:

I. Introduction to the Moroccan Curricula's Definition of Imperialism:

This section offers a brief overview of the Moroccan high school history curricula to better contextualize the targeted issues in its pedagogical conceptualization of imperialism and the alternatives proposed by this project. First, it is important to mention that Moroccan history curricula have undergone three major reforms (respectively, 1970, 1987, and 2002) since the achievement of independence, before which history textbooks were written in French. Secondly, it is important to understand that in the current iteration of the curricula, content is repetitive throughout the secondary and high school years. As such, the overarching theme of "Major Transformations in the Capitalist World and their Implications in the 19th and 20th Centuries" and the topics discussed within it in the 11th-grade curriculum have already been studied by students in the 9th and 10th grades with slightly fewer details. That is to say that by the 11th grade, students had ample time to gain a general understanding of the main world events, including the imperial competition of the 19th century and the stages of the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco. A study of the evolution of the history curricula throughout this reform can bear very interesting conclusions, not least among which is the substantial restriction of the geographical focus of the global events of interest during the 19th and 20th centuries. This can best be showcased through the following table:

Moroccan Secondary School History Textbooks

		1975 Version	1985 Version	2002 Version
Lesson Topics of events of the 20th century	Russian Revolution	X	X	-
	USSR	X	X	-
	Kemalist Turkey	X	X	-
	Rise of New Arab states	X	X	-
	Maghreb: Interwar period	X	-	-
	Chinese Regression	X	-	-
	Anti-Colonial Resistance in Asia	X	X	-
	Anti-Colonial Resistance in the Middle East	X	X	-
	Anti-Colonial Resistance in Sub-Saharan Africa	X	X	-
	Anti-Colonial Resistance in the Maghreb	X	X	-
	Anti-Colonial Resistance in Morocco	X	X	X

Figure 2.1 Overview of the evolution of Moroccan history curricula throughout its educational reforms. (The sign X refers to presence in the textbooks).

An understanding of this restriction is necessary to showcase the recent nature of the Moroccan curricula's centering of its narrative of imperialism to the case of Moroccan colonialism at the expense of other colonial experiences and relevant global world events. In that context, it is rather predictable that a main criticism directed towards current Moroccan history curricula is that it favors Eurocentric and Morocco-centered narratives of history at the expense of the histories of African, Latin-American, and Asian histories.[103] While this is considered a consequence of the state's Arab ethnocentrism,[104] it is perhaps better attributed to the curricula's interest in writing a history of the Moroccan state since no experiences of imperialism in the Arab world or even in North Africa are mentioned. This is also useful in clarifying to the reader that the proposed textbook chapters' geographical diversity is in no way a radical choice in the context of Moroccan history curricula and is instead an encouragement to go back to including

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[103] Mostafa Hassani-Idrissi, "Pour Une Autre Réforme de l'enseignement de l'histoire Au Maroc,"*Attadriss*, no. 4 (2008), http://search.shamaa.org/PDF/Articles/MRAjms/AjmsNo4Y2008/10AjmsNo4Y2008.pdf, 73.

[104]Mostafa Hassani-Idrissi, "Pour Une Autre Réforme de l'enseignement de l'histoire Au Maroc," 73

more diverse case studies. The curbing of the history curricula to the case of Morocco across the educational reform was tied to an unstable internal and external political context, with the Years of Lead which entailed heavy censorship for the social sciences, and conflicting relations with other arab states in the wake of the anti-monarchy sentiment promoted by pan-arabism. At the time, leftist movements such as marxism and pan-arabism were considered as a threat which motivated the Moroccan state to prevent the capacity for supranational solidarity through a grounding of history within the borders of the Moroccan state. With the strenghtening of the Moroccan state, and the death of pan-arabism and the Moroccan left, such no concerns are no longer relevant. In this context, this project's criticism of the Moroccan history textbooks' framing of imperialism can be summarized in five main points:

1. The choice to center the example of colonialism in Morocco without any contextualization in the history of imperialism in the region or the history of anti-colonial resistance beyond the borders of the modern Moroccan state. As such, the only example students are allowed of imperialism is what they are taught about the experience of colonialism in Morocco.

2. The choice to center the experience of colonialism as perceived by the Moroccan state through a focalization on the colonial state's usurpation of the Sultan's governing powers, which leaves little space for the lived experiences of various colonized subjects and their interactions with colonial settlers and the colonial state. This necessarily implies that the colonial state's interventionism is only mentioned in relation to the state, thus the books include little to no mention of the use, forms, and extent of violence that are inherent to the colonial project.

3. The choice to avoid any mention of the ideological origins of the colonial project, its continuations, and the epistemic violence exercised on colonized subjects, thus resulting

in an unquestioning adoption of eurocentric narratives of world history, especially in relation to the narrative of history as a linear path towards modernity.

4. The choice to frame imperialism as something of the past, thus resulting in a failure to acknowledge and analyze its continuing legacies in the present. This also perpetuates the idea that history is the study of past events that are unrelated to the present.

5. The choice to avoid any critical consideration of sources by abstaining from bringing attention to the nature of sources, their origins, or the narratives/discourse they represent. Sources are thus treated as origins of factual historical claims, much in the same way that students are encouraged to absorb the narrative presented by the textbooks in an uncritical manner.

II. <u>Proposed Alternatives & Pedagogical Considerations:</u>

The following section details this project's proposed choices to amend what it considers a failure to provide a pedagogical conceptualization of imperialism as a social formation in the 19th and 20th centuries. This project attempts to navigate these pitfalls through four main strategies, as follows:

1. <u>*Uncovering the Spectre of White Supremacy:*</u>

Among the main forms of discursive epistemic violence determined by Tadashi Dozono is the perpetuation of World History narratives that relegate non-European nations to the margins.[105] This form of epistemic violence is eloquently theorized in Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, where he argues for the need to acknowledge each province's sovereignty over their respective epistemologies so

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[105] Tadashi Dozono, "The Passive Voice of White Supremacy," 8

that European epistemologies can exist beside Indigenous ones instead of forcefully imposing the former on Indigenous histories.[106] In her chapter on narratives and discourse on national identity in Moroccan history textbooks, Katherine Maye-Saidi observes that 50% of the Moroccan history curricula's content pertains to Western, mainly European countries, while 25% pertains to the Arab World, and 25% to Morocco itself.[107] Moroccan history textbooks' perpetuation of the passive acceptance of the centering of European historical experiences and events in world history can be observed through the Ministerial pedagogical directives for the 11th-grade history curriculum:

Document Title: History Curriculum: Major Transformations in the Capitalist World and their Implications in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Unit 1: General Introduction: History Curriculum: Major Transformations in the Capitalist World and their Implications in the 19th and 20th centuries	
First Section: Europe's Rise to Dominance & Attempted Reforms in the Face of Imperialism	
Units:	Global Economic, Financial, Social, and Intellectual Transformations in the 19th century, Imperial Competition and the Beginning of the First World War, Intellectual Awakening in the Arab Mashreq, Colonial Pressure on Morocco and Attempted Reforms,
Second Section: Imperial Contradictions and Morocco's Struggle for Independence	
Units:	Europe: From the end of World War I to the 1929 Crisis, World War II: Causes & Repercussions, The Protectorate System in Morocco and Colonial Exploitation The Moroccan Struggle for Independence and the Completion of Territorial Unity.
File: Globalization & Modern Challenges	

Figure 2.2: Curricula for the 11th grade, Sciences Branch.[108]

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[106] See Dipesh Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[107] Katherine Maye-Saidi, "Narratives and Discourse on National Identity in Moroccan Textbooks ," essay, in *Multiple Alterities: Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*, ed. Elie Podeh and Samira Alayan (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 235.

[108] Directorate of Curricula, *Pedagogical Directives and Curricula for History and Geography for High School Students*. Ministry of National Education, November 2007, p. 24

The proposed chapters' attempt to recenter the geographical focus onto ex-colonies, primarily in North and Sub-Saharan Africa, is motivated by two main reasons. The first is the refusal of this centralization of European historical experiences - despite focusing on the necessarily European historical phenomenon of colonialism– and narratives of world history. The second is that this attention to the African continent is legitimized on several levels: first by the Ministry's pedagogical directives,[109] second by the Moroccan state's foreign policy interests,[110] and third and most importantly to our purposes, by the accurate historical reflection of the interwoven nature of imperial systems, resistance to them, and colonial legacies in the African continent. As such, every proposed chapter includes activities that consider different experiences of colonialism and imperialism, thus allowing students' understanding of imperialism to be informed by a wide range of cases. This choice is an attempt at applying what Gaztambide-Fernández terms a "pedagogy of solidarity," meant to help students understand the commonality of the experience of colonized subjects across their differences.[111] This can be observed in the first activity of the Physical Violence chapter, among others, which focuses on the interconnection of the Tunisian and Moroccan anti-colonial resistance struggles (See Physical Violence Chapter, Activity °1). The focus on the Tunisian Union Leader Farhat Hashad's assassination, which is portrayed briefly and without context in the textbook's lesson titled "The Protectorate System in Morocco and Colonial Exploitation," is here contextualized in the broader trans-imperial anti-colonial resistance movement that triggered a wave of protests spanning from Morocco to Malaysia to the French colonial metropole. By allowing students the space to engage with the discourse around the colonial violence enacted in this case and to

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[109] Directorate of Curricula, *Pedagogical Directives and Curricula for History and Geography for High School Students*. Ministry of National Education, November 2007, p. 10.

[110] Morocco is the second largest investor in Africa as of 2021 with foreign direct investment reaching 800 million dollars, See: Olivier Monnier, "Morocco's Southward Investment Push a Win for Africa," *IFC*, accessed March 3, 2024, https://www.ifc.org/en/stories/2024/moroccos-southward-investment-push-win-for-africa#:~:text=Financing%20the%20continent,the%20largest%20in%20West%20Africa.

[111] Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 49

reflect on the role of workers' unions in rallying colonial subjects across imperial lines, this activity encourages students to consider the type of ties that linked colonized peoples as well as observe colonial discourse around violence in this case.

2. *Naming Colonial Violence:*

The Moroccan history curricula's deflection of conversations on colonial violence serves to maintain the mythology of what was termed a Moroccan "Exception" by scholars like Mohamed Chtatou, whereby Morocco is considered "very lucky" to be subjected to a "soft colonization" that "allowed for the preservation of Moroccan culture and mostly peaceful relations."[112] The implied comparison here is typically made with the case of Algeria, in which the people "were systematically oppressed and marginalized to a horrific degree," to the extent that "the trauma has reverberated through the generations, shaping the psyche of Algerians today."[113] The perpetuation of this myth in the textbook not only silences the violence exercised on Moroccan colonial subjects but also serves to promote the idea that colonial projects could be created and maintained in a non-violent way. This sanitization of the Moroccan colonial experience in the textbook is made clear through the textbook's reliance on Resident General Lyautey's definition of the protectorate system as a "non-personal, non-local, non-French issue… it is to be concluded that Morocco is an independent state being protected by France, under the Sultan's sovereignty."[114]

The proposed lesson units pay particular attention to avoiding this pitfall by heeding Tadashi Dozono's warning concerning the perpetuation of White Supremacy in historical curricula by

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[112] Mohamed Chtatou, "The 'Moroccan Exception' in Question," LinkedIn, July 20, 2018, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/moroccan-exception-question-mohamed-chtatou.

[113] Mohamed Chtatou, "The 'Moroccan Exception' in Question."

[114] Ibn-Yaʿqub, Muhamad, Muhamad Shajīʿ, ʿAbd-al-ilāh A-daḥānī, ʿAbd-al-ʿAziz Bāḥū, and ʿAlī Alḥmūmiya. *Mawrid Al-Tārīkh Wa-l-Jughrāphiya* (The Resource for History and Geography). Rabat: Dār Attajdīd li-annashr w attawzīʿ, 2006.

relying on the passive voice and not recognizing the active violence perpetuated by Europeans.[115] This is done through the active choice to consistently combine primary and secondary sources to represent colonial declarations of intent where various colonial strategies of physical and epistemic violence are named, and their intended outcomes are clearly outlined. The purpose of such an endeavor is not to engage in considerations of blame and guilt. Instead, the recognition of these violences, the ends they served for the colonial government, and the implications they have had for the lived experiences of Indigenous communities serve to help students understand the logic and workings of the colonial project. Additionally, it aims to dismantle persisting colonial mythologies about the nature and extent of the harm perpetuated against colonial subjects and its legacies. This can be observed in the Violences of Knowledge Chapter's Activity n°3, which encourages students to question the French colonial government's interest in inventing the ethnic and religious categories in North Africa while accounting for indigenous peoples's agencies, fluid identities, and their negotiations with colonial structures.

3. *Acknowledging Continuing Imperial Legacies:*

The Moroccan history curricula's choice to frame imperialism and historical inquiry into it as things of the past without relation to the present is one of the main issues that this project is concerned with. While this choice might seem justifiable for the purposes of the creation of a narrative of the Moroccan state, it involves an unnecessary sacrifice of nuanced pedagogical conceptualizations of historical phenomena and history education to build this simplistic, non-critical narrative of nation and state-building. As previously stated, the idea of continuing imperial legacies across the globe does not include any inherent contradictions to the idea of the continuity of the Moroccan state. As such, each chapter attempts to draw students' attention

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[115] Tadashi Dozono, "The Passive Voice of White Supremacy," 15

to imperial tools, especially imperial discourse, that can help them make sense of modern forms of imperial oppression. This can best be observed through the Violences of Knowledge Chapter's Activity n°1, which details the origins of imperial ideology through the use of political cartoons. In this activity, students are provided with a controlled environment, through the choice of sources and the presence of the professor, to observe, analyze, and discuss the portrayal of their communities in colonial imaginaries. This is particularly useful in the context of the perpetuation of epistemic violence against North African communities, especially Muslim ones, through the use of political cartoons and caricatures in modern-day France.[116] Such conversations around the origins of these forms of epistemic harm help prepare students to live in a world where these same forms of epistemic violence continue to be perpetuated against them. In the specific case of political cartoons, it is imperative that students are able to recognize the ideological basis for these caricatures and their intent so that they can have the tools to deconstruct and criticize them. This can ensure that students' first encounter with political cartoons is not an unprepared subjection to the portrayal of Muslims, Arabs, and religious/cultural holy figures as regressive, fanatic savages, as well as the violence of seeing the ensuing debate being framed around free speech and shown as proof that Muslims and Arabs are incapable of assimilating into "European" culture and embracing democratic or modern values.[117]

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[116] Reference is here made to the French case of *Charlie Hebdo* and the Danish *Jyllands-Posten* case, where cartoonists published questionable depictions of Muslims and Arabs under the guise of societal critique. See: Ali J. Hussain, "The Media's Role in a Clash of Misconceptions: The Case of the Danish Muhammad Cartoons," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 12, no. 4 (October 2007): 112–30, https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180x07307190., and Brian Trench, "'Charlie Hebdo', Islamophobia and Freedoms of the Press," *An Irish Quarterly Review* 105, no. 418 (Summer 2016): 183–91, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24871662.

[117] For more on representations of Arabs and Muslims in Western media, as forms of neo-Orientalism and imperial knowledge, see: Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 783–90, https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2002.104.3.783., Kim Berry, "The Symbolic Use Of Afghan Women In The War On Terror," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 27, no. 2 (2003), https://www.jstor.org/stable/23524156., and Julie Harth, "Exercising Agency: Contesting Cultural Imperialism in the Depiction of Muslim Women," *DĀNESH: The OU Undergraduate Journal of Iranian Studies* 3 (2018).

4. _Acknowledging Discourse through Narrative and Source Diversity:_

Beyond content-related considerations, this project seeks to distinguish itself from Moroccan history textbooks by primarily relying on source, perspective, and medium diversity to nuance historical narratives and acknowledge the constructed nature of historical sources. This can best be observed through the Physical Violence Unit's activity n°2 and its conversation around the Algerian War. This activity takes on the difficult task of introducing students to the forms of violence that have been used against Indigenous people in Algeria, a conversation that is entirely silenced in the Moroccan history textbook, through the use of comic book panels that allow students to focus on various forms of violence with an acknowledgment of multiperspectivity.[118] Additionally, students are encouraged to detect narratives within individual sources, compare them to other sources in the activity, and contextualize them in the broader quest to understand the complex realities and discourses of empire. This can best be observed in the lesson units' proposed discussion of physical violence through the example of French colonial violence in the case of the Casablanca Massacres (See Activity n°1, which allows students to consider various accounts and narratives of how the French Empire used violence to maintain its rule in the last decade of its physical presence in North Africa. Perhaps more importantly, it allows students an understanding of the diversity of perceptions of this violence on both sides of the colonial divide.

III.   A Note on Empire & the Case of Arabic Translation:[119]

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[118] Marc Kropman, Jannet van Drie, and Carla van Boxtel, "The Influence of Multiperspectivity in History Texts on Students' Representations of a Historical Event," _European Journal of Psychology of Education_ 38, no. 3 (November 4, 2022): 1295–1315, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-022-00644-7.

[119] Transliteration in this section and beyond relies on the _International Journal of Middle East Studies_ (IJMES) system of transliteration.

Such concerns over epistemologies necessarily segue into concerns over language and translation. Indeed, such conversations over the definition of empire are further complicated when the language of study is not English. The need to account for radically different etymologies and meanings of concepts such as "empire" and "imperialism," and, in some cases, the absence of existing words to refer to certain behaviors and entities poses a serious challenges for scholarly circles where the language of writing is not English. This is a major issue in many fields where concepts have been coined in the context of Western socio-political historiographies and are expected to exist in other languages and be applied to their contexts as it does in the West. Ironically enough, such issues are termed issues of "modernity," and perpetuate Eurocentric epistemic violence. Beyond these considerations, there lies the necessary issue of translation in the context of conceptualizing imperialism for Moroccan history textbooks.

In Arabic, both the words "empire" (*Imbrāṭūriyya*) and "imperialism" (*Imppiryāliyya*) are Arabized words of Latin origin. The issue with these terms is that they are not indigenous, are rarely ever used beyond scholarly circles and are removed from students' liguistic environment. The concepts used in the textbooks can be translated roughly to "colonialism" (*Istiʿmār*) and "occupation" (*Iḥtilāl*), both used interchangeably to refer to colonialism as a phenomenon. The matter is only further complicated by the fact the Arabic word for "colonialism" (*Istiʿmār*), both colloquially and academically, does not hold the negative connotations that are implied by the English word. This word in Arabic originates from the word (*ʿammara*) present in Quranic scripture and is used to refer to God inviting humans to inhabit the earth. The word's connotation is rooted in this meaning and is thus still tied to the idea of inhabiting a land and developing it rather than the ideas and practice of settler colonialism and the violent subjugation of people that it entails. The fact that this word continues to be used to refer to "colonialism" despite this neutral-positive connotation necessarily has implications for the understanding of these

concepts and the historical processes they refer to. More directly to the purposes of our study, such a connotation would need to be taken into consideration when creating materials for history curricula that deal with such historical phenomena in this specific linguistic context. In other words, it falls to textbook producers and professors to ensure that students gain an understanding of the realities of the actors that have engaged with these forms of domination despite the word's neutral-positive connotation in Arabic. The work of accurately reflecting the reality of such a phenomenon must be done to meet the curriculum's pedagogical objectives and counter the word's colloquial, historically inaccurate meaning when referring to Western European colonialism.

Section 3: Proposed Textbook Chapters:[120]

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[120] All translations in this section are done by the author, unless otherwise mentioned.

Textbook Chapter - Physical Violence

Note for the reader: All translations in this unit are made by the author.
Note for the reader: This lesson is preceded by the textbook's lessons titled "The Protectorate System in Morocco and Colonial Exploitation," and "The Moroccan Struggle for Independence and the Completion of Territorial Unity." Both these lessons provide a general overview of the Moroccan colonial experience.

File Title: Empire & Colonialism
Unit Number: 1
Unit Title: Physical Violence

Main Objective: Understanding the exercise of physical violence as an essential colonial tool. This lesson plan details the various types of violence, both targeted, structural, and conjunctural, utilized by colonial governments to control indigenous populations and facilitate the workings of the colonial project.

Objectives Related to the Educational Activities:
-   Learning about notable types of colonial violence,
-   Understanding the various forms of violence necessary for the functioning and maintenance of the colonial project,
-   Understanding the difficulties around using concepts of victim vs perpetrator in the context of violent colonial events,
-   Understanding the continuing effects of certain forms of violence perpetrated against native communities,

Pre-requisite: Having a general understanding of the various stages of Moroccan colonization and the challenges to achieving Moroccan independence.

Unit Timetable:

Session	Activity	Time Allocated	Description
Session 1 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Professor's Introduction	20 minutes	In their introduction, the professor provides the general context for the unit while referring to the introductory activity.
	Introductory Activity	20 minutes	This is a non-guided activity as it relies the most on previous conclusions and lessons.
	Activity 1	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that lasts 40 minutes. Students are given 10 minutes to consider the sources of each section. Then, questions will be asked aloud and discussed for 10 minutes.
	Activity 2	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that should take 40 minutes. Since sessions usually last for 2 hours, this activity marks the end of the first part of the lesson. It ends with an assignment.
Session 2 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Mid-Unit Assignment Review	20 minutes	This is a guided activity where the professor collects student responses and helps answer the prompt. The questions are asked out loud, and responses are collected and contributed to by the Professor. The purpose of this activity is to remind students of the conclusions learned in the previous session and prepare for the current session. It is also an opportunity for students to reflect on these conclusions in relation to the discipline of history.
	Activity 3	45 minutes	This is a non-guided activity, where the students split into groups and engage in a mock trial. The students are allowed 10 minutes to consider the sources and come up with their short speeches, 20 minutes to present their cases, and the professor can intervene with feedback before the class votes for a ruling in the remaining 10 minutes.
	Activity 4	35 minutes	This is a guided activity that should last 40 minutes. 30 minutes for the students to consider the sources. Then, 10 minutes for the discussion.
	Concluding Activity	20 minutes	This should be part of the teacher's conclusion. It is only an opportunity to remind students of the main conclusions and help clarify the end-of-unit assignment.

Section A: Professor's Introduction:

∗ Must include an introduction to 4 main questions:

- How can we understand the role played by violence in the colonial project? What was its purpose?
- What are the different forms in which colonial violence was exercised in a colonial context?
- What are the various instances of victimhood and perpetration of violence in a colonial context?
- How do we navigate conversations around blame and responsibility when talking about colonial violence?

Section B: Introductory Activity: Frantz Fanon: On Colonial Violence

Activity Objective: Students are introduced to prominent anti-colonial figure Frantz Fanon and his theorizations on the use of colonial violence, its causes, and its effects.

Prominent Figure: "Born on the island of Martinique under French colonial rule, Frantz Omar Fanon (1925–1961) was one of the most important writers in black Atlantic theory in an age of anti-colonial liberation struggle. His work drew on a wide array of poetry, psychology, philosophy, and political theory, and its influence across the global South has been wide, deep, and enduring. Fanon engaged the fundamental issues of his day: language, affect, sexuality, gender, race and racism, religion, social formation, time, and many others. His participation in the Algerian revolutionary struggle shifted his thinking from theorizations of blackness to a wider, more ambitious theory of colonialism, anti-colonial struggle, and visions for a postcolonial culture and society."[121]

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[121] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "Frantz Fanon," 14/03/2019. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/frantz-fanon/

Document 1: Picture of Frantz Fanon at a Writer's Conference in Tunis (1959):

Source: Wikimedia Commons, "Frantz Fanon at a press conference during a writers' conference in Tunis, 1959."
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:02_Frantz-Fanon-lors-dune-conf%C3%A9rence-de-presse-du-Congr%C3%A8s-des-%C3%A9crivains-%C3%A0-Tunis-1959.jpg

Document 2: Excerpt from Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth:

Decolonization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that sort of substantification which results from and is nourished by the situation in the colonies. Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together— that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler—was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons. The settler and the native are old acquaintances. In fact, the settler is right when he speaks of knowing "them" well. For it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and who perpetuates his existence. The settler owes the fact of his very existence, that is to say, his property, to the colonial system [...]

The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression [...] In the colonial countries, on the contrary, the policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action maintain contact with the native and advise him by means of rifle butts and napalm not to budge. It is obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1963. Présence Africaine.

Document 3: Excerpt of Jean-Paul Sartre's Preface to Frantz Fanon's work:

In the case of forced labor, it is quite the contrary. There is no contract; moreover, there must be intimidation and thus oppression grows. Our soldiers overseas, rejecting the universalism of the mother country, apply the "numerus clausus" to the human race: since none may enslave, rob, or kill his fellow man without committing a crime, they lay down the principle that the native is not one of our fellow men. Our striking power has been given the mission of changing this abstract certainty into reality: the order is given to reduce the inhabitants of the annexed country to the level of superior monkeys in order to justify the settler's treatment of them as beasts of burden. Violence in the colonies does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm's length; it seeks to dehumanize them [...]

For when you domesticate a member of our own species, you reduce his output, and however little you may give him, a farmyard man finishes by costing more than he brings in. For this reason the settlers are obliged to stop the breaking-in halfway; the result, neither man nor animal, is the native. Beaten, undernourished, ill, terrified— but only up to a certain point—he has, whether he's black, yellow, or white, always the same traits of character: he's a sly-boots, a lazybones, and a thief, who lives on nothing, and who understands only violence.

Sartre, Jean-Paul, "Préface" in Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 1963. Présence Africaine.

Questions:

1. According to Fanon, what is the source of the violence linking the colonial settler and the native?
2. Why does Fanon consider that it is the settler who brought the native into existence?
3. According to Jean-Paul Sartre's préface, what makes colonial settlers' use of colonial violence against natives possible? What is the purpose of this violence?

Activity 1: The 1952 Casablanca Massacre:

Activity Objective: Help students understand the complexity of conjunctural outbursts of violence from colonial settlers, officials, and indigenous populations. Students are also encouraged to reflect on the ties linking different colonies, especially in terms of the exercise of colonial violence.

Document 1: Portrait of Farhat Hashed:

Memory Box: Farhat Hashed was a Tunisian labor unionist and activist, first introduced to students in the context of an activity concerning the Casablanca Massacres of 1952 in the unit titled "Morocco's Struggle for Independence and the Completion of Territorial Unity."

Source: Wikimedia Commons, *Farhat Hached (1914–1952) – national hero of Tunisia, General Secretary of the Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT) and one of the leaders of the national independence movement.*
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Farhat_Hached_02.jpg

Document 2: Press Excerpt: Immediate Cause & Consequences of the 1952 Massacre:

> **Memory Box:** A brief mention of the Casablanca Massacres can be found in the unit titled "Morocco's Struggle for Independence and the Completion of Territorial Unity."

Press Excerpt

Although some agree to call them "the uprisings of December 1952", the incendiary and bloody riots that shook Casablanca that year were the paroxysm of a tragic series of revolts that had lasted too long, in Morocco and the Maghreb. At first glance, and to understand the consequences of these events, a zoom-out on their main cause is necessary: in Tunisia, Farhat Hached, a union hero and prominent nationalist figure, was assassinated on December 5, 1952, near Radès. According to many Tunisian and North African historians, this independence leader was assassinated by the Main Rouge, a French-armed organization urging the continuation of French colonialism in Tunisia.

As soon as his death was announced by the media, a human tide blackened all of Tunisia and all of the Maghreb. The next day, the General Union of Moroccan Trade Unions, in agreement with the Istiqlal party (Independence Party), called for a general strike to protest against this odious, not to say despicable, act. No sooner said than done: on December 7 and 8, Casablanca was on the verge of the apocalypse.

In the eyes of France, the strong reactions, which spread from the protectorates to the colonies, were too important to be ignored. But France had barely had time for much consideration before peaceful demonstrations erupted in Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, Agadir starting December 7.

But it is in Casablanca that the riots reach their full extent, spilling over into the Foreign Legion and the army. Which had the questionable reflex of shooting point-blank at the demonstrators, causing one hundred to three hundred deaths, according to historians. This pushed the Resident-General in Morocco to force the dissolution of the Istiqlal party and arrest its leaders. New clashes punctuated the summer of 1955 in the same city and multiplied throughout Morocco, and then were resumed with a vengeance in 1965, as well as in Casablanca in June 1981.

HOUDA BELABD, "RÉTRO-VERSO : IL Y A 71 ANS, DES SOULÈVEMENTS DANS LES CARRIÈRES CENTRALES AGITAIENT CASABLANCA," L'OPINION, 06/12/2023

Document 3: Colonial Archives Excerpt: Colonial Reaction to the Demonstrations:

Excerpt of letter addressed to the Commanding General of the Moroccan troops, by General Deleuze, Commander of the Casablanca Division

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the summary of the events which took place in Casablanca on December 7 and 8, 1952. Since that date, if demonstrations have still taken place in the Casablanca division,... Order was very easily maintained everywhere, and in the city of Casablanca itself, numerous arrests were made without any difficulty [...] It must be said, however, that peace has not completely returned to people's minds. A secret animosity can still be detected among many Moroccans in poor neighborhoods and a regrettable psychosis of fear has taken hold of the rich European population [...] The unrest of December 7 and 8 undoubtedly surprised no one. From the beginning of November I had reported to Monsieur, head of the Casablanca region, despite the apparent calm it was to be expected that we would soon have some problems in Casablanca [...] Intense propaganda was made by the nationalists on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the ascension to the throne of the current sultan on November first- sultan and nationalists agreed to try to demonstrate [...] that all Moroccan populations united behind their sultan to demand independence. Order was not disturbed and the organizers of the celebrations did not even register a half-hearted success. The Sultan's speech, moderate in form, but very clear in substance, nevertheless had a real impact [...] There are strong governments, which are obeyed without murmuring, and there are weak governments, which generate anarchy , because it no longer obeys. This loss of prestige due, on the one hand to the action of the UN and on the other hand to the Speech from the Throne, is the real cause of the unrest that Morocco experienced during this week. The assassination of the Tunisian nationalist and CGT leader Farhat Hached was only the pretext. This is what we must be convinced of.

Lahrim. Noureddine, "Le Mouvement National de 1950 à 1952: Documents Historiques de la Résistance et de la Libération," Cahier n°5, Centre des documents historiques de la résistance et de la libération. Haut Commiissariat aux Anciens Résistants et Anciens Membres de l'Armée de Libération. (Ed. 2022)

Document 4: Press Excerpt: Front Page - La Vigie Marocaine du 09/12/1952:

DIX PAGES - En page . . LE CINÉMA - Demain : LA VIGIE DES JEUNES

La Région nous communique :
LE COUVRE-FEU EST SUPPRIMÉ A CASABLANCA

LA VIGIE *marocaine*

15 fr. — LE PLUS ANCIEN ET LE PLUS FORT TIRAGE DES JOURNAUX DU MAROC — 15 fr.

Directeur : Émile EYRAUD

MARDI
9
DECEMBRE
1952

LE CALME EST RETABLI
A CASABLANCA

Aucun incident depuis 2 heures du matin

Bilan des émeutes : sept Européens sauvagement massacrés et mis en pièces

Plusieurs Européens blessés dont trois grièvement

UNE QUARANTAINE D'ÉMEUTIERS TUÉS
Cinq cents arrestations

Deuxième assaut contre le commissariat des Carrières centrales

AU COURS DE L'APRÈS-MIDI D'HIER

Des milliers d'émeutiers ont tenté de pénétrer dans la ville européenne

Mais le service d'ordre les en a empêchés

Les trois premières victimes

Les élus casablancais du 3ᵐᵉ Collège demandent une action énergique et définitive

La responsabilité des Nations Unies est lourde

Les Etats-Unis reconnaissent maintenant que l'ingérence de l'O.N.U. en Afrique du Nord serait nuisible, mais c'est un peu tard !...

(De notre rédacteur diplomatique André MANNONI)

LE BILAN DES EMEUTES

■ 7 morts européens :
M. Louis Ribes
M. Francois Mira
M. Henri Ramaya
M. Emile Saurrat
■ 3 morts qui n'ont pas encore été identifiés
■ 2 moghaxnis tués
■ 3 blessés européens :
■ Emeutiers tués
■ Emeutiers blessés
■ 500 arrestations

Meurtre sauvage de M. Louis Ribes

L'ancien chef des Services municipaux de diverses villes du Maroc a été assassiné et écharpé par des émeutiers qui l'ont tiré de son automobile alors qu'il passait dans le quartier de l'Ecole Industrielle

M. Louis RIBES

Un cheminot grièvement blessé

LE BILLET DU JOUR
APRÈS LES ÉMEUTES...

V. M.

■ Voici, jonchant la chaussée de la rue Lassale, une faible partie du morceau d'armes trouvées sur les « syndicalistes » qui s'étaient réunis à la Maison des Syndicats et que la police désarma au cours d'opérations qui se prolongèrent plusieurs heures.

■ Après avoir été fouillés et désarmés, les manifestants expulsés de la Maison des Syndicats gagnent, mains en l'air, les cars qui vont les amener à l'hôtel de police.

la cerise elle-même
Cherry ROcher
GRANDE LIQUEUR
EXIGEZ BIEN UN ROCHER

BIENTOT LA LIGNE
ALBA
Casa!

Une SIMCA d'occasion
Ets AMIC
61, Bd de Marseille

SIM
L'EAU DE TABLE

PARFUMS
JEAN PATOU
PARIS
"Amour Amour"
"Moment suprême"
"Colony"
"Joy"

le parfum enveloppant comme la soie
Crêpe de Chine
parfum de
F. MILLOT
PARIS

EN AVANCE DE 4 ANS
Simca 9 Aronde
Nouveaux prix

Source: "La Vigie marocaine," Casablanca, 09/12/1952, BnF/Gallica,
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5151221s#

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Headline Translation:

"Order has been re-established in Casablanca: No incident since 2 AM. Report on the Massacres: 7 Europeans were savagely massacred and cut into pieces, many Europeans were wounded, 3 among whom suffered severe wounds, about 40 perpetrators were killed, and 500 arrests made."

Document 5: Press Excerpt: La Vigie Marocaine du 09/12/1952:

APRES les troubles qui avaient marqué la nuit de dimanche à lundi, venant eux-mêmes après deux attentats à la bombe, Casablanca a vécu hier une journée d'émeutes telle qu'elle n'en avait jamais connue. Il suffit de noter cette succession des faits pour y reconnaître l'aboutissement d'une longue campagne de haine, et la simple application d'un plan d'agitation soigneusement mis au point depuis des semaines par les extrémistes de l'Istiqlal, avec le concours des hommes de main du parti communiste marocain. Pour passer de la menace à l'exécution, il fallait une occasion que les agitateurs avaient choisie aussi depuis longtemps : l' « affaire » tunisienne à l'ordre du jour de la session de l'O.N.U., occasion que l'assassinat du leader syndicaliste tunisien Ferhat Hached est venue doubler à point nommé d'un excellent prétexte.

A Casablanca, on a obéi au mot d'ordre, au jour et à l'heure fixés, et il serait fort impudent, pour les organisateurs de cette journée d'émeute, de prétendre qu'il pouvait s'agir, pour leurs troupes, d'une manifestation dictée par un quelconque sentiment de solidarité avec les syndicalistes tunisiens. Il est aisé de s'en rendre compte lorsqu'on constate qu'il a été fait appel, pour « manifester », à une pègre où se comptent de très nombreux jeunes voyous, de 12 à 18 ans, sans doute incapables d'avoir une opinion personnelle, mais toujours prêts à participer à un mauvais coup, à plus forte raison lorsque des meneurs ont pu leur faire miroiter l'impunité dont ils pouvaient bénéficier, à la faveur des événements.

Ces voyous, sans foi ni loi, venus de partout, et que la police avait en partie refoulés grâce à des rafles régulières et efficaces, constituent les équipes de choc des partis extrémistes. Les autres suivent le mouvement sans savoir ou bien par peur, et sont souvent les victimes des premiers, lorsque, pour maintenir l'ordre, il n'est plus possible de choisir entre les incendiaires, les assassins et les imprudents moutons.

Deuxième assaut contre le commissariat des Carrières centrales

C'est cette foule menaçante qui, après avoir assailli le commissariat des Carrières Centrales durant la nuit, se regroupa hier matin vers 9 h. 30 sur les mêmes lieux et tenta un nouvel assaut contre le poste de police.

Mais, après la chaude alerte de la nuit, qui avait laissé sur le terrain — rappelons-le — deux moghazenis et un manifestant, des

écrasée par de grosses pierres et le corps était en partie calciné. On pense que cette troisième victime est M. Moreau, le propriétaire de la roulotte-camping qui

SUITE PAGE 3

■ Voici, jonchant la chaussée de la rue Lassalle, une faible partie du monceau d'armes trouvées sur les « syndicalistes » qui s'étaient réunis à la Maison des Syndicats et que la police désarma au cours d'opérations qui se prolongèrent plusieurs heures.

(Photo Roger Lion)

Source: "La Vigie marocaine," Casablanca, 09/12/1952, BnF/Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5151221s#

Translation:

"After the unrest which marked the night from Sunday to Monday, itself coming after two bomb attacks, yesterday, Casablanca experienced a day of riots such as it had never known. It is enough to note this succession of facts to recognize the culmination of a long campaign of hatred and the simple application of a plan of agitation carefully developed for weeks by the extremists of Istiqlal, with the competition of henchmen of the Moroccan communist party. To move from threat to execution, an opportunity was needed that the agitators had also chosen for a long time: the Tunisian affair on the agenda of the UN session, the assassination of Tunisian trade union leader Ferhat Hached came at the right time, providing an excellent excuse.

In Casablanca, the call was heeded, and it would be very imprudent for the organizers of this day of rioting to claim that it could be a matter, for their troops, of a demonstration dictated by any feeling of solidarity with Tunisian trade unionists. It is easy to realize this when we see that an underworld was called upon to "demonstrate" where there are many young thugs aged 12 to 18, undoubtedly incapable of having a personal opinion but always ready to participate in a wicked action, especially when the leaders were able to make them believe in the impunity from which they could benefit, considering the events.

These thugs, without faith or law, coming from everywhere, and whom the police had partly driven back thanks to regular and effective raids, constitute the shock teams of the extremist parties. The others follow the movement without knowing or out of fear and are often the victims of the first, when, to maintain order, it is no longer possible to choose between arsonists, assassins, and reckless sheep."

Questions:

1. What prompted the demonstrations that eventually resulted in the Casablanca massacres? Using the following table, consider the perspective of the French colonial government, the French press, and Moroccan demonstrators.

	French colonial government	French Press	Moroccan Demonstrators
Causes			
Effects			

2. Contrast and compare the narratives presented by the 3 different sources. Why does the narrative of the 1952 Casablanca massacres change when told by different sources at different times?
3. Consider the adjectives used to describe Europeans and Natives according to each source. Use the table below to note the various adjectives and categorize them based on their connotations.

	European	Native
Positive Connotation		
Negative Connotation		

4. Compare the sentences used to refer to European and native casualties in the 1952 article excerpt. Do you notice any differences?

Activity 2: Violence during the Algerian War:

> *Activity Objective:* Help students understand the degree of violence enacted by the French imperial project in Algeria through comic books. Encourage students to consider comic books as a medium for telling history.

> *Word Box:* The Pieds Noirs are a group of people born in colonial Algeria (1830-1962), descendants of French and European settlers. They were strong proponents of the continuation of French colonial rule in Algeria. After the Algerian independence, many chose to leave for France or emigrate elsewhere. In opposition to the referendum for Algerian Independence, they created the Organization de l'Armée Secrète (OSA), which perpetuated great violence against proponents of Algerian Independence.

Document 1: The Algerian Uprising:

Source: The Week of Barricades in Alger, found in Howell, Jennifer. *Algerian War in French-language comics: Postcolonial Memory, history, and subjectivity*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015, p 79.

Description: The decline of French Algeria is shown through a juxtaposition of newspapers still attempting to push the colonial government's narrative and the Pieds Noirs demonstrations taking place during the Week of Barricades.

Word Box: The Harkis were originally a group of native Algerians who joined the French Army during the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962). Later, the term Harkis came to refer to civilian and military Algerians who supported the French colonial regime in this war. After the Algerian Independence, the French colonial government was disinterested in allowing the Harkis to follow the Pieds-Noirs into France. As such, the abandoned Harkis later suffered great violence at the hands of nationalists, especially in retaliation to the terrorist attacks perpetrated by the OSA.

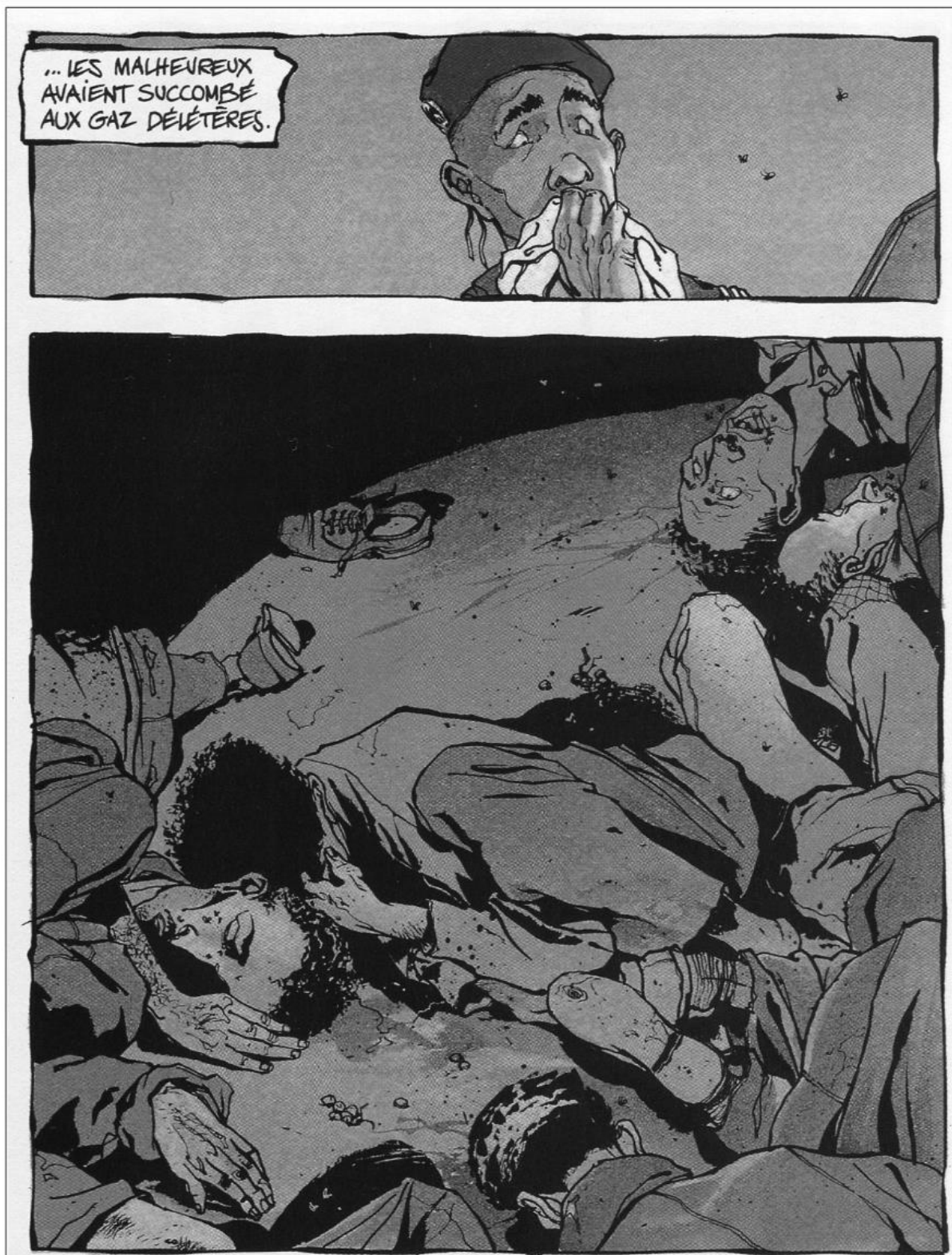Document 2: The Abandonment of the Harkis:
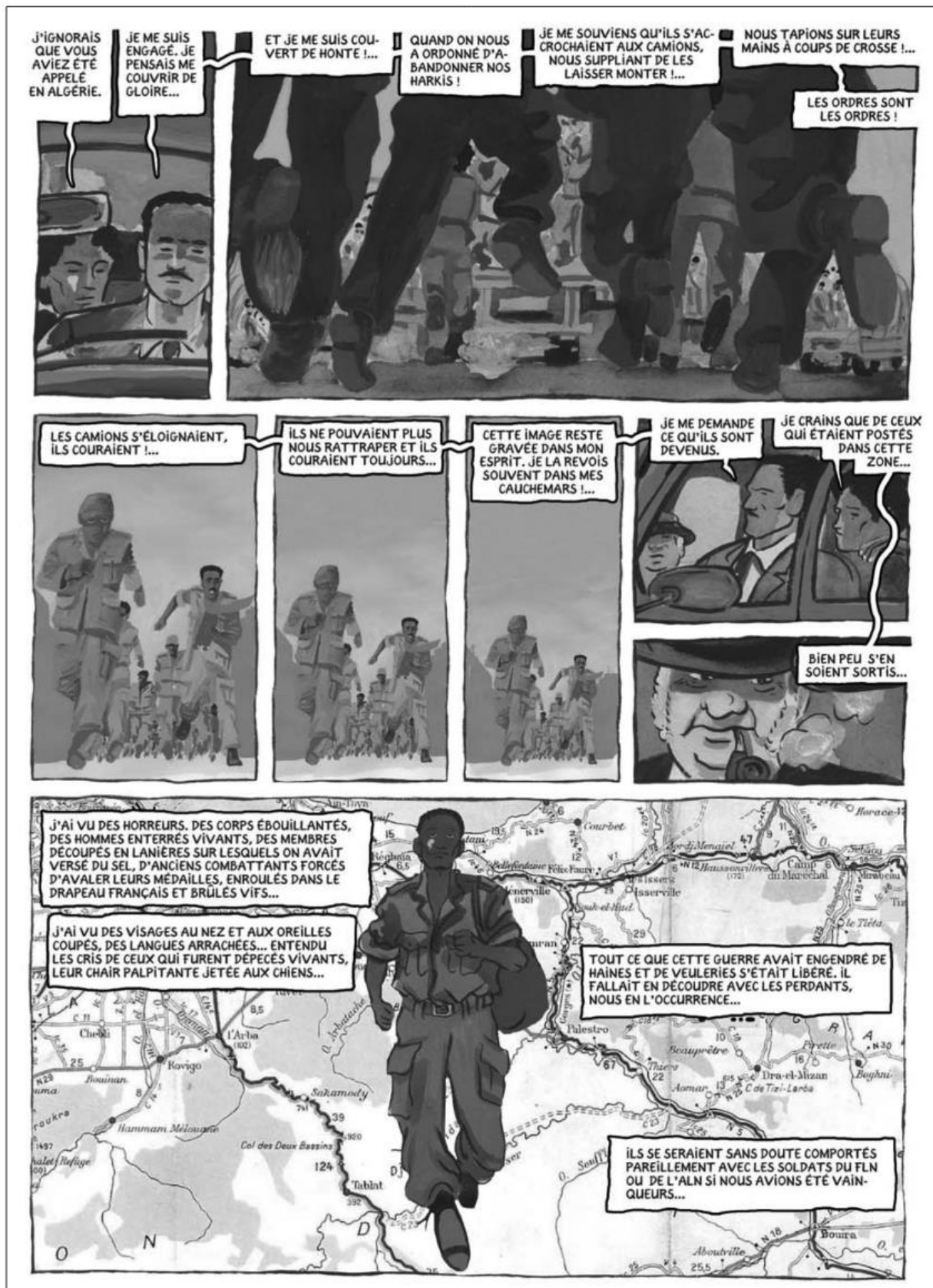
Source: McKinney, Mark. *Redrawing French Empire in Comics*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013, p196.

Description: Two French soldiers, a Harki and a Pied-Noir, converse about the Pied-Noir's experience in Algeria. The soldier speaks of the abandonment of the Harkis and their subsequent suffering at the hands of nationalists.

Document 3: Crimes of War in Algeria:

Source: Excerpt from Azrayen found in McKinney, Mark. *Redrawing French Empire in Comics*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013, p 167

Description: A French soldier is horrified by the realization that he participated in a war crime by imprisoning a group of Algerian youth prisoners in an empty wine fermentation vat, where they died suffocated by the gas.

Document 4: Love in Algeria:

Source: Found in McKinney, Mark. *Redrawing French Empire in Comics*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013, p 179

Description: A mixed couple, consisting of a French Pied-Noir soldier and an Algerian woman who works with the Front de Libération Nationale, is taunted by other French soldiers.

Questions:

1. Based on the previous sources, cite the different types of people who participated in the Algerian War of Independence. What relationships linked these people during the Algerian War of Independence?
2. Based on the instances of violence discussed in these sources, complete the table below with examples of violence in the context of the Algerian War, where each one of these actors was a victim and a perpetrator of violence.

Actors	Victim	Perpetrator
Algerian Nationalists		
Harkis		
Pieds-Noirs		
French and European Settlers		

3. After completing the table above, create a new table indicating the forms of violence you identified and the reasons behind them. What is the difference between the types of violence perpetrated by the actors above?
4. Based on the source and your own opinion, what type of difficulties did the couple face in Document 4? Consider the difficulties if the couple consisted of a French woman and an Algerian man.

Mid-Unit Assignment:

Assignment Objective: Encourage students to reflect on the various types of violence used by the French colonial government in North Africa and the various sources from which we learn about this violence.

Based on this session's activities and previous classes, write a short reflective essay addressing two of the following questions:

1. What types of violence did the colonial government exercise in North Africa? What role did this exercise of violence serve?
2. What are the benefits of relying on press excerpts to discuss violent historical events? What does this teach us about historical sources and newspapers?
3. Can comic books be considered a useful medium to tell history? What are the advantages and limitations of such a medium? Consider the case of violence during the Algerian War.

Activity 3: Labor and Violence in the Congo:

> *Activity Objective:* Encourage students to consider the Congolese people's experience of violence and forced labor, with the aim of understanding the centrality of massive violence and forced labor to the Belgian Empire's colonial project. This activity also aims to portray structural types of colonial violence exercised in non-event contexts.

Document 1: Rubber in the Free State of the Congo:

VOXEU

European colonizers had claimed much of Africa by the mid-1870s, yet central Africa remained largely unexplored. King Leopold II leveraged the mistrust between the British, French, and German governments regarding their colonial aspirations to negotiate the creation of the Congo Free State as his own personal colony in 1885… Congo had an abundance of natural rubber, offering Leopold an opportunity for profits… The two largest concessions that focused primarily on rubber were ABIR and Anversoise… In the sparsely populated concessions, access to labor was a key constraint on the rubber production process. The rubber companies set up systems to ensure control over and access to labor. European agents were sent to the interiors of the concessions to establish posts. They would survey surrounding villages to create a census of adult men and quotas were then set, based on these population counts. Generally, male villagers were required to deliver around 4 kilos of dried rubber to the European agents every two weeks. Additionally, villages were required to provide food and supplies to nearby posts (Harms 1983).To collect rubber, villagers would travel into the jungle to tap landolphia vines. The process could take days, and as natural rubber supplies dwindled, villagers would take almost the entire two weeks to fill the mandated quota. The punishment for not meeting the quota was severe – individuals could be imprisoned and subjected to various forms of physical violence, including burning, whipping by the chicotte (a whip made of hippopotamus hide), or death… The soldiers from the Force Publique and sentries from the concession companies' private militias were primarily responsible for carrying out these violent tactics, although European agents also imprisoned and tortured villagers. Sentries armed with rifles were assigned to each post. To prevent waste, the sentries were required to provide a human hand for every bullet used. The concession companies made exorbitant profits, particularly as rubber prices increased from 6.20 francs per kilo in 1894 to over 10 francs per kilo in 1898. Meanwhile, the estimated cost incurred by the concession companies to 'purchase' a kilo of rubber in CFS was approximately 1.35 francs (Harms 1983).

MONTERO, EDUARDO & LOWES, SARAH. "KING LEOPOLD'S GHOST: THE LEGACY OF LABOUR COERCION IN THE DRC," VOX EU, 14/08/2018

Document 2: Testimonies: Forced Labor, Punishment & Leopold II's Colonial Project:

Mr. Casement's Transmits report on his visit to interior of Congo State and on condition of natives: Notes on Refugee Tribes encountered in July 1903

Hearing of the L* refugees from I*, I decided to visit the nearest Settlement of these fugitives, some 20 miles away, to see them for myself.

At N* found large town of K*, and scattered through it many small settlements of L* refugees. The town of N* consists approximately of seventy-one K* houses, and seventy-three occupied by L*. These latter seemed industrious, simple folk, many weaving palm fibre into mats or native cloth; others had smithies, working brass wire into bracelets, chains, and anklets; some iron-workers making knives. Sitting down in one of these blacksmith's sheds, the five men at work ceased and came over to talk to us... I asked, first, why they had left their homes, and had come to live in a strange far-off country among the K*, where they owned nothing, and were little better than servitors. All, when this question was put, women as well, shouted out, "On account of the rubber tax levied by the Government posts." [...]

"I am N N. These other two beside me are O O and P P, all of us Y**. From our country each village had to take twenty loads of rubber. These loads were big: they were as big as this...." **(Producing an empty basket which came nearly up to the handle of my walking-stick.)** "That was the first size. We had to fill that up, but as rubber got scarcer the white man reduced the amount. We had to take these loads in four times a-month."
Q. "How much pay did you get for this?"
A. (Entire audience.) "We got no pay! We got nothing!"
And then N N, whom I asked, again said:—

"Our village got cloth and a little salt, but not the people who did the work. Our Chiefs eat up the cloth; the workers got nothing. The pay was a fathom of cloth and a little salt for every big basket full, but it was given to the Chief, never to the men. It used to take ten days to get the twenty baskets of rubber—we were always in the forest and then when we were late we were killed. We had to go further and further into the forest to find the rubber vines, to go without food, and our women had to give up cultivating the fields and gardens. Then we starved. Wild beasts—the leopards—killed some of us when we were working away in the forest, and others got lost or died from exposure and starvation, and we begged the white man to leave us alone, saying we could get no more rubber, but the white men and their soldiers said: 'Go! You are only beasts yourselves, you are nyama (meat).' We tried, always going further into the forest, and when we failed and our rubber was short, the soldiers came to our towns and killed us. Many were shot, some had their ears cut off; others were tied up with ropes around their necks and bodies and taken away. The white

Here P P took up the tale from N N:—

"We said to the white men, 'We are not enough people now to do what you want us. Our country has not many people in it and we are dying fast. We are killed by the work you make us do, by the stoppage of our plantations, and the breaking up of our homes.' The white man looked at us and said: 'There are lots of people in Mputu' " (Europe, the white man's country). " 'If there are lots of people in the white man's country there must be many people in the black man's country.' The white man who said this was the chief white man at F F*, his name was A B, he was a very bad man. Other white men of Bula Matadi who had been bad and wicked were B C, C D, and D E." "These had killed us often, and killed us by their own hands as well as by their soldiers. Some white men were good. These were E F, F G, G H, H I, I K, K L."

These ones told them to stay in their homes and did not hunt and chase them as the others had done, but after what they had suffered they did not trust more any one's word, and they had fled from their country and were now going to stay here, far from their homes, in this country where there was no rubber. (...)

Q. "How do you know it was the white men themselves who ordered these cruel things to be done to you? These things must have been done without the white man's knowledge by the black soldiers."
A. (P P): "The white men told their soldiers: 'You kill only women; you cannot kill men. You must prove that you kill men.' So then the soldiers when they killed us" (here he stopped and hesitated, and then pointing to the private parts of my bulldog—it was lying asleep at my feet), he said: "then they cut off those things and took them to the white men, who said: 'It is true, you have killed men.' "
Q. "You mean to tell me that any white man ordered your bodies to be mutilated like that, and those parts of you carried to him?"
P P, O O, and all (shouting): "Yes! many white men. D E did it."
Q. "You say this is true? Were many of you so treated after being shot?"
All (shouting out): "Nkoto! Nkoto!" (Very many! Very many!)

There was no doubt that these people were not inventing. Their vehemence, their flashing eyes, their excitement, was not simulated. Doubtless they exaggerated the numbers, but they were clearly telling what they knew and loathed. I was told that they often became so furious at the recollection of what had been done to them that they lost control over themselves.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE GRAPHIC

DARK DEEDS IN DARKEST AFRICA
Scenes and Tales of Cruelty in the Congo Free State
BY THE REV. J. H. HARRIS, OF THE "REGIONS BEYOND" MISSIONARY UNION
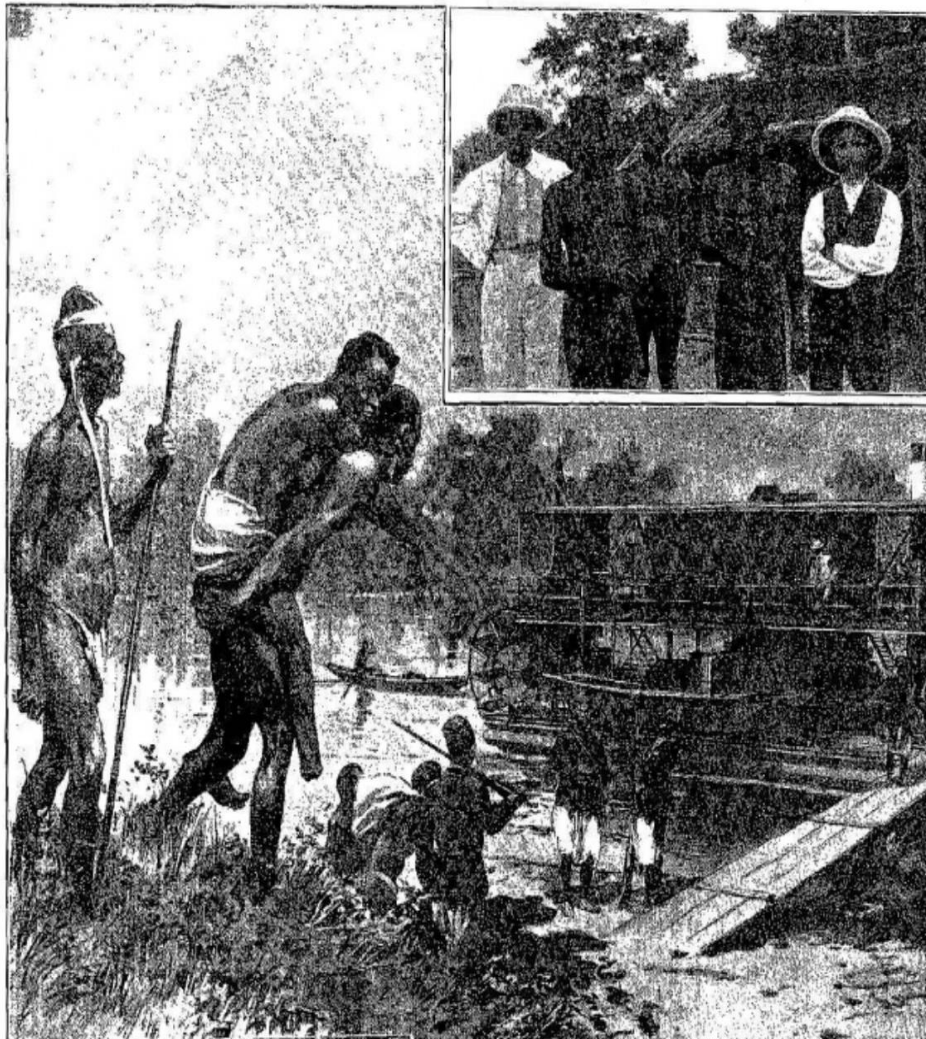
Source: Frederic de Haenen, *How the White Man Trades in the Congo*, Bringing in Rubber and Hostages, 1906. Graphic Arts Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University. https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2013/09/14/ how-the-white-man-trades-in-the-congo/

Document 4: Press Excerpt: Leopold II & the "Benefit" of Empire:

Press Excerpt

Louis Michel, a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) and a former Belgian Foreign Minister, has taken the defence of Leopold II. He was the King of the Belgians when Congo was still a Belgian colony, but his policy in Congo was controversial as both the country with its rich natural resources and the local population were exploited. In the weekly P-Magazine, Louis Michel calls Leopold II "an ambitious visionary." "Instinctively, I feel that he was a hero, a hero who had ambitions for a small country like Belgium," Michel is quoted as saying by P-Magazine.

In the interview, Louis Michel is confronted with a number of "accusations" against the former Belgian king. One of them is that Leopold II changed Congo into one giant labour camp, and that he got rich at the dispense of the local population.

"That's a false accusation. Leopold II does not deserve such a reproach. The Belgians built railways, schools and hospitals and stimulated economic growth in Congo. A labour camp? Not at all. At that time, this was just the manner of working."

Michel, a former European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Development, admits that at a certain stage Belgium ruled over Congo trying to acquire sheer power. "But eventually civilisation was introduced."

Michel adds that many tend to overreact when talking about the Belgian colonial times in Congo, although he admits that "some things did go wrong."

"KING LEOPOLD II WAS A VISIONARY HERO," VRT NEWS, 22/06/2010.
HTTPS://WWW.VRT.BE/VRTNWS/EN/2010/06/22/_KING_LEOPOLD_IIWASAVISIONARYHERO-1-808003/

Questions:

1. What forms of violence exercised by the Belgian Empire can you identify according to this activity's sources? Are these forms of violence structural or conjunctural?
2. What interest did the Belgian Empire have in exercising these forms of violence on the Congolese people?
3. Based on the previous sources, create a list of the different actors engaged in exercising these forms of violence against the Congolese people. In your opinion, which of these actors should be considered responsible for this violence?
4. Do you find the accounts of colonial violence in Document 2 convincing? What is the use of having oral testimonies of colonial violence?
5. Focusing on Document 4, do you find Louis Michel's position concerning Leopold II's innocence convincing? Why or why not?

Activity 4: Locating Colonial Violence?

Activity Objective: Encourage students to reflect on the forms of colonial violence and its interference with the lives of ordinary people in non-event instances.

Document 1: Economic Violence & Land Expropriation in Colonial Morocco:

The concept of land holding and ownership varies according to the times, values, laws, and religions of a society. In Western Europe, private ownership of land is more prevalent than public or State ownership, and even though public ownership of land or institutions, such as schools and hospitals, is fairly common, the financial means of maintaining them are often far different from those employed in Islamic lands-hence the frequent inability of the Western European to understand the bases of institutions in Islamic society [...] The process of establishing real property registration was complicated and involved some of the most important rights of the Muslim population. Basically, it meant that persons who held property or property rights that had been clearly established by the Conservation de la Propriété Foncière and registered in the Livre Foncier thereafter held titles that were definitive and unimpeachable in the eyes of the French judicial organization throughout the Empire. Furthermore, the registration process gradually removed much property from the control of Moroccan courts, and also exposed to risks of damages or injustice many Moroccans who held their property titles through oral agreement, who were totally ignorant of the new French registration system, or who could not afford the costs involved in registration of property that was rightfully theirs [...] Vast areas were not just taken and given away to settlers (as was done in Algeria). Nonetheless, the Moroccans lost much land, including a large portion of their richest soil. Against this, the Moroccans were, to a certain extent, compensated for their losses. A discussion of the ethics of this transfer of rich soil from natives to Frenchmen must take into account the realities of the contemporary situation... the French could also claim that they were bringing two important benefits -namely, the introduction of modern farming methods, and the provision of work for Moroccans. Basically, the last point was not valid, in so far as the Moroccans concerned would have had some sort of work on the same land if it had remained theirs. The first point was basically true, and the French agricultural colonists provided rising tax revenues and export earnings; but the government might itself have purchased modern equipment and appointed agricultural advisers to train Moroccan tribesmen -as Mohammed V later did- so that they might acquire technical knowledge while still remaining the owners of their land.

Scham, Alan. Lyautey in Morocco; Protectorate administration, 1912-1925. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970

Document 2: Registered Properties and their Value in Colonial Morocco:

Number of Registrations			Value in Millions of Francs	Area in Hectares
URBAN PROPERTY	(French	3,388	247.5	1,761
	(Foreign	1,320	85.1	478
	(Moroccan	840	61.5	351
RURAL PROPERTY	(French	1,176	47.1	150,309
	(Foreign	210	4.1	3,854
	(Moroccan	581	9.7	48,188
		7,521	455.3	204,943

Source Description: Account of the property registered according to the new system by December 1925, according to Arthur Girault's *Principes de Colonisation et de Législation Coloniale*, Vol V (5th ed; Paris, 1928) in Scham, Alan. *Lyautey in Morocco; Protectorate administration, 1912-1925.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970

Document 3: The Infamous Case of the Soulaliyates Women's Movement:

UN WOMEN

After ten years of advocacy, women of the Soulaliyate ethnic group in Morocco have finally obtained equal treatment in terms of land rights. On July 23, a state-organized lottery distributed nearly 860 plots of land equally between men and women, part of ongoing land privatization efforts across the country.

Mahjouba Mhamda is one of 1,460 women who have received a plot with an area of 70 m2. The path will have been difficult. "Defending my rights and opposing my uncles and [other] male members of my family was seen not only as rudeness but also as a declaration of war [against] our traditions, which are only favorable to men," explains Mahjouba Mhamda, from the Ouled Mbarek tribe in the Kentira region. "The road has been long and difficult; we have been insulted and intimidated. But it was worth it to get where we are today."

The name Soulaliyate is derived from the word soulala, which in Arabic means ethnic lineage. It refers to the "tribal" women of Morocco, who launched a country-wide community movement for equal rights to access land in 2007, with the support of the Democratic Association of Women of Morocco (ADFM) and UN Women in the early stages.

"I was relieved to see that our demonstrations, meetings, and advocacy efforts produced a concrete result," she says. Beyond the financial aspect, it is the change in mentalities that I am most proud of because we went from a situation where tribal representatives denied the land rights of their own daughters to men who, during the distribution of compensation, asked us to serve their sisters first."

Hajiba Hrour joined the movement in 2008. Her unfailing commitment draws on her childhood memories of going to the village and noticing that women and girls were judged inferior to men and boys.

The mobilization of thousands of Soulaliyates throughout the country has enabled several advances, culminating in the July 2018 draw. For example, in 2009 and 2010, the Ministry of the Interior issued circulars to the attention of governors, asking them to include women in the lists of collective lands and to only consider the lists respecting this requirement. The first group of women from Mahdia, also located in the Kentira region, received financial compensation in 2014.

"The exclusion of Soulaliyate women from access to land is considered economic violence and an obstacle to their empowerment and the full expression of their citizenship," said Leila Rhiwi, representative of UN Women in the Maghreb...

UN WOMEN, AU MAROC, LES FEMMES SOULALIYATES DISPOSENT ENFIN DE LEURS DROITS FONCIERS, 29/08/2018.

Questions:

1. Based on the sources above, consider the implications of the French colonial government's property ownership policy. What were the consequences of this policy? Consider the perspective of French, foreign, and Moroccan property owners.
2. What were the consequences of the colonial privatization of collective property for women and men of the same tribe? Why were these consequences different?
3. What forms of violence can you identify according to this activity's sources? Are these forms of violence structural or conjunctural?

Concluding Activity:

Section A: Professor's Conclusion

* Must include a reminder of 3 main points:

- The vital role played by colonial violence in the functioning and maintaining of the colonial project,
- The importance of understanding the pervasive nature of colonial violence and the impossibility of creating clear-cut categories of victims vs perpetrators,
- The importance behind conversations around the various types of colonial violence and the consequences that they continue to play in post-independence societies,

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Section B: End-of-Unit Assignment:

Relying on the sources and conclusions tied to this lesson, students must write a one-page essay reflecting on the following theme: Reflect on one of the following two types of colonial violence: structural violence and conjunctural violence. Consider the causes behind this form of violence and the role it played during the colonial project.

Section C (Optional): Upcoming Unit Preparation:

Special Topic: Colonial Violence & Indigenous Quadrants:

Document 1: Punjab Region in the Indian Sub-Continent Map:

Document 2: Picture of The Punjab Regiment in the British Colonial Army:

Source: Wikimedia Commons, 19th Punjabis (now 5th Battalion The Punjab Regiment, Pakistan Army). Left to Right: Afridi, Sikh, Bangash, Swati, Yusufzai, Punjabi Muslim. Watercolour by Major Alfred Crowdy Lovett, 1910. Published in MacMunn & Lovett, Armies of India, 1911.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:19th_Punjabis_(5_Punjab)_(Afridi,_Sikh,_Bangash,_Swati,_Yusufzai,_PM)_1910.jpg

Document 3: Sikhs in the British Colonial Army:

DAWN

The First War of Independence—or the 'Great Mutiny'—of 1857 proved to be a turning point in the British attitude towards Punjab and Punjabi soldiers. The rebellion began in the contingents of the Bengal army on May 10, 1857, when a section of native soldiers or sepoys revolted against their British commanders. Soon, the rebellion spread to other parts of India, where masses also came out in support of the rebels.

At this point, the Punjabi Sikh soldiers came into the open to support the British forces in quelling the rebellion. Being a religious minority, they had no qualms in fighting against high-caste Hindus or Muslims. The British felt betrayed by Bengalis, who they felt had stabbed them in the back, and were thankful to Punjabi Sikh soldiers for helping them when they needed it the most.

The following years saw the British encouraging the induction of Punjabi Sikh soldiers in the army, over and above any other region in India. In order to attract people towards military service, they devised an attractive reward system.

One of the hallmarks of British policy had been rewarding loyalty and punishing disloyalty. Punjab was basically an agrarian society, where a small number of landowners held the land, while a very large number of peasants worked for them. This peasantry lived in poverty and for them "the best and the biggest reward was the allotment of agricultural land," remarks Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi in his article in Edinburgh Papers. The British devised the policy to allocate land "in return for loyalty, gallantry and on their retirement", which attracted the rural Punjabis the most.

In addition to this ultimate reward of land allotment, army service also offered multiple in-service benefits to the "malnourished, underpaid and maltreated" peasants of Punjab, such as "salary, uniform, and prestige."

An indirect benefit of a large number of Punjab's people being in the army was that a huge part of the national defence budget ultimately ended up in the province, in the form of salaries, pensions and other such expenditures. This phenomenon considerably boosted the province's economy, reducing rural indebtedness.

The loyalty created through such a reward system forestalled any anti-British or nationalist movement emerging in the hinterland of the province for a long time.

SHAIKH, MUHAMAD ALI, "HISTORY: HOW PUNJAB CAME TO DOMINATE THE ARMY,"DAWN, 05/03/2023.
HTTPS://WWW.DAWN.COM/NEWS/1740463

Document 4: Divide & Rule in the British Colonial Army:

Imperial powers favored strategies of divide and rule within colonial armed forces as well as between them and colonized society. Ethnicity – in British India, caste, region, and religion – was an obvious basis for such a policy [...] Army officials mobilized systems of colonial knowledge and memorialized them in recruiting handbooks and other training aids, compiling information on custom, religion, ritual, demographics, and geography for officers of each class of troops [...] As a strategy for control over a colonial army, *divide et impera* appears deceptively simple. In essays on military reform written before the 1857 revolt of the Bengal Army, Lawrence explained why. If troops were recruited from a single ethnic group, imperial power risked dependence on the chosen minority, to whose demands it would be hostage, a praetorian ethnicity. Were recruitment expanded to some delimited set of groups, a further danger loomed: military service would bind together soldiers from different communities, creating an armed bloc, a nation-in-arms, out of what had been mutually suspicious groups in native society [...]

After the rebellion of 1857–58, Britain formally took over the East India Company's sovereign responsibilities and reorganized the army. Colonial officials increasingly conceived Indian society in ethnographic and communal terms, inherently divided by caste, region, and religion [...] Before the Indian Army could be divided and ruled, its various official component ethnicities had to be codified, its soldiers organized into the correct categories, bounded off from one another by unit and uniform, regulated by official interpretations of religious practice, diet, holidays, and so on. Caste, religious, regional, and other ethnic relations enabled officials to disaggregate Indian populations into "convenient stereotypes" [...] Like the Romans, the East India Company recruited among those they conquered. The Sikhs had fielded a powerful and well-trained army that impressed the British. Recruitment expanded rapidly during and after the 1857 revolt. By 1911, Sikhs accounted for 1 percent of the Indian population but 20 percent of the army [...] In establishing and maintaining the boundaries between classes, the army made use of a range of ethnic instruments, including diet, language, uniform, comportment, and religion [...] For many Sikh Viceroy Commissioned Officers (VCOs), the five visible signs of faith – hair, white underpants, the bangle, steel dagger, and comb – were important attributes of being a disciplined soldier. A wartime British officer wrote home of his experiences training Sikh troops, "The Sikhs have many religious customs; we see that they keep them whether they like it or not."

Barkawi, T. (n.d.). Making Colonial Soldiers in British India. Soldiers of Empire, 17–48.

Questions:

1. What is the strategy of divide and rule, and what are the two levels of its application by the British Empire in Colonial India?
2. What was the purpose of creating different army quadrants based on ethnicity?
3. Why did Sikh soldiers join the British colonial army? Consider the interest of the Sikh community and the perspective of the British colonial army.

Building on this activity's documents and the testimonies in Document 2, Activity 3 in the unit above, consider the following questions: In your opinion, what are the implications of using Indigenous forces to exercise colonial violence? If colonial violence is perpetrated by other indigenous soldiers, does this mean that European colonial officers are innocent of perpetrating colonial violence? Why or why not?

Textbook Chapter - Violences of Knowledge

Note for the reader: The previous lesson concerns the use of violence as an essential colonial tool. It details the various forms of violence utilized by colonial governments to ensure the functioning of the colonial project.

File Title: Empire & Colonialism
Unit Number: 2
Unit Title: Violences of Knowledge

Main Objective: Understanding the exercise of epistemic violence as an essential colonial tool. This lesson unit details the various tools utilized by colonial governments to produce various forms of knowledge and categorizations to facilitate the workings of the colonial project.

Objectives Related to the Educational Activities:
- Learning about notable examples of colonial epistemic violence,
- Understanding the various forms of violence related to colonial knowledge production,
- Understanding the role played by colonial knowledge production for the functioning of the colonial project,
- Reflecting on the continuation of certain forms of violence related to colonial knowledge production,
- Reflecting on the difference between concepts of "post"-colonialism and post-independence in the context of conversations around colonial legacies.

Pre-requisite: Understanding the various forms of physical violence necessary to the functioning of colonial structures.

Unit Timetable:

Session	Activity	Time Allocated	Description
Session 1 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Professor's Introduction	15 minutes	In their introduction, the professor provides the general context for the unit while referring to the introductory activity.
	Introductory Activity	35 minutes	This is a guided activity as it treats a sensitive subject that relies on the professor's guidance. In this activity the students are allowed 10 minutes to consider the sources. Then, questions will be asked aloud and discussed for 25 minutes.
	Activity 1	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that lasts 40 minutes. Students are given 10 minutes to consider the sources of each section. Then, questions will be asked aloud and discussed for 10 minutes.
	Activity 2	30 minutes	This is a guided activity that should take 30 minutes. Since sessions usually last for 2 hours, this activity marks the end of the first part of the lesson. It ends with an assignment.
Session 2 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Mid-Unit Assignment Review	20 minutes	This is a guided activity in which the professor collects student responses and helps answer the prompt. The questions are asked out loud, and the professor collects and contributes to the responses. The purpose of this activity is to remind students of the conclusions learned in the previous session and prepare for the current session. It is also an opportunity for students to reflect on these conclusions in relation to the discipline of history.
	Activity 3	40 minutes	This is a non-guided activity, where the students split into groups and engage in a mock trial. The students are allowed 10 minutes to consider the sources and come up with their short speeches, 20 minutes to present their cases, and the professor can intervene with feedback before the class votes for a ruling in the remaining 10 minutes.

	Activity 4	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that should last 40 minutes. 30 minutes for the students to consider the sources. Then, 10 minutes for the discussion.
	Concluding Activity	20 minutes	This should be part of the teacher's conclusion. It is only an opportunity to remind students of the main conclusions and help clarify the end-of-unit assignment.

Section A; Professor's Introduction:

Must include an introduction around 4 main questions:

- What ideology motivated the creation of the colonial project?
- What is the relationship between the sciences and the colonial project?
- What role did the legal and justice systems play in facilitating the colonial project?
- What is the origin of social hierarchies and categorizations based on race and ethnicity in post-independence states?

Section B: Introductory Activity: Science & the Creation of Racial Hierarchy:

Document 1: Defining Scientific Racism

Scientific racism is a historical pattern of ideologies that generate pseudo-scientific racist beliefs. That perpetually influences racial bias and discrimination in science and research. Leading scientists across scientific institutions in the 19th and early 20th centuries were proponents of such ideologies. By the mid-20th century, pseudo-scientific racist beliefs were widely disproven. However, evidence shows that scientific racism persists in science and research. Scientific racism is an organized system of misusing science to promote false scientific beliefs in which dominant racial and ethnic groups are perceived as being superior. Scientific racism unfortunately continues to exist, and we must continually monitor science to avoid scientific racism.

Vence L. Bonham Jr., J.D., "Scientific Racism," National Human Genome Institute, May 2024. https://www.genome.gov/genetics-glossary/Scientific-Racism?utm_source=miragenews&utm_medium=miragenews&utm_campaign=news

Word Box: "Phrenology is the study of the conformation of the skull as indicative of mental faculties and

traits of character. Phrenology enjoyed great popular appeal well into the 20th century but has been wholly discredited by scientific research. There were five principles of phrenology: (1) the brain is the organ of the mind; (2) human mental powers can be analyzed into a definite number of independent faculties; (3) these faculties are innate, and each has its seat in a definite region of the surface of the brain; (4) the size of each such region is the measure of the degree to which the faculty seated in it forms a constituent element in the character of the individual; and (5) the correspondence between the outer surface of the skull and the contour of the brain-surface beneath is sufficiently close to enable the observer to recognize the relative sizes of these several organs by the examination of the outer surface of the head."[122]

Document 2: Phrenologist Bernard Hollander showcasing Cranial Measurements:

Source: The phrenologist Bernard Hollander illustrates with his own head his system of cranial measurements. Photographs, c. 1902. https://wellcomecollection.org/search/images?query=sqjvypsb#

Document 3: Advertisement Poster for a Human Zoo:

[122]Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "phrenology." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 14, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/phrenology.

Source: Gander, Kashmira "The racist human zoos that time forgot," The Independent, 19/11/2016.
https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/the-racist-human-zoos-that-time-forgot-a7425286.html

Questions:

1. What interest does scientific racism have in establishing scientific hierarchies between different ethnic and racial groups?
2. What is dangerous about the idea that human traits can be determined by the physical composition of their skulls?
3. Based on the sources above, in your opinion, what can be the implications of the persistence of scientific racism in scientific fields? Consider as an example, the medical field.

Activity 1: Imperial Ideology Through Political Cartoons:

Activity Objective: To help students familiarize themselves with the violence of essentialization and its role in the colonial endeavor by focusing on political cartoons. Students are encouraged to analyze political cartoons to detect a narrative and point of view.

Document 1: Bringing French Civilization to Morocco:

« La France va pouvoir porter librement au Maroc la civilisation, la richesse et la paix »
Le Petit Journal, 19 novembre 1911

Source: Wikimedia Commons. "La France va pouvoir porter librement au Maroc la civilisation, la richesse, et la paix." https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Petil-journal.jpg

Title: "France will be able to freely bring civilization, wealth and peace to Morocco."

Document 2: Meeting between the French Marianne and the Queen of Saba:
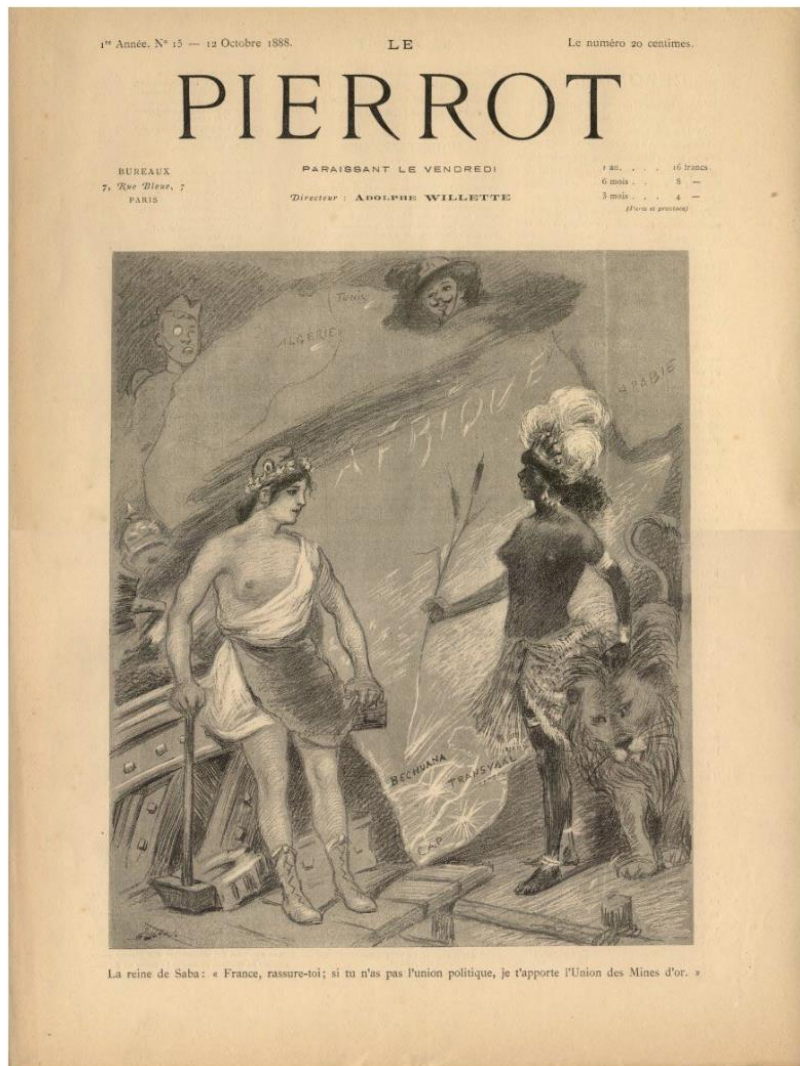
FIGURE 4.3.1 – Adolphe Willette, « La Reine de Saba : France, rassure-toi ; si tu n'as pas
l'union politique, je t'apporte l'Union des Mines d'or », *Le Pierrot*, 12
octobre 1888.

Source: Sofiane Taouchichet. "La presse satirique illustrée française et la colonisation (1829-1990)." Art et histoire de l'art. Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense; Université de Montréal, 2015. Français. ffNNT : ff. fftel-02073436f

Title: "Queen of Saba: Rest Assured, France; if you do not have political union, I bring you the union of the gold mines."

Document 3: Civilization and Barbarism in Algeria:

Les troubles de Margueritte (Algérie)
COURAGEUX DÉVOUEMENT D'UNE INSTITUTRICE

Source: BnF Gallica, "Le Petit journal. Supplément du dimanche," 1901-05-19.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k716435g/f1.image

Title: "Marguerite's Troubles: The courageous dedication of one teacher."

Accompanying Comment:

"Miss Goublet, a teacher, was busy teaching her class when a wild clamor resounded. The rebels ran menacingly towards the school.

This noble woman rushed to the threshold of the school, facing the attackers, and shouted to them: "Kill me if you want, but don't touch these poor children!"

Her courage and firmness impressed the bandits, who withdrew without harming her or the children for whom she had offered her life so heroically."

Document 4: La Mission Civilisatrice:

Source: René Georges Hermann-Paul, "Barbarie – Civilisation," 1899 in Sebring, Ellen. "Civilization & Barbarism: Cartoon Commentary & 'The White Man's Burden' (1898–1902)." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* , 1, 13, no. 27 (July 6, 2015): 1–43.

Questions:

1. Observe the sources and fill in the adjectives that most appropriately describe the image presented of Native and French people according to the cartoons in documents 1, 2, and 3. What other adjectives can you use to describe each category?

	Positive	Negative	Moral	Amoral	Violent	Peaceful	Rich	Poor
Native People								
French People								

2. Based on your previous observations, describe the relationship between French and indigenous people in each of these cartoons.
3. Take note of the sources of the political cartoons in Documents 1, 2, and 3. What point of view do you think they represent?
4. How can these representations be useful to the French colonial government?
5. Describe the scene presented in Document 3, focusing on the representation of French women. What message does this scene send about European women, Algerian men, and their relationship to each other?
6. Consider the representation of European women in Documents 1, 2, and 3. What are the possible connotations of using a woman to represent the French empire in these documents?
7. How does the Document 4 differ from the previous documents? What point of view do you think it represents?

Activity 2: The French Scientific Mission

> ***Activity Objective:*** Trying to help students understand the complexity of the role played by the French scientific mission in creating knowledge that facilitated the colonial enterprise.

Document 1: Timeline of the French Scientific Mission in Morocco:[123]

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[123] Document compiled by the author based on the following sources (CITE:VoirNotion)

THE FRENCH SCIENTIFIC MISSION IN MOROCCO

Le Comité du Maroc was created in 1898. It reunited groups of scholars, army men, and lobbyists who pledged direct action to bring Morocco into the French Empire through pacific conquest. The committee kept close relationships with committees such as the Comité de l'Afrique Française. This committee gathered geographers, explorers, military personnel, merchants, engineers, and functionaries of the Ministries of Sea, War, and Overseas Colonies. Such committees produced periodicals known as Bulletins that would help make information about the colonies more accessible to interested Frenchmen.

1903

1904

La Mission Scientifique au Maroc would be the fruit of the efforts of Le Comité du Maroc. Created by M. A. Le Chatelier, a professor at the Collège de France. This endeavor would first rely on the private funding of Le Chatelier and would only later be granted funds from the French government. The mission's main publication was the periodical Les Archives Marocaines which was included articles on various cultural, economic, political and sociological phenomena in Moroccan society.

Signing of the Treaty of Fes and establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco, as facilitated by La Mission Scientifique. Two years later, a third publication by the name of Villes et tribus du Maroc was created under the control of the Direction of Indigenous Affairs. This time, the scholars' work is made easier due to the colonial government's reports.

1912

Résident Général Lyautey first founded the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines (IHEM) at the Residency's Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat. He was invested in creating a research institute, the IHEM, that fit his interest in producing colonial officials who could integrate into Moroccan society. As a part of this effort, leading scholars of the Maghreb joined the institute and participated in its annual congress and its production of academic work focused on Morocco.

1920

In the context of the IHEM's efforts, its main publication, an academic journal by the name of Hespéris, came to life. The contributing scholars would publish articles and book reviews relating to various aspects of Moroccan society. While much of the research was politically motivated and tended to aspects useful to the French colonial government's interests, many other topics stemmed mostly from the personal curiosity of the authors and were of little use to the colonial government's interests.

1921

1956

After the Proclamation of Moroccan Independence, Hespéris was then merged with a similar academic journal published in the Spanish zone by the name of Tamuda. The new academic journal by the name of Hespéris-Tamuda was first published under the direction of Moroccan-Jewish intellectual and activist Germain Ayache after the Moroccan Independence and the creation of the Faculty of Arts & Humanities in Rabat in 1957. By 1991, Arabic-language productions

TABLE DES MATIERES

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I. — ARTICLES ET COMMUNICATIONS

II. — CONGRÈS ET SÉANCES MENSUELLES DE L'INSTITUT DES HAUTES-ÉTUDES MAROCAINES

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[124] Excerpt extracted from *Hespéris: Archives Berbères et Bulleting de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines*, Volume 1, Edaraf, 1921. https://www.hesperis-tamuda.com/Downloads/1921-1929/Hesp%C3%A9ris%20Tamuda%201921.pdf

HESPERIS
TAMUDA

Vol. XXIX, Fasc.2   1991

SOMMAIRE – SUMARIO

ARTICLES-ARTICULOS

COMPTES RENDUS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES-RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRAFICAS

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[125] Excerpt extracted from Hespéris-Tamuda, Vol XXIX, fascicule 2, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1991, Rabat. https://www.hesperis-tamuda.com/Downloads/1990-1999/Hesp%C3%A9ris-Tamuda%201991.pdf

Questions:

1. What does Document 1 tell us about the Scientific Mission's importance to the colonial government? How can you explain this importance?
2. What kind of themes were *Hespéris* authors interested in writing about in 1921? What importance could some of these themes have for the French empire?
3. What kind of themes were *Hespéris* authors interested in writing about in 1991? What importance could some of these themes have for the Moroccan people?
4. Compare the two tables of contents from 1921 and 1991. What changes can you observe? Consider the contributors, themes, and languages.

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Mid-Unit Assignment:

Assignment Objective: Encourage students to reflect on the use of knowledge production as a source and facilitator of colonial policy.

Based on this session's activities and previous classes, write a short reflective essay addressing one of the three following questions:

1. What are the dangers presented by scientific racism, and how is it tied to the colonial project? Consider the implications of scientific racism for the relationship between Indigenous people and colonial settlers.
2. Based on your observation of Activity n°1, determine the pros and cons of using political cartoons as sources to learn about history. Can political cartoons be considered a useful historical source?
3. What conclusions can we draw about the relationship between social sciences and the French colonial project in North Africa? Consider the implications for ties between colonial governance and scientists at the time.

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Activity 3: Religious & Ethnic Categorization in Colonial North Africa:

> *Activity Objective:* Encourage students to consider the role of ethnic and religious categorization and the creation of colonial differences in the colonial project in French North Africa. Students are also encouraged to consider the repercussions such categorizations have on the concerned populations and wider North African society.

Document 1: Introducing the Kabyle Myth:[126]

The population and its indigenous to Algeria at the time of French conquest numbered about 3 million [...] Its principal components were Arabs Berbers, but it also included Turks; Kouloughlis (the offspring of Turks and North African women); Andalusians (descendants of the Moors exiled from Spain); blacks (mainly soldiers, emancipated slaves and slaves); Jews; and 'Infidels' (non-Muslim slaves- and renegades, many of whom held high office under Turkish occupation). During the colonial period the French were inclined to overlook this diversity and, Jews apart, to view the population as a dichotomy of Arabs and Berbers. To this ethnic dichotomy, the French added a socio-geographic one, namely that Arabs were nomadic plain-dwellers and Berbers sedentary mountain-dwellers, a division that was in-accurate in exclusiveness as there were not only sedentary Arabs but mountain- dwelling ones as well; there were also nomadic and plain-dwelling Berbers. Misleading blanket qualifications of this sort distorted reality and created a binary imagery which was mythical. French attitudes to the Arabs and Berbers, furthermore, were quite different for, generally speaking, they viewed the former negatively and the latter positively [...] The Kabyle Myth was that the Kabyles were superior to the Arabs; it was not that they were different, which they were. The French used sociological differences and religious disparities between the two groups to create an image of the Kabyle which was good and one of the Arab which was bad and, from this, to extrapolate that the former was more suited to assimilation than the latter. The myth was an assimilationist one in so far as it provided an ideological basis for absorbing the Kabyles into French colonial society to the detriment of the Arabs.

Lorcin, Patricia M. E. Imperial identities: Stereotyping, prejudice and race in colonial Algeria. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999:2.

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[126] **Note for the Reader:** This document is presented here in text format, but would ideally be turned into a comic book pane and used as such. This can be done as an example in a drawing where different people representing various North African ethnic categories could be seen sent towards a tent titled "Invisible," while two people representing Kabyles and Arabs would be sent towards a tent titled "Moroccan racial groups" by a French ethnographer.

Document 2: The Scientific Exploration & the French Kabyle Policy:

Throughout the colonial period in Algeria (1830–1962), ethnological and military reports from Algeria outlined the ethnic boundary between Arabophone and Berberophone populations and used such a division to justify economic and social policy [...] the French Ministry of War initiated in 1837 a vast "Scientific Exploration" enterprise under the direction of the State-Major Colonel Bory de Saint-Vincent and manned by a "scientific commission" consisting of a group of trained and amateur historians, sociologists, and linguists in the employ of the colonial army (G. Mercier 1954). While the commission in its official capacity was short-lived (1840–42), its members would eventually publish thirty-nine independent works based on the research completed under its aegis, many of which—including Antoine Carette's Etudes sur la Kabylie proprement dite (1848) and later Louis Hannoteau and Aristide Letourneux's La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles (1871)—would become the key ethnographic texts underlying the Kabyle Myth. Moreover, the scientific commission's immediate findings would provide the necessary reconnaissance information for the later full-scale invasion of Kabylia [...], just as its final published works [...] would later facilitate the establishment of a centralized administration there (Favret 1968, 19; Lorcin 1995, 41–52). Colonization and military manuals incorporated "basic facts on the Algerian mentality" (irrationality, impulsiveness, fatalism, thiev- ery, vindictiveness, susceptibility), and suggested corresponding actions which one should take: "Do not admit him into your house"; "Use simple words that he can understand"; "know to flatter him on occasion" ("Guide" 1881, 17–23; El Moudjahid 1959, 132–55).

Axel, Brian Keith, and Paul A. Silverstein. "The Kabyle Myth: Colonization and the Production of Ethnicity." Essay. In From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures, 122–55. Durham N.C., London: Duke University Press, 2002.

Document 3: Colonial Interest and the Berber Myth:

[...] The studies fulfilled two purposes: to differentiate between Arabs and Berbers using the religion/laïcité binary, and to highlight similarities between the Berbers and the French. The French penchant for Berbers, coupled with the issues arising in the French protectorate of Morocco, culminated in the passage of the Berbère Dahir (Berber Decree) in 1930, which removed Berbers from Moroccan law and legally placed them under French jurisdiction. This provided an opportunity for French colonists to turn Berbers into their allies in Morocco, and it simultaneously alienated Arabs by designating them as the religious antithesis of French laïcité. The characterization and subsequent treatment of the Berber population demonstrated how French secularism was strategically used to separate Berbers from Arabs and to align Berbers with French values [...] Even though many Berbers were Muslims, the French viewed Berber religiosity as moderate, not fanatical. (In Algeria) Kabyles were perceived to be less religious and less faithful, shown through their mere acceptance (rather than "fanatic embrace") of the Qur"an [...] From their domestic and colonial experience in the 19th century, French colonists already held strong views against religion, and particularly opposed Islam. The creation of the Kabyle Myth thus strengthened the religion/laïcité binary and emphasized the secular nature of France compared to the religiosity of Algerian Arabs [...] The importance that North Africans and the French placed on religion, though in opposite ways, made it a key category and trope to use in understanding colonial populations [...] The Algerian Kabyle Myth articulated a racial separation between Arabs and Berbers, and allowed French colonists to portray Kabyles as the French of North Africa.

Lee, Rhee-Soo. "Constructing Colonial Binaries: French Representations of Religion in Algeria and Morocco," 2011.

> ***Memory Box:*** <u>Dhimmi Statu:</u> "Jews living under Islamic law gained special protections and relative autonomy in their own affairs. In exchange, they had to pay certain taxes and faced restrictions in many aspects of daily life such as clothing, profession, and neighborhood of residence. In terms of Jews' changed status under colonialism, we should be careful not to generalize. The Jews of Morocco remained in dhimmi status during the colonial period, and in certain respects, they were worse off legally than they had been prior to the establishment of the protectorate." [127]

Document 4: On the status of the Moroccan Jewish Population:

[...] Thus, the French preserved the 'Alawid dynasty and the Sharifian government as a symbolic entity, using the sultan to issue dahirs and legitimize French rule [...] At the very beginning of the protectorate, the (Jewish) communities also maintained considerable internal autonomy [...] Within a couple of years, the French administration began planning for the reorganization of the Jewish communities. To achieve that goal, the traditional structure of the communities needed to be studied and proposals for reform submitted [...] The judicial reforms were of the greatest concern to the Jewish communities of Morocco. The rabbinical court, or Beit Din, had retained substantial authority over the affairs of the Jewish communities until the establishment of the protectorate. More than any other formal institution, the Beit Din had defined the autonomous status of the Jewish community from within. The intentions of the reform of the rabbinical courts were to create a bureaucracy that the administration could easily control and to limit the competence of the rabbinical courts to matters of personal litigation and religious ritual [...] In addition to the communal authority of the Jewish communities being limited, Jews suffered inequities in a colonial system that espoused the principle of equal treatment between religions [...] Jews were no longer subjected to the disabilities associated to dhimmi status under the shari'a, but they actually lost much of the judicial autonomy that the Islamic state had guaranteed. Furthermore, the erosion of the old system was not replaced by the empowerment of Jews in the new Makhzan system. Jews were not appointed as bashas (pachas in French) or as qa'ids (caïds in French) because this would have meant that Jews would preside over disputes involving Muslims [...] Jews now had to appear before the Makhzan courts for a wide variety of issues that used to be dealt with internally in the Jewish community [...] Although the reorganized legal system in theory, placed Jews on the same footing as Muslims by maintaining separate shari'a and rabbinical courts and creating Makhzan courts that would hear cases of both Jews and Muslims, in fact, Jews were prejudiced in the new system where all kinds of matters, formerly heard by the rabbis, were required to be heard by Muslim judges.

Schroeter, Daniel J., and Joseph Chetrit. "Emancipation and Its Discontents: Jews at the Formative Period of Colonial Rule in Morocco." Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, and Society 13, no. 1 (October 2006): 170–206.

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[127] Katz, Ethan. *The burdens of brotherhood: Jews and Muslims from North Africa to France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018, p. 367
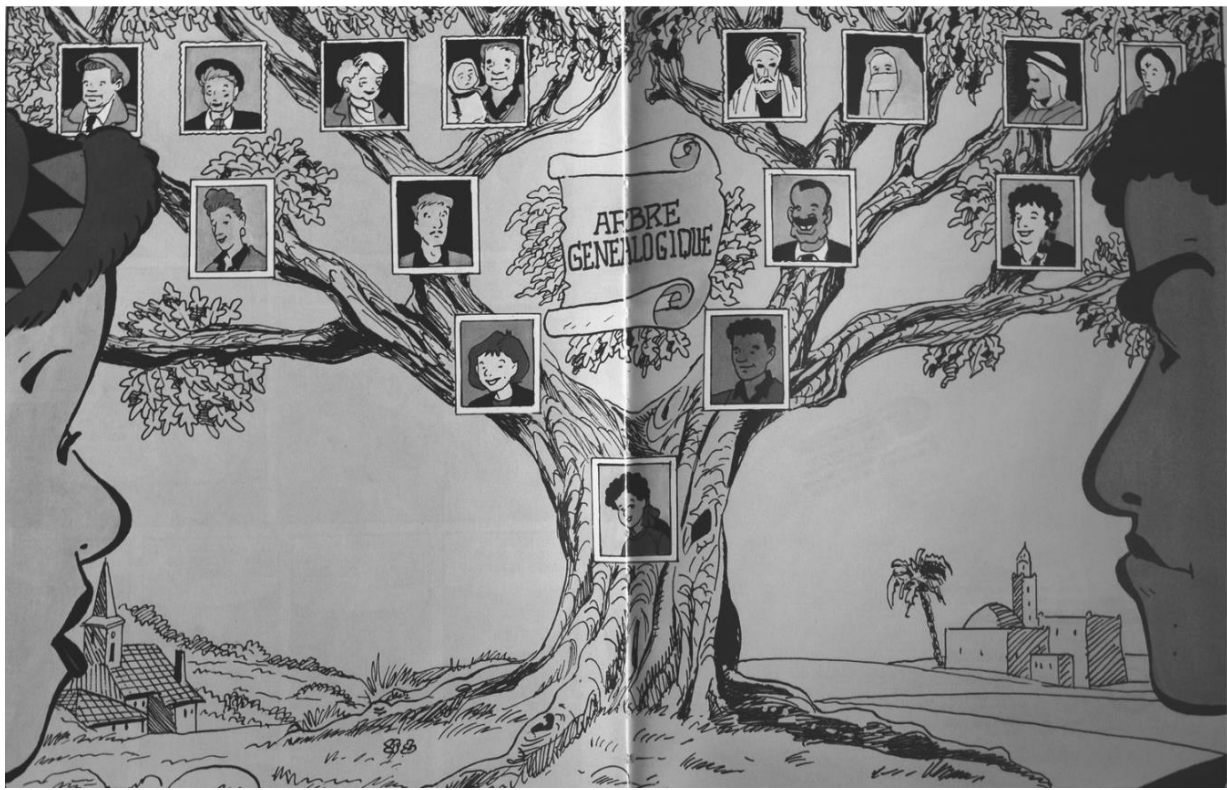
Source: **Charlotte Badia's Family** in Howell, Jennifer. *Algerian War in French-language comics: Postcolonial Memory, history, and subjectivity*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015, p 161.

Description: Charlotte Badia's family tree showing the entanglements of the lives of North African and French people in her family history.

Questions:

1. What was the reason behind the French colonial government's increased interest in specific groups over others in North Africa? Consider the Berbers of Morocco, the Kabyles of Algeria, and Moroccan Jewry.
1. What role did French scholars and researchers play in formulating these policies? Why were they interested in finding similarities and kinship ties between the Berber and European populations?
2. What was the use of creating different identity categories for the Amazigh, Arab, and Jewish populations in North Africa? What was the importance of holding them under different legal jurisdictions?
3. Was the French colonial government successful in keeping different populations completely separate? Why or why not?

Activity 4: Colonialism in the City:

> *Activity Objective:* Encourage students to consider the role of spatial segregation and the creation of rigid legal colonial differences in the colonial project in French North Africa. Students are also encouraged to consider the repercussions such categorizations have on the concerned populations and wider North African society.

Document 1: Segregating Sacred Sites in the Public Sphere:

Other decisions have resulted in regulating the attendance of certain spaces [...] For places of worship, it is in the name of protection and respect for Islam that measures prohibiting entry into certain mosques have been imposed. thus been enacted, creating at the same time a separation between Christians and Muslims [...] In certain territories, the ban on access to mosques for non-Muslims is based on respect for the Muslim religion. This idea follows the feeling of a certain number of orientalists and Lyautey's vision of an Islam dominated by the sacred and indigenous practices which would be untouchable. In Morocco, Lyautey is radical, applying his sacred vision of Islam through the ban on entry into mosques [...] It is a sort of obsession with sacredness that guides these decisions. In the name of respect for the Muslim religion and the inviolability of holy places, a ban has been imposed on Christians by preventing them from entering mosques and all Muslim holy places [...] We can, perhaps also, read in this ban a formalization of the indigenous policy of separation between settlers and natives [...] The ideological basis of such colonial decrees supports a very partial and radical vision of Islam and is far from reflecting the plurality of Muslim thought and practices. Indeed, in many other spaces of Islam, Christians, Muslims and Jews continued to be able to enter Muslim places of worship. In Syria, Egypt, and West Africa, such measures have not been taken, or rarely. It has always been possible for a Christian to enter the great Umayyad mosque in Damascus, to visit the Al-Azhar mosque in Cairo or even to enter sub-Saharan mosques. This Muslim policy of France, as it was applied in Morocco, has in any case supported a stereotype which has left its mark on people's minds until now and continues to fuel a whole current of overvaluation of the sacred with regard to Islam.

Soufian Al Karjousli, « La production du savoir : formes, légitimations, enjeux et rapport au monde de l'héritage colonial et sa continuité à travers la mise en avant de quelques pratiques musulmanes et quelques pensées arabo-musulmane », Nouveaux Imaginaires, 2019.

Document 2: Lyautey's Urban Planning in Colonial Morocco:

Therefore, the Dahir of urbanism established by the French and adopted under the auspices of the sultan generated a new way of making cities in Morocco. the colonial cities were designed according to detailed norms related to land use and architectural codification. This colonial architecture was dressed in a Moroccan cloak by using Moroccan and Moorish decorations on the facades in order to give a sense of locality and context [...] This urban Dahir was first implemented in 1914. Its two main aims were first to separate the native cities from the new cities and second to execute urban legislation [...] Moreover, this urban legislation permitted the mutation of previous traditional land property rights, which, of course, allowed the French to expropriate land for building their new districts. this expropriation of Moroccan lands was made under the excuse of limiting speculation, aesthetic regulations, hygienic aspects, or green areas and non-aedificondi zones [...] Lyautey exacted a number of conservative measures. One measure forbade the public to use religious lands for secular activities because they were designated for mosques and cemeteries or sacred sites. another rule prohibited non-muslims from accessing sacred places. [...] The separation of médinas from the French urban centers was not just a mere matter of conserving the native way of life. Rather, it was, as stated above, to secure the new colonial districts from the miserable situation in which these médinas existed. [...] After independence, those médinas were void of energies that had kept them sustainable for centuries. their change from main native cities to districts, confined within their walls and controlled under vague regulations of conservation, made them static and poor urban entities [...] Most médinas were named "conservation zones." Neither orientations nor guidelines were given regarding the conduct of this conservation at the urban level. literally following the inherited french documents, moroccan planners either neglected or were ignorant about methods for handling the intricacies of such complex sites; they seemed to solve the dilemma by instituting the excuse of conservation.

Radoine, Hassan, and Fassil Demissie. "French Territoriality and Urbanism : General Lyautey and Architect Prost in Morocco (1912-1925)." Essay. In Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories, 11–32. NYC, New York: Routledge, 2016.

Document 3: From Ideology to Architecture:

One of the highlights of the Paris 1931 Colonial Exposition was the organisation of the Congrès international de l'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays de latitude intertropicale; the congress proceedings, published a year later (Royer, 1932), are considered today a key source of information for understanding colonial urban planning [...] The building of the ville nouvelle (or European quarter) is arguably the most important moment in Morocco's twentieth-century urban history; a quarter specifically designed to respond to two structuring principles of French colonial urban planning: separation and modernity. The separation of the 'indigenous' populations from the European ones was a recurrent theme in the congress proceedings. In parallel to military action to 'pacify' the country and subdue rebel tribal uprising, Lyautey's strategy was to use architecture and urbanism as a way to put on display French colonial power, superiority and prestige. One would argue that it is only natural for France, as a colonial power, to build new cities to attract, and subsequently accommodate, the influx of colonists (workers, public servants, military personnel, entrepreneurs, white collar professionals, etc.). Nevertheless, considering the scale and the resources mobilised in the design and building of the ville nouvelle, it becomes evident that Lyautey had a political agenda as well. The ville nouvelle [...] was meant to epitomise France's 'civilising mission'. Casablanca's ville nouvelle is the ultimate expression of this colonial vision; the city boasts several icons of twentieth-century architecture such as the city hall (Marius Boyer), the post-office (Adrien Laforgue), the courthouse (Joseph Marrast), the bank (Edmond Brion) and the church of Sacré Coeur (Paul Tournon). These buildings reproduced many features, in terms of architectural volumes and decoration, from Morocco's centuries-long Hispano-Moorish tradition [...] The ville nouvelle, as a model of urbanity, stands in stark contrast to the old medina [...] To be rooted in modernity, the ville nouvelle had to portray a strong sense of rationality, functionality, expandability, security, comfort and beauty [...] flanked with monumental and elaborately decorated public buildings were meant to stir a mix of emotions; pride and superiority among the colonists and awe and resignation among the locals

Greaves, S., Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, and Said Ennahid. "Searching for Rome: French Colonial Archaeology and Urban Planning in Morocco." Essay. In Rome and the Colonial City: Rethinking the Grid, 353–65. Oxford: Oxbow, 2022.

Document 4: Plan d'Aménagement de la Ville Nouvelle in Marrakech:

Source: "Plan d'ensemble de Marrakech" in Marcel Monmarché, *Le Maroc*, Paris Librairie Hachette, 1919. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/lemarocpublisous00monm/page/n137/mode/2up

Questions:

1. Based on the map above, list the sacred sites represented in the map and the people who have access to them. In your opinion, what could be the consequences of segregating access to these sites?

2. The class will organize a mock meeting following a scenario where the colonial government must present its urban planning policy to the French government in the mainland and the Moroccan Makhzen. Based on the sources, each group will discuss the following questions and prepare 5-minute speeches to present their arguments. In so doing, students are to consider some of the following questions:

a. What would motivate the government in mainland France to allow and help finance the changes requested by the colonial regime in Morocco? Consider the interests of the French colonial government in the mainland and in Morocco.

b. What are the possible disadvantages of this urban policy? Pay close attention to the map and consider the perspective of indigenous Moroccans living in the Medina and the Moroccan Makhzan.

c. What would be the benefit of keeping European colonial settlers and indigenous populations in different areas of the city and allowing them different facilities and infrastructure?

Concluding Activity:

Section A: Professor's Conclusion

* Must include a reminder of 4 main points:

- The importance of the civilizational ideology to the creation and maintenance of the colonial project,
- The vital role played by knowledge production, especially in the social sciences, in the functioning and maintaining of the colonial project,
- The difficulties surrounding attempts to reform legal systems that were born out of the colonial experience,
- The importance behind conversations around colonial legacies and untangling various forms of colonial ideology from the intellectual and spatial configurations of post-independence states.

Section B: End-of-Unit Assignment:

Relying on the examples, sources, and conclusions of this lesson, students must write a one-page essay responding to the following questions: What are the different forms of knowledge-based colonial violence? How do they relate to the exercise of physical colonial violence, as discussed in the previous unit?

Section C (Optional): Upcoming Unit Preparation:

Special Topic: Eurocentrism & Geography

> *Word Box:* "'Eurocentrism' or 'Eurocentricity' is an ideological aspect of imperialism. These terms are used interchangeably, both deriving from the adjective Eurocentric, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. Eurocentricity has resulted from and justified (both to ordinary people of the imperialist power and to the subject peoples) the colonialism, slavery, the 'civilisational projects' of the Spanish in the 16th century, of the English and French in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the neo-colonialism of the 20th century. A general definition of Eurocentricity might include: (a) a focus on Western Europe or 'the West' as if its history and rise to power can be explained in terms of itself alone; (b) a celebration of Western Europe's history, society, culture and 'achievements' as models for others to follow; and (c) a tendency to use 'the West', Europe, or the 'European' as a norm against which other peoples are compared."[128]

Document 1: Eurocentrism in World Maps:

Maps and atlases play a very important part in the way we perceive the world. They carry clear messages about the relative significance of the various parts of the world and about the various ways in which the world is divided and categorized in social and political terms. They are particularly powerful in that they carry these messages in a non-verbal form and thus make a long-lasting impression on young peoples' sub-conscious learning. Material that is presented in the iconic mode poses something of a problem for those people who are interested in developing, updating or changing our children's world views. Maps and atlases form part of the 'hidden curriculum' of humanities teaching and are central to our humanistic/political ideology. But being 'hidden' in the sense of being non-verbal they are rarely challenged, for we need to tease out the direction of the message before we can begin to consider a critical or remedial response [...] All two-dimensional maps necessarily distort the true image of the three-dimensional world. This distortion affects the accuracy of either the shape or the area (size) of countries and one is inevitably enhanced at the expense of the other. Mercator's Projection of 1569 was designed to aid marine navigation in straight lines. Consequently, it distorts area in preference to shape, so that countries nearer to the pole are expanded progressively and thus northern Europe, for example, is enlarged in comparison with Africa and China and at the expense of India. Furthermore, as most land lies to the north of the equator, the subsequent reproductions of Mercator's map have tended to move the focus northwards, shifting the equator south. An additional built-in bias arises from Mercator's placement of the East-West divide in the middle of the Netherlands, an understandable decision which reflected and anticipat- ed European domination of world trade from then onwards. The formal ratification of that division came in 1893 with the International Date Line and the establishment of longitude at Greenwich. Thus North, South, East and West were culturally determined and frozen in time with a pro-European bias which is increasingly seen as outmoded. 'Mercator' is now treated as an example of European ethnocentrism and the alternative of Peters' projection (1972) is preferred in the multicultural press.

Hodgkinson, Keith. "Standing the World on Its Head: A Review of Eurocentrism in Humanities Maps and Atlases." Teaching History, no. 62 (1991): 19–23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43259752.

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[128] Ness, Immanuel, and Zak Cope. *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and anti-imperialism*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, p. 827.
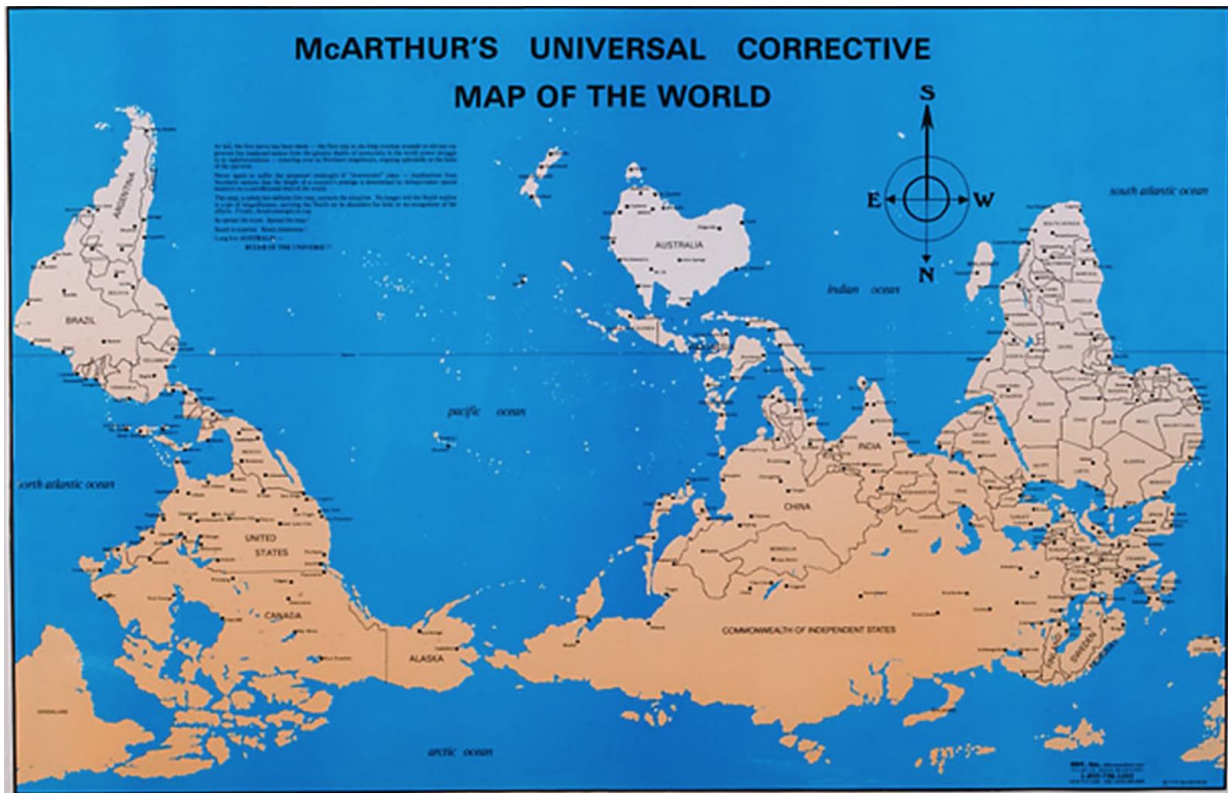
Document 2: Mercator's World Map (1931):

Source: Wikimedia Commons, Mercator map of the world, 1931.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mercator_map_of_the_world.tif

Document 3: Stuart McArthur's Corrective World Map (1979):

Source: MapCarte 38/365: McArthur's Universal Corrective Map of the World, Stuart McArthur, 1979. ICA Commission on Map Design Website. https://mapdesign.icaci.org/2014/02/mapcarte-38365-mcarthurs-universal-corrective-map-of-the-world-stuart-mcarthur-1979/

Document 5: Japanese Map (1853):
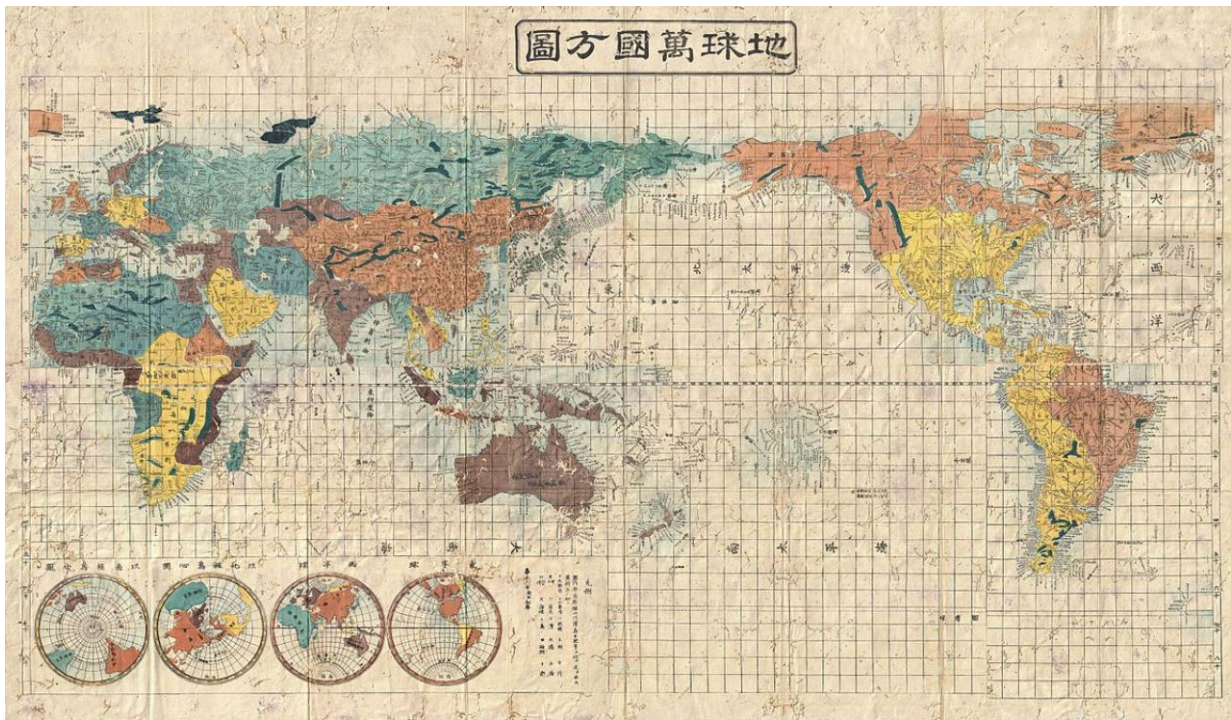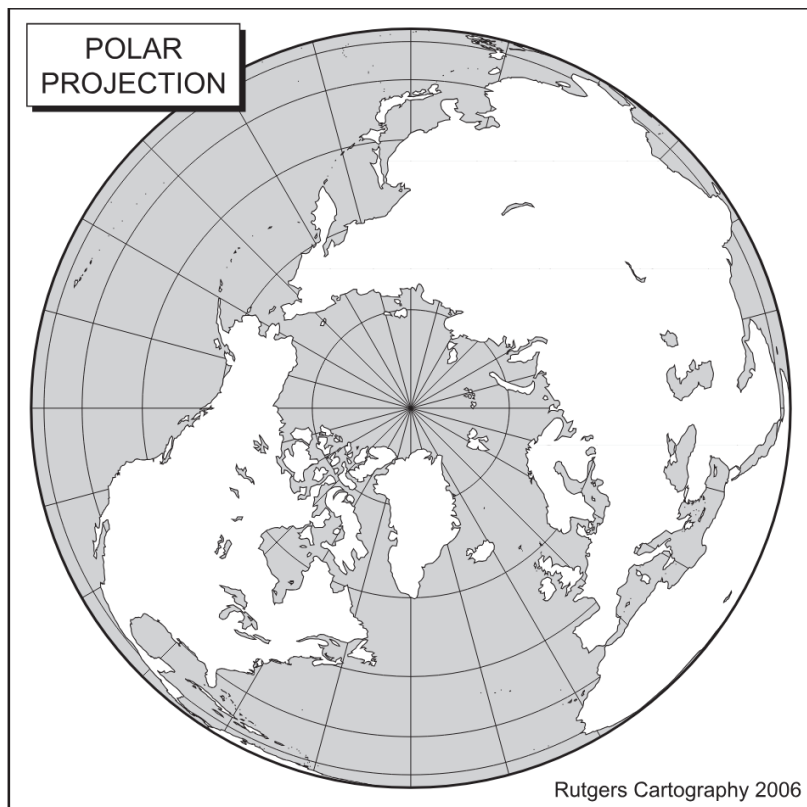
Source: Wikimedia Commons, Shintei - Chikyu Bankoku Hozu (Square Map of all the Countries on the Globe), 1853, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1853_Kaei_6_Japanese_Map_of_the_World_-_Geographicus_-_ChikyuBankokuHozu-nakajima-1853.jpg

Document 6: Pole-Perspective Map:

POLAR PROJECTION

Rutgers Cartography 2006

Source: Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay. *The power of projections: How maps reflect global politics and history*. Westport, Conn: Praeger Publishers, 2006, p. 104.

Questions:

1. What is the use of maps?
2. What is the importance of scale and accurate representation in mapping the world?
3. What are the implications of representing certain continents as smaller or bigger than they really are?
4. Which one of the above-presented maps makes more sense to you? Why or why not?

Textbook Chapter - "Post"-Colonial Structures

Note for the reader: The previous lesson concerns the exercise of epistemic violence as an essential colonial tool. It details the various tools utilized by colonial governments to produce various forms of knowledge and categorizations to facilitate the workings of the colonial project.

File Title: Empire & Colonialism
Unit Number: 3
Unit Title: "Post"-Colonial Structures

Main Objective: Understanding the continuations and legacies of 20th-century colonialism for independent nation-states. This lesson unit details the complexity of untangling the continuing consequences of colonial domination.

Objectives Related to the Educational Activities:
- Learning about notable cases of litigations resulting from various colonial experiences,
- Understanding the various forms of and challenges to claims to reparations and restitutions by independent states,
- Understanding the continuities of colonial structures of domination and some of their consequences,
- Understanding fundamental concepts of the conversation around colonial legacies.

Pre-requisite: Understanding the various types of colonial violence, both physical and epistemic, necessary to the functioning of colonial structures.

Unit Timetable:

Session	Activity	Time Allocated	Description
Session 1 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Professor's Introduction	15 minutes	In their introduction, the professor provides the general context for the unit while referring to the introductory activity.
	Introductory Activity	35 minutes	This is a non-guided activity as it relies the most on previous conclusions and lessons.
	Activity 1	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that lasts 40 minutes. Students are given 10 minutes to consider the sources of each section. Then, questions will be asked aloud and discussed for 10 minutes.
	Activity 2	30 minutes	This is a guided activity that should take 30 minutes. Since sessions usually last for 2 hours, this activity marks the end of the first part of the lesson. It ends with an assignment.
Session 2 (Class typically lasts 120 minutes)	Mid-Unit Assignment Review	20 minutes	This is a guided activity where the professor collects student responses and helps answer the prompt. The questions are asked out loud, and responses are collected and contributed to by the Professor. The purpose of this activity is to remind students of the conclusions learned in the previous session and prepare for the current session. It is also an opportunity for students to reflect on these conclusions in relation to the discipline of history.

	Activity 3	40 minutes	This is a non-guided activity, where the students split into groups and engage in a mock trial. The students are allowed 10 minutes to consider the sources and come up with their short speeches, 20 minutes to present their cases, and the professor can intervene with feedback before the class votes for a ruling in the remaining 10 minutes.
	Activity 4	40 minutes	This is a guided activity that should last 40 minutes. 30 minutes for the students to consider the sources. Then, 10 minutes for the discussion.
	Concluding Activity	20 minutes	This should be part of the teacher's conclusion. It is only an opportunity to remind students of the main conclusions and help clarify the end-of-unit assignment.

Section A; Professor's Introduction:

Must include an introduction of 3 main questions:

- What is the importance of continuing conversations around colonial legacies and modern structures in the present?
- What are the difficulties in seeking reparations and restitutions for former colonized peoples and colonial governments?
- How can the accessibility to colonial documents and archives determine the success of seeking truth and justice about colonial violence?
- What are the challenges of seeking justice and decolonization in economic, political, and legal structures born out of the colonial encounter?

Section B: Introductory Activity: The Rif Case

Activity Objective: Getting students to reflect on the continuing repercussions of colonialism on specific populations in the modern-day. Help students understand the long-term repercussions of colonial violence on indigenous populations.

Document 1: Timeline of the Use of Chemical Weapons in the Rif War:[129]

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[129] Compiled by the author based on the following sources: Chotzen, Anna. "Beyond Bounds: Morocco's Rif War and the Limits of International Law." Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development 5, no. 1 (2014): 33-54. https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2014.0004; Daudin, Pascal. "The Rif War: A Forgotten War?" International Review of the Red Cross 105, no. 923 (December 13, 2022): 914–46. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1816383122001023; "Spain Falls Short of Apologising for 1920s Use of Chemical Weapons in Morocco." Middle East Monitor, February 15, 2018. https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180215-spain-falls-short-of-apologising-for-1920s-use-of-chemical-weapons-in-morocco/

Timeline of the Use of Chemical Weapons during the Rif War

1921- Anwal Battle

General Manuel Fernandez Silvestre disregarding Abdelkrim's warning, decided to lead the Spanish forces from the Northeastern coastal regions into the depths of the Rif region. This led to the ensuing Battle of Anwal in the summer of 1921, where Rifi tribes under the leadership of Abdelkrim incurred a catastrophic defeat of the Spanish army. This was known as the worst defeat inflicted upon a colonizing army in the 20th century up to that point, and incurred the loss of over 10.000 soldiers.
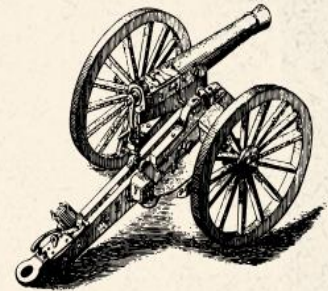
1923- German-Spanish Deal

As Spain did not have such means, it asked Germany to provide it with chemical weapons... On December 20, 1923, Germany signed a secret convention with Spain relating to the sale of mustard gas. Two weeks later, a ship carrying German military experts and several hundred cans of mustard gas entered the port of Melilla. Aerial bombs with chemical loading were also supplied by Germany... More than 400 tonnes of chemical agents (mustard, chloropicrin and phosgene) were thus produced in Spain.

1925- Lyauté's Request

While Lyautey had spoken out against the use of chemical weapons by the Spaniards, on May 4, 1925 he requested the sending of mustard gas: "Due to events on the northern front, it is essential to provide a reserve supply of aviation shells and bombs to yperite to allow me to possibly prohibit certain areas or vital points where, due to lack of personnel, I would not be able to exercise effective action. You are therefore requested to urgently direct to Kenitra for Artillery 7,520,000 model n° 20 shells... and for aviation 5,000 50 kg bombs, for large aircraft. You are further requested to make available... six large aircraft equipped with 50 kg bomb launchers. These planes are the only ones capable of useful output."

1925- Alfonso XIII's Confirmation

King Alfonso XIII told the French military attaché that it was necessary to leave aside "vain humanitarian considerations", because, "with the help of the most harmful gas", many Spanish and French lives would be saved. "The important thing is to exterminate, as we do with bad beasts, the Beni Ourriaguel and the tribes closer to Abdelkrim." This confirmation comes as the French colonial government proceeds to the use of chemical weapons to smash rebellion in the Fes region.

2005 - ERC Request

Esquerra Republicana (ERC) has proposed that Spain apologize to the Rif people in particular and the Moroccans in general for the indiscriminate use of chemical weapons by Spanish troops between 1920 and 1927, the last stage of the Rif War. The final objective of ERC is to present a non-legal proposal in Congress urging the Spanish Government to investigate the

Document 2: Excerpt from Paco Soto's Contribution To The International Conference On The Use Of Chemical Weapons in 2004, Nador:

The use of chemical weapons has caused catastrophic consequences for the health of the Rif population, which suffers from infections and genetic mutations leading to cancer [...] The Oncological Institute of Rabat is concerned with studying the reasons behind the higher rate of cancer-related mortality rates in the Rif region in comparison with the rest of Morocco. Researcher and doctor, Abdelouahed Tedmouri explains to Colpisa that according to a series of comparative studies and "clinical findings" that he has carried out, he is able to affirm that "among the cases of cancer that are detected in Morocco, 50% are in the Rif, and this must already be a cause for concern." Tedmouri compares the traces of this disease in the Rif with other Mediterranean regions of Europe such as Andalusia and the South of France, which share similar climate, diets and lifestyle. He comes to the conclusion that "while in the Spanish or French case the difference with other regions is minimal, in the case of the Rif it is abysmal if compared with the rest of Morocco."

Soto, Paco "Gazs Toxiques Contre le Rif," dans Raha R., Charqui M. et el Hamdaoui A. (eds.), La Guerre Chimique contre le Rif, Rabat, Les Editions Amazigh, 2005

Document 3: Excerpt of Complaint Proposal:

Today, the Rif and its populations remain a poor, landlocked and neglected region. Without infrastructure, without hospitals, without industry or a viable economy, ... People with cancer must travel to Rabat to be able to receive care, with all that this implies in terms of constraints and when they can afford it. The least that Spain, France and their accomplices of yesterday can do is to express present good faith [...]
The subject of the complaint would be:
- Obtain through the courts recognition of historical and political crimes against humanity committed in violation of the basic rules of international law and human rights, due to the use of chemical weapons of mass destruction in the Rif.
- Obtain assessment and confirmation of the damages suffered individually and collectively by the Riffians of yesterday, today and tomorrow.
- Obtain moral and material reparations for damages and interest for the harm suffered.

Charqi, Mimoun. "Pour Des Revendications, Aux Fins De Reparations, Pour Les Prejudices Subis Suite à L'utilisation D'armes Chimiques De Destructions Massives Contre Le Rif," in Raha R., Charqui M. et el Hamdaoui A. (eds.), La Guerre Chimique contre le Rif, Rabat, Les Editions Amazigh, 2005,

Questions:

1. How does the nature of the harm inflicted on Rifi people through the use of chemical weapons shape the nature of the apology requested by Rifi and Spanish organizations?
2. In your opinion, which people alive in the 2020s should be able to seek reparations and apologies for the use of chemical weapons in the Rif?
3. Who do you think should be issuing apologies and reparations? Justify your reasoning and consider possible difficulties for the proposed actors in issuing the reparations in question.
4. What are the implications of seeking reparations in this case? Consider the perspective of the Rifi people, the Moroccan government, and the Spanish government.

Activity 1: The Benin Bronzes Case

> *Activity Objective:* Understanding the discourse around the restitution of artifacts looted during the colonial era. Encourage students to analyze the position of the institutions emerging from colonial empires and the narrative framing they use in response to requests for restitution.

Document 1: Excerpt from the British Museum's Official Website

The British Museum

The occupation of Benin City saw widespread destruction and pillage by British forces. Along with other monuments and palaces, the Benin Royal Palace was burned and partly destroyed. Its shrines and associated compounds were looted by British forces, and thousands of objects of ceremonial and ritual value were taken to the UK as official 'spoils of war' or distributed among members of the expedition according to their rank. This included objects removed from royal ancestral shrines, among which were ceremonial brass heads of former Obas and their associated ivory tusks. The looted objects also included more than 900 brass plaques, dating largely to the 16-17th century, found in a storage room within the palace. Having previously decorated the palace walls, these plaques were key historic records for the Benin Court and kingdom, enabling illustration of historic practices and traditions. Following the occupation, the Oba was later captured and sent into exile, while a number of Benin chiefs were executed. Justified as legitimate military action against a 'barbarous' kingdom, this brutal, violent colonial episode effectively marked the end of the independent Kingdom of Benin.

In the autumn of 1897, the British Museum displayed 304 Benin plaques on loan from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and subsequently petitioned successfully to receive 203 of these as a donation. The majority of the remaining plaques were sold to UK and German museums and to private dealers, while a few were retained by the Foreign office. Other early collections were purchased or donated by members of the Benin expedition.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, "BENIN BRONZES," IN THE CONTESTED OBJECTS FROM COLLECTIONS SECTION OF THE OFFICIAL WEBSITE.

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Document 2: Press Excerpt:

Press Excerpt

In a move that many hailed as a salve for the historic wounds between Europe and Africa, Germany last December returned 22 artifacts looted during the Colonial Era to what is now Nigeria. But five months on, questions are being asked in Germany as to whether cultural guardians were wise to hand back the priceless treasures, known as the Benin bronzes. Controversy erupted after Nigeria's outgoing president, Muhammadu Buhari, suddenly declared in March that the artifacts would be returned to a traditional ruler and not to the Nigerian state, as Germany had expected. The recipient named by Buhari is the Oba of Benin, a descendant of the sovereign who reigned over the kingdom of Benin when the bronzes were looted by the British at the end of the 19th century. Custody of any repatriated bronzes must be "handed over to the Oba," who will be "responsible for the management of all places" where they are kept, Buhari's statement said [...] Under a July 2022 agreement, Germany promised to return around 1,100 bronzes from 20 of its museums, and both sides agreed on the importance of making the works accessible to the public. Underpinning this were plans to display the bronzes in a new museum in Benin City in southern Edo state.

The state of Saxony has put the brakes on further restitutions pending clarification on whether the Oba's ownership would affect public display of the bronzes. Saxony's Grassi museum was among five museums that handed over the 22 bronzes in December and other museums in the state still hold 262 pieces. Before proceeding with returning them, the state wants to "wait to see what the effect of this declaration is[...] and how the new government is going to proceed," a spokesman for the Saxon culture ministry told AFP. "We will not take any new steps" before the situation is made clear, he said.
Asked about Buhari's declaration, foreign ministry spokesman Christopher Burger said the return of the bronzes was "not subject to conditions." "It is the decision of the sovereign state of Nigeria to do what it wants," he said, while adding that it was "important to us that the public continue to have access to the Benin bronzes."

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, "ROW ERUPTS IN GERMANY OVER RESTITUTION OF BENIN BRONZES," VOA, 11/6/2023

"Cast brass plaques from Benin City. 16th - 17th. C.", Wikimediacommons, 15/6/2011.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cast_brass_plaques_from_Benin_City_at_British_Museum.jpg

Questions:

1. Based on the above-presented sources, describe the cultural and historical significance of the Benin Bronzes to the Nigerian People. Through what tools were the Nigerian people dispossessed of these artifacts?
2. What caused the controversy that erupted after the German decision to return some of the artifacts that the German colonial empire had looted from Nigeria?
3. What was the reason behind the State of Saxony's disapproval and choice to temporarily withhold the Benin Bronzes after the agreement?
4. Considering the historical context of the state of Saxony's appropriation of the Benin Bronzes, should it have a say in whether the Benin Bronzes should be returned to the Nigerian people or the Oba of Benin? Why or why not?
5. What are the implications of the state of Saxony's choice and capacity to withhold artifacts looted during the colonial era? Consider the role of the justice system and the historical context of German colonial domination in Nigeria.

Activity 2: The Mau Mau Rebellion Case

> *Activity Objective:* Encourage students to reflect on the implications of access to archival resources to formulate historical narratives. Encourage students to consider the role of the justice system and its limits in dealing with issues of colonialism.

Document 1: Timeline Major Events of Kenyan Colonial History:[130]

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[130] Compiled by the author based on the following sources: Adu A. Boahen, *General History of Africa VII: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, vol. VII (Paris: Unesco, 1985); Newsinger, John. "Revolt and Repression in Kenya: The 'Mau Mau' Rebellion, 1952-1960." *Science & Society* 45, no. 2 (1981): 159–85. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40402312; Meriwether, James H. "African Americans and the Mau Mau Rebellion: Militancy, Violence, and the Struggle for Freedom." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17, no. 4 (1998): 63–86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27502337: Newsinger, John. "Minimum Force, British Counter-Insurgency and the Mau Mau Rebellion." Essay. In *Modern Counter-Insurgency*, edited by Ian Beckett. London: Routledge, 2007.

COLONIAL CASE
Kenya

Timeline: Major Events of Kenyan Colonial History

1895

ESTABLISHING THE EAST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

After WW1, British white settlers used the war to gain several privileges. Major among these privileges was the right to elect representatives to the Legislative Council, the right to expropriate the fertile highland area from indigenous communities for coffee-farming and the right to expropriate native land for white settlement.

1918

SETTLER GAINS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The East Africa Protectorate was made into a colony and named Kenya, after its highest mountain. More European settlers came into Kenya. Indigenous interests could only be represented at the Legislative Council by Europeans, often missionaries.

1920

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KENYAN COLONY

Later renamed the East African Association, this organization demanded African representation in the Legislative Council and protested against discriminatory measures such as the prohibition of coffee farming for Africans. These demands were opposed by Europeans throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The association was banned in 1922 and its president, Harry Thuku, arrested then exiled.

1921

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

After WWII, the British Empire decides to reward Kenyan participation on its behalf with increased privileges. Thus Kenya becomes the first African country with an African representative on a legislative council. While this number would later increase, these efforts were not enough to appease the growing demands of the Kenyan population. As a result, growing discontent with non-violent means of advocacy for equal rights could be observed.

1944

FIRST AFRICAN ON LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Members of the Kikuyu community engaged in a campaign of sabotage and assassinations of British settlers and colonial officers in what was known as the Mau Mau rebellion. The colonial government retaliated and established a state of emergency lasting from 1952 to 1960. By the end of 1956, over 11,000 rebels were killed in the fighting, along with about 100 Europeans and 2,000 African loyalists. Over 20,000 other Kikuyu were imprisoned in detention camps and were subjected to intense violence for the purpose of forcing them to abandon their nationalist aspirations.

1952

ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE OF EMERGENCY

1960

END OF STATE OF EMERGENCY

For the first time since 1953, African political organizations were allowed once again. The Kenyan African National Union (KANU) was founded then and centered on the figure of Jomo Kenyatta. KANU won the majority of seats at the first election held in 1961, then proceeded to create a coalition government with the Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU), both of which advocated for the release of political prisoner Jomo Kenyatta from house arrest.

1963

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Republic of Kenya's first independent government was presided over by Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta was one of the Kikuyu members accused of being a Mau Mau leader and persecuted and jailed in 1953 for seven years.

Document 2: Kenya in Africa Map

Source: Joint Research Centre, ECHO, European Commission, "Kenya." Wikicommons. January 2010.

Document 3: Press Excerpt:

Press Excerpt

Thousands of documents detailing some of the most shameful acts and crimes committed during the final years of the British empire were systematically destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of post-independence governments, an official review has concluded.

Those papers that survived the purge were flown discreetly to Britain where they were hidden for 50 years in a secret Foreign Office archive, beyond the reach of historians and members of the public, and in breach of legal obligations for them to be transferred into the public domain. The archive came to light last year when a group of Kenyans detained and allegedly tortured during the Mau Mau rebellion won the right to sue the British government [...] The historian appointed to oversee the review and transfer, Tony Badger, master of Clare College, Cambridge, says the discovery of the archive put the Foreign Office in an "embarrassing, scandalous" position. "These documents should have been in the public archives in the 1980s," he said. "It's long overdue." The first of them are made available to the public on Wednesday at the National Archive at Kew, Surrey [...] The documents that were not destroyed appear to have been kept secret not only to protect the UK's reputation, but to shield the government from litigation. If the small group of Mau Mau detainees are successful in their legal action, thousands more veterans are expected to follow.

COBAIN, LAN ET AL. "BRITAIN DESTROYED RECORDS OF COLONIAL CRIMES," THE GUARDIAN, 18/04/2012

Document 5: Press Excerpt:

Press Excerpt

Kenyans tortured by British colonial forces during the Mau Mau uprising will receive payouts totalling £20m, Foreign Secretary William Hague has announced.

He said the UK government recognised Kenyans were tortured and it "sincerely regrets" the abuses that took place. A lawyer for the victims said they "at last have the recognition and justice they have sought for many years." Thousands of people were killed during the Mau Mau revolt against British rule in Kenya in the 1950s. Mr Hague also announced plans to support the construction of a permanent memorial to the victims in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi.

"I would like to make clear now, and for the first time, on behalf of Her Majesty's government, that we understand the pain and grievance felt by those who were involved in the events of the emergency in Kenya," he told the Commons. "The British government recognises that Kenyans were subject to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration. "The British government sincerely regrets that these abuses took place and that they marred Kenya's progress towards independence."

Mr Hague said 5,228 victims would receive payments totalling £19.9m following an agreement with lawyers acting for the victims, who have been fighting for compensation for a number of years. The compensation amounts to about £3,000 per victim and applies only to the living survivors of the abuses that took place. Mr Hague said Britain still did not accept it was legally liable for the actions of what was a colonial administration in Kenya.

BBC NEWS, "MAU MAU TORTURE VICTIMS TO RECEIVE COMPENSATION - HAGUE," 06/06/2013.

Questions:

1. Why did the British Government attempt to withhold and seek to destroy archival documents documenting colonial violence?
2. What are the implications of these Kenyan nationals' legal victory and compensation in a case for reparations and damages? Consider what this means for the British government and descendants of British colonial subjects.
3. Which victims of colonial violence are excluded from the reparation-seeking process in this case?
4. What is the importance of access to archival documents for this case?
5. Based on this activity's sources, do you think that the British government should offer reparations to previously colonized people and their descendants? Why or why not?

Mid-Unit Assignment:

Based on this session's activities and the previous lesson units, write a short reflective essay addressing two of the three following questions:

1. How does the Rif War case inform our understanding of the implications of the exercise of colonial violence for Indigenous people?
2. In what ways can the discourse around restitution in the case of the Benin Bronzes be tied to previous lessons on colonial and epistemic violence?
3. How do you make sense of the British government's refusal to be considered legally liable for the actions of the British Empire in colonial Kenya in the context of the case presented in activity n°2?

Activity 3: Property & Historical Legacies

Activity Objective: Encourage students to consider how the interests of modern states in the international system affect restitution and reparation claims, both for ex-colonies and ex-colonial powers. Additionally, this activity aims to help students understand the importance of access to archives for accurate historical knowledge.

FRANCE ARCHIVES

Announced on December 10 by Roselyne Bachelot-Narquin, Minister of Culture, the interministerial decree of December 22, 2021 opening archives relating to the Algerian War appeared in today's Official Journal. Are now communicable to anyone who requests them, that is to say consultable and reproducible, since they were produced "in the context of cases relating to acts committed in relation to the Algerian war between November 1, 1954 and December 31, 1966:"

- Documents relating to cases brought before the courts and the execution of court decisions;
- Documents relating to investigations carried out by the judicial police services.

In order to guarantee the balance which must govern the policy of access to archives, the Government however considered it necessary to preserve certain information which is still particularly sensitive and, thus, exclude from the scope of application of the decree documents, in very small number, which fall within the communicability period set by law at one hundred years. Advance consultation of these documents may, however, always be requested on an individual basis.

FRANCE ARCHIVES. PORTAIL NATIONAL DES ARCHIVES. OUVERTURE D'ARCHIVES RELATIVES À LA GUERRE D'ALGÉRIE. 20/10/2022.

Document 1: Excerpt of the French Archives Official Website:

Document 2: Press Excerpt:

Press Excerpt

Algeria said Tuesday it could resort to international arbitration resolve its dispute with France over archives from the French colonial era.

Presidential adviser Abdelmadjid al-Sheikh said in a radio interview, "Nothing prevents the people from resorting to international arbitration or submitting the case to international judicial bodies in the future."

Algerian authorities claim that during the colonial period (1830-1962), French forces smuggled hundreds of thousands of maps and documents, including those dating from the Ottoman era (1518-1830). French authorities, however, assert that documents relating to Algeria's colonial period are part of the country's sovereign heritage. Four years earlier, Algiers and Paris had initiated negotiations regarding four pending files, one of which was linked to Algerian archives, but France refused to return them to Algeria. The negotiations also focused on the recovery of the remains of Algerian freedom fighters, compensation for victims of French nuclear tests in the Algerian Sahara and the fate of those missing during the Algerian revolution against French colonialism.

BELHAD, MOURAD. "ALGÉRIE: POSSIBILITÉ DE RECOURS À L'ARBITRAGE POUR RÉCUPÉRER LES ARCHIVES "VOLÉES" PAR LA FRANCE," ANADOLU AGENCY, 27/10/2020

Document 3: Press Excerpt:

Press Excerpt

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FRANCES ARCHIVES. PORTAIL NATIONAL DES ARCHIVES. OUVERTURE D'ARCHIVES RELATIVES À LA GUERRE D'ALGÉRIE. 20/10/2022.

Questions:

The class will organize a mock trial following a scenario where the Algerian government files a legal case against the French government for the restitution of the entirety of the colonial archives and the remains of the fallen anti-colonial resistance fighters. Based on the sources, each group will discuss the following questions and prepare five-minute speeches each to defend their position. In so doing, students are to consider some of the following questions:

1. What is France's interest in keeping the colonial archival documents and remains of Algerian resistance fighters? Consider the perspective of the colonial French government and the modern French state.
2. What is the reason behind Algeria's interest in repatriating the entirety of the archives and the remains under the possession of the French colonial government?

3. What is the purpose of the communicability period being legally set to 100 years? What possible implications can this have on the reparation and restitution claims of ex-colonies?

Activity 4: Legacies & Reiterations of Economic Dependency:

Document 1: Introducing FrançAfrique:

After colonialization ended in 1960, France continued to secure access to resources and markets in its former African colonies. "France still has a strategic interest in maintaining the historical links to its former colonies, [also during the last decades] facing the rise of China in Africa," Balde explains. These colonial practices — the so-called Françafrique — were modelled by President De Gaulle's Africa advisor Foccart, right after independence and are as follows:

- **Monetary control through a shared currency: the CFA–franc.** It comes together with a set of regulations or so-called monetary agreements. One is to have part of the foreign exchange reserves of the 14 African countries held at the French Treasury in Paris. Nowadays, this amounts to 50% and €9.5 billion euros.

However, since 1999 — the very start of the introduction of the euro — francophone Africa became less dependent on France, as Balde mentions, because Paris isn't deciding upon the valuation of the CFA–franc, it is now done by the European Central Bank. It loosened ties between francophone Africa and France, but doesn't yet provide monetary sovereignty.

- **Military presence at strategic locations**, like "in Gabon for oil," gives Hoebink as an example. Six francophone countries signed military agreements (accords de défense) or technical military cooperation agreements with France, right after independence.

[...] And although the number of French troops in Africa dropped dramatically to 11,000, it is still a 63% of all French forces, who are "permanently stationed or temporarily deployed in Africa." Of which 5,000 are mobilised in Chad and Ivory Coast, according to the French Senate. Another two French permanent military bases are found in Gabon and Senegal. Other military bases have been closed, according to MAliLink. [...]

- **Political connections** between French and African old elite men, closing deals or as Bennyworth in International Relations puts it "trading political and business favours." The last two French presidents, Sarkozy and Hollande, also maintained "privileged relations with the African political class," according to Balde.

- **La Francophonie:** French language and culture promotion with the aim to expand the trade–relations between Francophones and the export of typical French products for those who identify with French culture. Seventy years of efforts were "to institutionalise the linguistic, cultural and educational links between France and francophone Africa," says Martin in International Relations. To show the importance of the Francophonie for France, Hoebink mentions: "In the past, the governmental development agency was called the Ministry of Development Cooperation and Aid money was spent on spreading the French language."

INNEMARIE DEKKER, "HOW MUCH MONEY DOES FRANCE MAKE IN FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICA?" MEDIUM, 21/02/2020, HTTPS://INEMARIEDEKKER.MEDIUM.COM/HOW-MUCH-MONEY-DOES-FRANCE-MAKE-IN-FRENCH-SPEAKING-AFRICA-BC146B5CE4BF
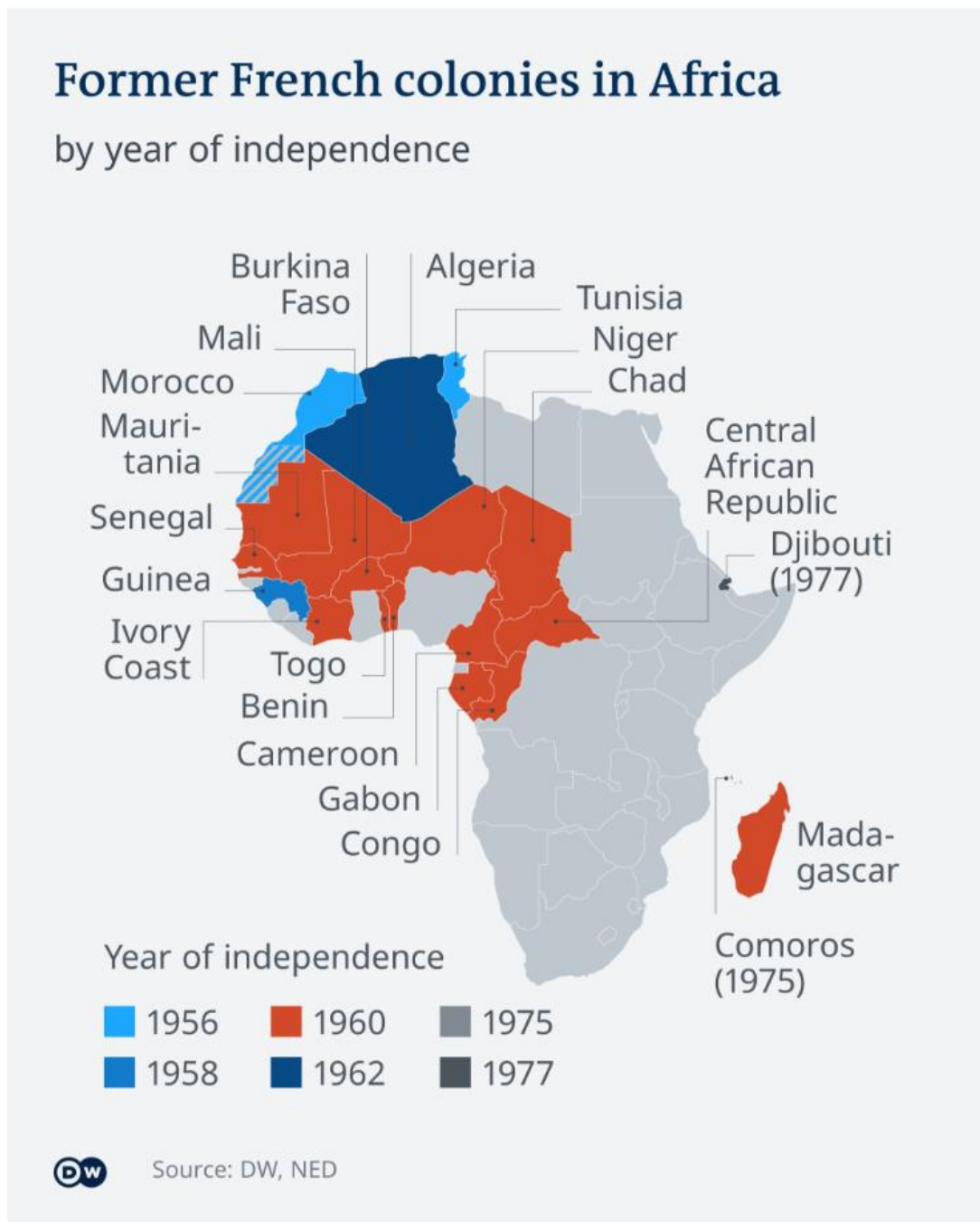
Document 2: CFA Franc on Map:
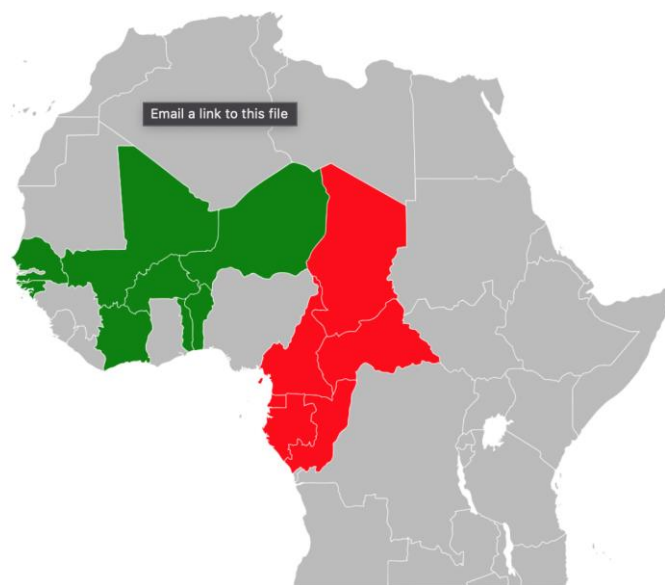
Source: Wikimedia Commons, CFA Franc map,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CFA_Franc_map.svg

Document 3: French Empire in Africa on a map:

Former French colonies in Africa

by year of independence

Burkina Faso
Mali
Morocco
Mauritania
Senegal
Guinea
Ivory Coast
Togo
Benin
Cameroon
Gabon
Congo
Algeria
Tunisia
Niger
Chad
Central African Republic
Djibouti (1977)
Madagascar
Comoros (1975)

Year of independence

| 1956 | 1960 | 1975 |
| 1958 | 1962 | 1977 |

Source: DW, NED

"Françafrique lives on," 08/03/2020, DW, https://www.dw.com/en/africa-and-france-an-unfulfilled-dream-of-independence/a-54418511

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Document 4: Kwame Nkrumah on the Economic Exploitation of Post-Independence African States:

Africa is still paramountly an uncharted continent economically, and the withdrawal of the colonial rulers from political control is interpreted as a signal for the descent of the international monopolies upon the continent's natural resources. This is the new scramble for Africa, under the guise of aid, and with the consent and even the welcome of young, inexperienced States. It can be even more deadly for Africa than the first carve-up, as it is supported by more concentrated interests, wielding vastly greater power and influence over governments and international organisations.

Nrumah, Kwame, Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, 1965. marxists.org

Questions:

1. What dynamics are perpetuated by the European Central Bank's setting of the CFA Franc?
2. What are the causes and implications of the assignment of 63% of French overseas military troops to post-independence African states?
3. Based on the documents presented above and on the previous units, create a table comparing the aspects of life that are subjected to French domination under French imperialism and the FrançAfrique.
4. How do the realities of the FrançAfrique affect your understanding of colonialism?

Concluding Activity:

Section A: Professor's Conclusion

Must include a reminder of 3 main points:
- The importance of continuing conversations around colonial legacies and modern structures in the present,
- The difficulties in seeking reparations and restitutions for former colonized peoples and colonial governments,
- The importance of widespread accessibility to colonial documents and archives for the success of seeking truth and justice about colonial violence,
- Understanding the challenges of seeking justice and decolonization in economic, political, and legal structures born from the colonial encounter.

Section B: End-of-Unit Assignment:

Relying on the sources and conclusions tied to this lesson students must write a short essay reflecting on two of the three following questions: What sorts of colonial legacies can you note in the narrative framings of conversations around restitution and repatriation? What sort of challenges do modern legal systems pose to post-independence states seeking justice for different forms of colonial violence? What sort of structural difficulties are faced by post-independence states in relation to their ex-colonizers?

Section C: Openings & Explorations:

Special Topic: The Colonial Condition & the Negritude Movement:

Document 1: What is the Négritude Movement?

Négritude was both a literary and ideological movement led by French-speaking black writers and intellectuals from France's colonies in Africa and the Caribbean in the 1930s. The movement is marked by its rejection of European colonization and its role in the African diaspora, pride in "blackness" and traditional African values and culture, mixed with an undercurrent of Marxist ideals. Négritude was born from a shared experience of discrimination and oppression and an attempt to dispel stereotypes and create a new black consciousness.

The movement drew its inspiration from the Harlem Renaissance, which was beginning its decline. The Harlem Renaissance, which was alternatively called the "New Negro Renaissance," fostered black artists and leaders who promoted a sense of pride and advocacy in the black community, and a refusal to submit to injustices. But as the glory days of the Harlem Renaissance came to an end, many African American intellectuals of the period moved to France, seeking a haven against racism and segregation. Among these artists were Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, and Claude McKay, who Sengalese poet and politician Léopold Sédar Senghor praised as the spiritual founder of Négritude.

The movement's founders (or Les Trois Pères), Aimé Césaire, Senghor, and Léon-Gontran Damas, met while studying in Paris in 1931 and began to publish the first journal devoted to Négritude, L'Étudiant noir (The Black Student), in 1934.

The term "Négritude" was coined by Césaire in his Cahier d'un retour au pays natal (Notebook of a Return to the Native Land, 1939) and it means, in his words, "The simple recognition of the fact that one is black, the acceptance of this fact and of our destiny as blacks, of our history and culture." Even in its beginnings Négritude was truly an international movement—it drew inspiration from the flowering of African American culture brought about by the Harlem Renaissance and found a home in the canon of French literature.

While Césaire's Cahier d'un retour au pays natal is certainly considered an essential text for the movement, Damas's debut poetry collection, Pigments (1937), is sometimes referred to as the "manifesto of the movement." In it, Damas argues against slavery, segregation, colonial assimilation, and the repression or rejection of the racial and cultural self.

"A BRIEF GUIDE TO NÉGRITUDE," POETS.ORG, 23/05/2004. HTTPS://POETS.ORG/TEXT/BRIEF-GUIDE-NEGRITUDE

Towards the end of his life, Aimé Césaire has declared that the question he and his friend Léopold Sédar Senghor came to raise after they first met was: "Who am I? Who are we? What are we in this white world?" And he commented: "That's quite a problem" (Césaire 2005, 23). "Who am I?" is a question Descartes posed, and a reader of the French philosopher naturally understands such a question to be universal, and the subject who says "I" here to stand for any human being. But when "who am I?" has to be translated as "who are *we*?" everything changes especially when the "we" have to define themselves against a world which leaves no room for who and what they are because they are black folks in a world where "universal" seems to naturally mean "white".

"Négritude", or the self-affirmation of black peoples, or the affirmation of the values of civilization of something defined as "the black world" as an answer to the question "what are we in this white world?" is indeed "quite a problem" (…)

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "Négritude," 24/05/2010, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/negritude/

Document 3: Front Page Excerpt L'Etudiant Noir:

Première Année. ... N. 1.   Le Numéro : 1 franc   MARS 1935

l'Etudiant noir

Journal de l'Association des Étudiants
Martiniquais en France

Administration et Rédaction :
55, Boulevard Jourdan — Paris-14

ABONNEMENTS { FRANCE et COLONIES 12 fr.
{ ETRANGER .... 15 fr.

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A PROPOS DE L'ASSOCIATION,
par G. MIDAS.

Réflexions sur une réunion d'Étudiants
Martiniquais.

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NEGRERIES.

Jeunesse noire et assimilation,
par A. CESAIRE.

L'HUMANISME ET NOUS : R. Maran
par L. SEDAR SENGHOR.

Langage et Musique chez les Nègres
du Congo, par H. EBOUE.

GUIGNOL' OUOLOF,
par PAULETTE NARDAL.

Littérature antillaise. Un livre sur la
Martinique, par L. SAINVILLE.

MULATRES... POUR LE BIEN ET LE
MAL, par G. GRATIANT.

III. — Avez-vous lu ceci ?
—ᵥᵥ—

Simples questions à « Je Suis Partout »,
par L. SAINVILLE.

SPORTS, par C. BRANCHI.

Sottisier.

QUESTIONS CORPORATIVES

La Question des Bourses

La pétition que nous avons soumise à l'administration, par l'intermédiaire de nos représentants, a enfin attiré l'attention des services autorisés sur la question des bourses.

A vrai dire, si la réaction a été tardive, du moins elle a été vigoureuse : nous n'avons point manqué d'appuis et nous remercions bien sincèrement ceux qui ne nous ont point ménagé leurs concours.

Dès le 6 février 1935, M. Lémery nous donnait communication d'une lettre qu'il a adressée au Ministre des Colonies; le sénateur de la Martinique y protestait contre la suppression des bourses, en termes énergiques :

« Un délai d'un an constituant un préavis rationnel et un avertissement solennel aurait dû être donné à tous les étudiants pour observer rigoureusement les dispositions de l'arrêté du 10 juillet 1934 sur les bourses, à compter de juillet 1935. »

M. Lagrosillière, de son côté, n'était pas moins pressant :

« Je vous prie instamment en ma qualité de Président du Conseil général de la Martinique, d'inviter le chef de la Colonie, à procéder de toute urgence à la révision de tous les dossiers des étudiants. »

Ainsi les représentants de la Martinique ont tous compris que le décret de juillet 1934 compromettait gravement l'avenir intellectuel de notre pays et ils ont réuni leurs efforts pour faire aboutir nos justes revendications. Disons tout de suite que ces efforts n'ont pas été vains.

Dès le 15 février 1935, M. Delmont nous écrivait :

« M. Alfassa vient de câbler au Ministre, pour lui faire connaître qu'il peut maintenir jusqu'en mai, les bourses de tous les étudiants en cours d'études... L'ordonnancement des mandats a été immédiatement commencé. Les paiements seront faits dans le courant de cette semaine. »

M. Lagrosillière de son côté commentait :

« En somme, un grand pas a été fait à tous les sacrifiés obtiennent une réparation, tout au moins provisoire et l'exercice d'un droit d'appel des décisions prises trop brusquement à leur encontre. »

Bref, on nous dit et on nous répète que le sort des étudiants est provisoirement réglé. Nos espoirs ont été tant de fois déçus, que nous ne pouvons nous défendre d'un certain scepticisme.

Tous ceux qui connaissent la nonchalance, la malveillance même des bureaux administratifs nous comprendront. Ce matin encore, on nous disait, au Ministère des Colonies, que les mandats ne seraient délivrés aux boursiers que si le gouverneur Alfassa n'envoyait pas de contre-ordre dans les quatre jours.

Il y a pire : ne seront payés que ceux qui pourront présenter un certificat de scolarité.

Comment exiger que des étudiants sans ressources, voyant tous les jours la misère en face, remplissent une telle formalité ?

M. Ferjus, secrétaire politique du sénateur de la Martinique s'est ému de cette situation, et en a informé M. Lémery.

M. Lémery est intervenu une fois de plus près du Ministre.

Aurons-nous satisfaction ?

D'ailleurs, que l'on rétablisse ou non toutes les bourses, on ne doit pas se cacher le caractère de demi-mesure du nouvel arrêté : on rétablit les bourses jusqu'en mai, c'est-à-dire juste au moment où commencent les examens !

Ne risque-t-on pas de voir longtemps encore à Paris, de jeunes martiniquais, mourant de faim, victimes d'un affreux égoïsme et d'une coupable incompréhension ?

Aristide MAUGEE.

Communiqué

Dans sa lettre du 19 février 1935, le député de la Martinique, J. Lagrosillière nous écrit :

« Je vous serais reconnaissant de demander à tous les réclamants de rédiger des lettres individuelles au Ministre des Colonies, où leurs cas seront exposés en détail, et de m'envoyer ces demandes, afin que je les recommande et que le Ministre les recommande, à son tour, au Gouverneur. »

Nous attirons l'attention des étudiants sur la nécessité de remplir vite ces formalités.

▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Puisse-t-on nous entendre !...

Il est inévitable que je lance une fusée, car le péril est grand. Mes camarades du lycée Saint-Louis et moi, sommes sans la moindre ressource depuis deux mois. Nous avions espéré, ou mieux, on nous avait donné de l'espoir, mais nous attendons encore des réalisations.

Eh quoi ! Il est décidé que nous autres, internes, devons toucher 150 francs par mois. Bienheureux sont ceux qui ont pu toucher cette somme ; pour nous, depuis décembre, nous n'avons rien reçu. Par ailleurs, les arrêtés ne prévoient pas les vacances de Noël et de Pâques, soit un mois pendant lequel nous devons vivre « en ville », car le lycée nous ferme ses portes. Sont-ce le ventre creux et les nuits d'insomnie qui assureront le succès à nos Concours ? Car n'oublions pas que la condition nécessaire pour que la bourse soit maintenue est que succès, il y ait.

Aussi avons-nous adressé au Gouverneur et au Conseil général de la Martinique une lettre de réclamations dont nous attendons vainement la réponse.

Source: BnF Gallica, L'Étudiant noir : journal de l'Association des étudiants martiniquais en France, Association des étudiants martiniquais en France (Paris), 01/03/1935. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9785762s#

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Léon-Gontran Damas

so often
so often my feeling of race
strikes the same fear
as the nighttime howling of a dog
at some approaching death
I always feel
about to foam with rage
against what surrounds me
against what prevents me
ever
from being a man

Excerpt as translated in Conroy-Kennedy, Ellen, *The Negritude Poets: An Anthology of Translations from the French*. New York: Thunder Mouth's Press 1975.

Document 5: Excerpt from Black Skins, White Masks:[131]

Frantz Fanon

I find myself—I, a man—in a world where words wrap themselves in silence; in a world where the other endlessly hardens himself.
I do not have the duty to be this or that [...]
If the white man challenges my humanity, I will impose my whole weight as a man on his life and show him that I am not that "sho' good eatin'" that he persists in imagining.
I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: That of demanding human behavior from the other.
One duty alone: That of not renouncing my freedom through my choices [...]
There is no white world, there is no white ethic, any more than there is a white intelligence.
There are in every part of the world men who search.
I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny [...]
In the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself.
I am a part of Being to the degree that I go beyond it...
I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors [...]
The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions. I am my own foundation [...]
The disaster of the man of color lies in the fact that he was enslaved.
The disaster and the inhumanity of the white man lie in the fact that somewhere he has killed man [...]
I, the man of color, want only this: That the tool never possess the man. That the enslavement of man by man cease forever. That is, of one by another. That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be.

[131] Fanon, Frantz. Black Skin, White Masks. London: Pluto Press, 1986.

1. What is the Négritude Movement, and what does it seek to achieve?
2. What aspect of colonial legacies is the Négritude Movement interested in untangling?
3. Through their writings, describe Fanon and Damas's reactions to the colonial dehumanization of black people. How are they different/similar?
4. In your opinion, how can Fanon and Damas's writings, and the wider négritude movement contribute to our understanding and untangling of colonial legacies?

Section 4: Limitations & Conclusion:

I. Limitations:

Two main limitations of the proposed chapters come to mind, the first is related to the consistency of source diversity throughout the chapters. As previously detailed, medium and source variety are some of the main distinguishing features of this project in comparison with the existing Moroccan history curriculum. Unfortunately, as efforts to produce creative mediums and historical sources about difficult histories have not been consistent, it was impossible to find mediums that portrayed certain complex subjects, leading the author to rely on textual sources. As such, while creative sources such as political cartoons could be used to conceptualize a unit concerned with the civilizing mission, it was impossible to find similar work that helps portray complex subjects such as the creation of racial hierarchies in North Africa. Similarly, since the use of colonial violence in the Algerian War has been widely theorized, this case has garnered more attention from scholars who have sought to tell the history of this violence through more creative mediums, such as comic books. Unfortunately, other less theorized cases, or ones considered "less violent," have been the subject of much less creative effort, resulting in a considerable imbalance in the available sources and those used in these lesson units. If these lesson chapters were to become seriously considered as a part of the Moroccan history curriculum, this could provide an opportunity for collaboration with local artists and community members to create comic book panels, political cartoons, short oral history stories, and drawings that can diversify the source material relied on for different cases, while also diversifying its narratives.

A second major limitation of this project is related to language. As previously mentioned, issues of translation of key concepts in this project are significant. Considering the difficulty of finding words in Arabic to accurately formulate the connotation of some of the project's main concepts, this project will require a re-structuring based on this issue. If such an effort

were to be made in the future, this author suggests that certain words from the Moroccan dialect can be used to signify similar connotations as English words instead of relying on classical Arabic words that alienate students from their own lived experiences. An example might be using the Moroccan dialect word *hogra*, referring to the feeling of having one's dignity refused, to support the understanding of forms of colonial violence, instead of the classical Arabic word *'ünf*, a more accurate translation for the word violence, yet one that is removed from students' linguistic environment.

II. <u>Conclusion:</u>

In conclusion, this project has attempted to rectify Moroccan high school history curricula's ambiguous conception of imperialism. To that end, this project has suggested three textbook chapters for 11th-grade history textbooks, that help define the historical phenomena of Western European imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries through different imperial tools. By focusing on defining empire through its tools, this project aims to allow Moroccan high-school students a more concrete understanding of this concept and its empirical illustrations according to a pedagogy of solidarity, with special focus on the African continent.

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Appendix 1: Moroccan History Textbooks Chapter Structure:

CEU eTD Collection

إرشـادات خـاصة باستعمـال الكتـاب

2 — عنوان الوحدة التعليمية-التعلمية

4 — أهداف ترتبط بالأنشطة التعليمية المكونة للوحدة وتشمل الجوانب المعرفية والمنهجية والمهارية والوجدانية

6 — المفاهيم المركزية ، تحديد المفاهيم الأساسية التي تُبنى عليها الوحدة

8 — أنشطة وتوجيهات تساعد على استثمار الوثائق.

1 — رقم الوحدة والغلاف الزمني المخصص لها

3 — الهدف الوظيفي: يحدد الهدف (العام للوحدة)

5 — المكتسبات القبلية ، تحيل إلى التعلمات الأساسية المكتسبة في مستويات أو في وحدات سابقة

7 — التمهيد الإشكالي ، نشاط يهدف إلى إثارة الاهتمام بموضوع الوحدة وطرح الإشكالية التي ستتم معالجتها في الوحدة.

9 — خانة لشرح أهم المصطلحات والمفاهيم التاريخية والتعريف ببعض الشخصيات.

1 — أنشطة الاشتغال تهدف إلى معالجة إشكالية الوحدة وتشغل الحيز الأكبر من الوحدة.

2 — وثائق الاشتغال ، وهي وثائق توظف لإنجاز التعلمات

1 — خانة الاستخلاص ، عملية تركيبية لاستخلاص أو استنتاج الحصيلة التعليمية التعلمية حول النشاط المنجز.

1 — تهدف أنشطة هذه الخانة إلى تقويم حصيلة التعلمات المكتسبة من الوحدة

2 — أنشطة تكميلية للأنشطة التكوينية الأساسية، وتهدف إلى توظيف مكتسبات الوحدة في وضعية جديدة وكذا استكمال التعلمات.

2 — تحديد التقاطعات مع وحدات أو مواد أخرى، وتحديد امتدادات التعلمات في المحيط

3 — لائحة خاصة ببعض المراجع والمواقع التي تفيد في التعلم الذاتي حول الوحدة.

4

Textbook Chapter Translated Guide:

Page 1:

1- Unit number and time period assigned to it.

2- Unit Title.

3- Main Objective: Referring to the unit objective.

4- Objectives related to the educational activities of the unit and include aspects relating to knowledge, methodology, skill, and values.

5- Prerequisites: Refers to the main conclusions accumulated through previous units or grades.

6- Main Concepts: Delineating the principal concepts of the unit.

7- The Problematized Introduction: Activity aiming to spike student interest and determine the problematic posed by the unit.

8- Activities and guidelines to be used in the unit.

9- Note Box explains central historical concepts and introduces important personalities.

Page 2:

1- Exercise-Activities: Seeks to resolve the problématique of the unit and makes up the majority of the unit.

2- Exercise Sources: Sources used to execute the guidelines.

Page 3:

1- Conclusion Box: Synthesizing process to infer the educational conclusion of this exercise.

2- Complementary Activities to the Basic Training: Aims to reuse the conclusions assimilated in this unit in a new context.

Page 4:

1- This box aims to give an overview of the conclusions/knowledge assimilated in this unit.

2- Determine overlaps with other units or classes and determine implications in the environment.

3- List of a few references and websites that support secondary learning in this unit.

الــوحدة 4

الغلاف الزمني : 4 حصص

نضال المغرب من أجل تحقيق الاستقلال واستكمال الوحدة الترابية

أولا

النش

الوثيق

«إ

ما جا

الوثيقة

احت

الدوا

عد

المغر

الوثيقة

الهدف الوظيفي : تعرف الجهود التي بذلها المغرب من أجل الحصول على استقلاله واستكمال وحدته الترابية.

أهداف التعلمات : ● إبراز جهود مختلف القوى المغربية من أجل تحقيق الاستقلال.
● تعرف مراحل استكمال الوحدة الترابية للمغرب.
● الوعي بأهمية الإحساس بالهوية الحضارية المغربية لمواجهة ظروف الاحتلال والحصول على الاستقلال ثم استكمال الوحدة الترابية.

المكتسبات القبلية : معرفيا : – معارف ومفاهيم حول كفاح المغرب من أجل الاستقلال وإتمام الوحدة الترابية (الدرس 10 من برنامج السنة الثالثة الثانوية الإعدادية).
– مكتسبات الوحدة 3 من هذه المجزوءة.

منهجيا : نهج مادة التاريخ (التعريف، التفسير، التركيب)

مهاريا : مهارة توظيف الدعامات التاريخية.

التمهيد الإشكالي :

الوثيقة 1 - نص :

«يكاد العهد الذي يفصل بين 31 مارس سنة 1912 و16 مايو سنة 1930 أن يكون عهد كفاح عسكري محض... وكان لزاما... أن ينتظر نشوء جيل جديد متشبع بروح المقاومة السلمية (أي الحركة الوطنية) التي لا تعطي السلاح المقام الأول في كل معركة.»

علال الفاسي، الحركات الاستقلالية في المغرب العربي، الطبعة الخامسة، مطبعة النجاح الجديدة، الدار البيضاء، 1993، ص 145

الوثيقة 2 - نص : مقتطف من إعلان استقلال المغرب يوم 2 مارس 1956

«إن حكومة الجمهورية الفرنسية وجلالة محمد الخامس، سلطان المغرب، يؤكدان على أنه بالنظر للتطور الحاصل في المغرب، فإن معاهدة 30 مارس 1912 لم تعد تلائم مقتضيات الحياة العصرية ولا تسمح بتنظيم العلاقات الفرنسية المغربية. ولذلك، فإن حكومة الجمهورية الفرنسية تؤكد اعترافها باستقلال المغرب.»

Felix Nataf, L'indépendance du Maroc, Paris, Plon, 1975, p 215

p 40.

الوثيقة 4

«لذلل

لنا مجال

وختاما

مصطل

الظهيرا

كتلة الع

الوثيقة 3 - محددات كرونولوجية : بعض محطات استكمال وحدة المغرب الترابية

اقرأ الوثائق ثم :
● أبين التحول الذي طرأ على مقاومة المغاربة للاحتلال بين 1912 و1930.
● أحدد سنة إعلان استقلال المغرب.
● أسمي بعض المناطق المسترجعة بعد سنة 1956م.
● أستثمر المعلومات المستخلصة لصياغة إشكالية للوحدة متسائلا عن:
– مظاهر المقاومة السلمية (الحركة الوطنية) في المغرب للاحتلال، ودورها في تحقيق الاستقلال.
– الجهود التي بذلها المغرب لاستكمال وحدته الترابية بعد 1956.

السنوات	المناطق المسترجعة
1958	طرفاية
1969	سيدي إيفني
1975	الساقية الحمراء
1979	وادي الذهب

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