

Theorizing Intergenerational Trauma in Tazmamart Testimonial Literature and Docu-testimonies

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Drawing on testimonial writings by the wives of Tazmamart prisoners and two documentary films (docu-testimonies) about this notorious disappearance camp, I argue that Tazmamart-induced traumas are intergenerational. Approached as a continuum, Tazmamart-induced traumas reveal the intergenerational transference of trauma from mothers to children in the pre-discursive period. In this article, I specifically focus my analysis on the pre-discursive period—a time when families did not articulate their traumas in spoken

words in the presence of the children and during which Tazmamart was not a matter of public discourse in Morocco. This theorization of intergenerational transference of traumatic experiences will shift scholarly attention from individual experiences to the collective memory of the “Years of Lead” in its intergenerational dimensions.¹

Keywords: Trauma, Tazmamart, Intergenerational, Memory, Transmission, Years of Lead, Women, Children

Introduction

The creation of Tazmamart secret prison camp in Morocco was a direct response to the failed consecutive coups d'état against King Hassan II's regime in 1971 and 1972. Sentenced by a military tribunal to serve prison terms ranging between three years and life for allegedly participating in one of the coups, sixty-two officers and soldiers were serving their jail time in an official maximum security prison when they were kidnapped and taken to an unknown location in August 1973. Thanks to the combination of the disappeared soldiers' agency and the bravery of some sympathetic guards, both the location of Tazmamart secret prison and the inhumane conditions of the soldiers' detention were only revealed to their families months later. However, the Moroccan state would continue denying the prison's existence for nearly twenty years until the release of the twenty-seven survivors in 1991. Symbolizing Morocco's collective memory of the *Years of Lead* (1956-1999), Tazmamart disappearance experiences would later shape the development of Moroccan testimonial literature (El Guabli).

I argue that testimonial literature (particularly prison literature) and docu-testimonies (testimonial documentary films) reveal the intergenerational transmission

of Tazmamart-induced traumas between the mothers' and the children's generations in pre-adulthood years. Analyzed from an intergenerational perspective, Tazmamart ceases to be the story of the fifty-eight soldiers who ended up in the Saharan jail for eighteen years. It rather emerges as a traumatic experience that has deep intergenerational and even transgenerational ramifications visible in testimonial literature and docu-testimonies. Because Morocco has not witnessed the formation of organized second-generation memory stakeholders' groups, the study of intergenerational trauma articulated in testimonial literature and docu-testimonies is even more crucial for our understanding of the intergenerational dimensions of the Moroccan Years of Lead.

Taking into consideration the Freudian concept and its discontents, I use trauma in this context to refer to a continuum of psychological, somatic, social, and spatial consequences of a transformative, overpowering, and sudden accident that disrupts the normalcy of the traumatized subject's life and disintegrates their lifeworld (Caruth). In theorizing Tazmamart-induced trauma as a continuum, I open up the possibility of analyzing the embodied transmission of Tazmamart trauma among two

generations of its victims. I begin with the sudden eruption of the coups d'état in 1971 and 1972 and conclude with the liberation of the disappeared soldiers from their protracted disappearance in Tazmamart. Here, I will investigate the ways in which Tazmamart-induced traumas were passed on from mothers to children in the period before this transference was articulated or discussed in the wider society. This, in turn, lays the groundwork for a substantive engagement with this intergenerational transmission of traumatic memory, occurring and developing as these children come of age.

Tazmamart Testimonial Literature and Docu-testimonies

The professionalization of Tazmamart testimonial literature between 2003 and 2005 resulted in innovative writing strategies, including the publication of women-authored memoirs as well as mixed memoirs. *Tazmamart côté femme: Témoignage*, Rabea Bennouna's woman-only memoir, is a third-person narration in which she tells of her long journey from the arrest and disappearance of her husband, Abdellatif Belkbir, to her filing for financial reparations from the state in 1999. *Kabazal: Les emmurés de Tazmamart (Kabazal)* by Salah and Aïda Hachad is a mixed memoir recording its co-authors' experiences of

Tazmamart. Aïda Hachad's half of *Kabazal*, which I analyze here, is a first-person narration of the brutal unraveling of her family's life in the aftermath of Colonel Amekrane's coup against Hassan II in August 1972. *Opération Boraq F5: 16 août 1972, l'attaque du Boeing royal (Opération Boraq)*, also a mixed memoir, carries the names of Ahmed El Ouafi and his wife Kalima El Ouafi. Kalima El Ouafi's half of the memoirs recounts the dramatic turn her family life took after her husband's arrest and disappearance to the secret Tazmamart prison camp.

Tazmamart's fascinating cinematographic potential has also drawn the attention of documentary filmmakers. Leïla Kila's *Nos lieux interdits* brings out the complexities of Tazmamart from the perspective of a mother (Rahma), her son (Sa'id), and their unnamed uncle. Filmed as part of Leïla Kilani's commission to archive the work of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission (ERC) and released in 2008, *Nos lieux interdits* documents conversations with different generations of victims of the Moroccan Years of Lead. Juxtaposing memories of different generations of Moroccans, *Nos lieux interdits* is a rich embodiment of the intergenerational memories of the traumas caused by state violence. Although technically less sophis-

ticated than *Nos lieux interdits*, Yunus Jannuhi's documentary film *Al-Ṭarīq ilā Tazmamart* focuses exclusively on Tazmamart victims. *Al-Ṭarīq ilā Tazmamart's* features three wives of former Tazmamart detainees: Sharifa Dghughi, Rqiyya al-'Abbasi, and Halima Bin Bushta. While their husbands were imprisoned, each of these three women eventually migrated elsewhere—the former to Libya and then the U.S., the second to Italy, and the third between different cities in Morocco. Unearthing a new aspect of Tazmamart's traumatic effects, Jannuhi's docu-testimony places geographical displacement at the heart of this traumatic experience. Jannuhi's film thus has a fundamental role to play in the revelation of the gendered nature of Tazmamart-induced trauma and its fuller, intergenerational implications.

Viewed together, these testimonial writings and docu-testimonies share three important traits. First, these works record and illustrate traumatic experiences that were not articulated in spoken words within the family unit, thus inciting us to investigate the transmission of intergenerational trauma within the family in forms other than narrative. Second, the traumas of these women and children are interconnected and related to a wider

political context that has consequences for Moroccan collective memory. Third, the experiences recounted in these works reveal the necessity of rethinking and expanding the notions of victimhood and disappearance to other categories of Moroccans who had survived a related *de facto* disappearance even as they lived in society.

Tazmamart Families as Loci of Intergenerational Trauma

Arguing for the intergenerational nature of Tazmamart-induced traumas requires a distinction of the different generations involved. German sociologist Karl Mannheim developed three crucial criteria to determine what constitutes a generation: first, the members of a generation share a "generation location," which means that—to varying degrees—constituents of the same generation share the same historical experiences; second, people forming a generation have a conscious awareness of their shared culture as a generation; and third, generations come in "generation-units," which are groups of individuals who belong to the same generation and whose shared identity as a generation is forged by their responses to "common experiences" (292; 306). Mannheim's definition of generation allows us to discern three distinct generations of Moroccans—

even beyond Tazmamart survivors—whose identities were shaped or re-shaped by Tazmamart-induced traumas and the intergenerational transference of its memories. Within each Tazmamart familial unit, there are three generations: the grandparents, who mainly accept Tazmamart as fate, the parents, predominantly the mothers who were left to struggle alone after the husband's disappearance, and the children, many of whom were too young to grasp the gravity of the changes that occurred in their lives.

Grounded mainly in Holocaust studies, intergenerational trauma scholarship examines the passing down and inheritance of older generations' experiences marred by violence, genocide and repression (Schwab; Hirsch; Achugar; Atkinson). While much research has focused on storytelling and discursive practices as media of transmission (Fried; Achugar), Daniela Jara underlines the fact that, in the investigation of intergenerational transmission of memories of political violence, a focus on the family shows that "the passing on of such experiences is not necessarily connected to speaking" since transmission can happen independently of verbalization and narrative (66). In fact, Tazmamart testimonial literature and docu-testimonies prove that between silence and nar-

ration there exists a wide spectrum of embodied alternatives through which the intergenerational transmission of this trauma-laden experience can take place.

My theorization of Tazmamart-induced intergenerational trauma between the mothers' generation and the children's is illuminated by Jan Assmann's robust and influential distinction between "communicative memory" and "cultural memory," and Marianne Hirsch's notion of "post-memory." Communicative memory, which is both autobiographic and intergenerational and extends over up to three generations, is my focus here. This is where I find the familial, non-discursive transference of Tazmamart-induced traumas. Cultural memory, which is transgenerational and more institutionalized and exteriorized, is more relevant to questions of canonization and commemoration (Assmann 110-111). Postmemory describes the relationship of members of a "post-generation" (the generation that came after) to traumas they themselves did not experience but which are connected to "the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before" (Hirsch 4-5). Although postmemory describes the memories of the generation born after, scholarship has extended the concept, as I do here, to include overlapping genera-

tions, such as parents and their children (Levey 7). Postmemory of Tazmamart-induced traumas is at work in the way in which the younger generation of Tazmamart victims internalize and grapple with traumas they never experienced directly. In light of these theoretical works, I will draw on testimonial literature and docu-testimonies to theorize how the mothers' generation's Tazmamart-induced traumas were manifested in their children despite the mothers' diligent endeavors to spare them such knowledge.

The Mothers' Generation's Tazmamart-induced Traumas

1 The Disintegration of the Families' Lifeworld

Both testimonial literature and docu-testimonies about Tazmamart depict the sudden disintegration of the families' lifeworld as a traumatic shock. As soon as their husbands were arrested for allegedly plotting the downing of the king's plane, detainees' wives and children began to be held accountable for the consequences of their husbands' supposedly treasonous act. *Social apartheid*—that is, social ostracism or exclusion—was the first trauma-inducing measure that followed from the coup d'état in 1972, and with it came the loss of social status and the suspension of families' privileges.

Inducing feelings of loneliness and solitude, social exclusion exacerbated the mothers' generation's traumatic loss of their husbands and social status. Kalima El Ouafi, for instance, wrote that "when the misfortune struck, I found myself completely helpless, alone, with my two children to raise" (113-114). The sudden realization that the women had no social safety network to help absorb the shock of their socioeconomic downfall brought a devastating and abrupt end to a happy family life. Even when the marriage was unhappy, as in the case of Rabea Bennouna and Abdellatif Belkbir, the memoir records the destructive effect of the absence of a social network, which led Bennouna to a "lonely traversing of this portion of her life" (44). The power of isolation was such that it evoked a state of strandedness within society. This social exclusion had a direct impact on the families' daily lives. Aïda Hachad, for instance, stressed the fact that social ostracism was such that even the milkman "had changed his itinerary, thus avoiding the households of the officers implicated in the coup d'état" (205). This societal response was the first in a long series of traumatizing experiences that stemmed from the coup, and it had sudden and dramatic consequences for these implicated families.

Women's responses to their traumatic social isolation varied. While some wives were able to survive social ostracism by living with their immediate families in Morocco, others who were less fortunate worked through their traumas in geographic dislocation. The film *Al-Ṭarīq ilā Tazmamart* presents us with two interesting cases of women who emigrated during their husbands' disappearances and reunited with them afterward. When her husband Dris Dghughi, a pilot at the Kenitra Air Base, was arrested, Sharifa Dghughi was barely twenty years old. Connecting her suffering to her young age at the time, Dghughi told the filmmaker "I suffered. I suffered a lot. I saw a lot in my life." We discover that Sharifa's suffering involved living in Libya for a while, then emigrating to the United States. Transplanted from her own society, Sharifa fled the source of her trauma. Similarly, Rqiyya al-'Abbasi seized an opportunity to leave the country supposedly for economic reasons, but the truth was that the lack of social support was too overpowering for the mothers' generation to face alone. Atkinson's powerful observation that trauma is "gendered, raced, classed, [and] economized" illuminates the larger Moroccan context in allowing us to see how Tazmamart-induced trauma included

displacement, loss of community, and gender-based repression (3).

Social apartheid and constant surveillance took a toll on the mother's physical and mental health. Bennouna furnishes the clearest example of the intertwining of physical pain with the traumatizing pressure the Moroccan state exerted on women. Bennouna writes that as a "direct consequence of the frightening mental fatigue," doctors diagnosed a "cyst in her breast," urging her to undergo surgery immediately (44). In her crisp and frank style, Bennouna adds that the "daily injustice" inflicted on her was too overpowering to not have taken a toll on her body (44). Indeed, unable to bear the constant mental and social stress, Bennouna succumbed to her deep paranoia and eventually attempted suicide (97). El Ouafi was no different in the transformation of her Tazmamart-induced traumas into

profound depression, which translated into repetitive insomnia, cephalagia and frequent moments of weakness (134).

Tazmamart-induced trauma, in this sense, is a composite continuum that affected the mothers' generation socially, mentally, physically, and even spatially, thus creat-

ing even more circumstances for the children to appropriate these embodied traumas as theirs at a time when they were not expressed in any discursive form.

2 Ḥugra as State-Sanctioned Trauma

Ḥugra, the Moroccan state's vindictive mistreatment of these families, bred feelings of unworthiness and powerlessness, which have been a traumatizing force in the mothers' generation's memoirs. *Ḥugra*, which can also be described as contempt for other people's dignity, can be seen at work in situations where the distribution of power is uneven. Furthermore, *ḥugra* is a flagrant abuse of power that involves discrimination against a person, unjust granting of favors, and intentional reminding of the victim of *ḥugra* that they have no voice and can do nothing to redress the injustice done to them. An emblematic example of the traumatizing effect of *ḥugra* is described in Aïda Hachad's reaction to the preferential treatment M'bark Touil received in Tazmamart thanks to his wife's American citizenship. Thanks to Nancy Touil's advocacy in the USA, Touil was allowed to spend time in the sun, take walks in the prison yard, have a mattress, and even receive *La Vache Qui Rit* cheese wedges, while his colleagues in the same block were deprived of everything.

The Moroccan state's discriminatory behavior in Touil's case struck a very sensitive chord for the other disappeared soldiers and their wives. Aïda Hachad, specifically, could not hide her shock at the news that Mbark Touil enjoyed rights that other disappeared prisoners were denied. In Hachad's mind, this traumatic *hugra* generates crucial questions about citizenship as it relates to the Moroccan state's obligation to respect an American citizen's partner even as it ran roughshod over the rights of Moroccan citizens. Outraged and scandalized to learn that "Mbark Touil benefitted from a special, favorable regimen while the others perished slowly," Hachad condemned state-sanctioned, citizenship-based discrimination (242). Furthermore, Hachad formulates a well-thought-out explanation for this flagrant disrespect for the most basic norms of fairness, which she attributes to the fact that Moroccan women

were worth nothing. We were nothing but insignificant "petty subjects" subject to tallage and exploitable at will. Faced with such contempt, I swore to myself to show our officials what Moroccan women are capable of. I repeated everywhere [I went] and to everyone the shame endured by Moroccan families: segregation even inside prisons, a special regimen

for foreigners and their spouses, and hell for Moroccan citizens (242).

Having received no response from Princess Meryem, whom she implored to intercede on behalf of her husband, it became all too clear to Hachad that Moroccan officials had fulfilled Touil's needs because, as an American, Nancy Touil "was by definition a citizen: a human being who is recognized in her rights" (260). The ineluctable comparison between citizenship and a lack thereof pushed Hachad to conclude, in more general terms this time, that "Moroccans are merely subjects with no rights because the regime never considered us to be human beings" (260). The feeling of their nothingness instilled feelings of abjection and worthlessness, which deepened women's anger and defiance, which they redirected, in many cases, to drive their social and professional success.

Children Acting Out Mothers' Traumatic Legacies

1 Traumatization by Osmosis in Tazmamart Testimonial Literature

I now turn my attention to investigating how the children's generation manifested its internalization of their mothers' generation's Tazmamart-induced traumatic experiences. One of the main characteris-

tics of intergenerational trauma is its inheritance through social and embodied practices that transfer the experiences to the younger generation without their experiencing it directly. Consequently, although the mothers' generation avoided discussing their suffering with or in the presence of their children during the disappearance of their husbands, Tazmamart's full traumatic significance was passed down to the children. Inheriting the mothers' generation's anxieties, unsteady moods, and unexplained sadness, children used their agency to make their mothers' wounds their own, which later manifested itself in their changes in behavior at home and in the outside world. Rabea Bennouna observed that at school her son "rarely participated in play with his peers, confining himself to a seat in the covered part of the playground during the merciless recess time." (69) Alluding to her son's indirect inheritance of her own trauma, Bennouna wrote that, despite her son's lack of "consciousness of his father's tragic fate," its "dramatic effluvia" were present in the air for him to breathe (69). This secret took on a more tangible, behavioral form as was evidenced by the little Belkbir "[having gone] through a stage of unexplained rejection of everything in the familiar surroundings" (69). Because of the father's

absence from the home, Kalima El Ouafi's younger son almost never talked, and "communicating with him becomes even more difficult every day," whereas her older son's response to the trauma of the father's absence was such that Kalima El Ouafi was afraid that he had become autistic and might need medical treatment (118).

While an invented story could explain away Captain Ahmed El Ouafi's absence from his children's life, the deterioration of their living conditions, which worsened drastically and continuously over time, conveyed the repressed, never-addressed problem to the children. Kalima El Ouafi has drawn attention to their altered circumstances in her juxtaposition of a time when they could "order food from the American store and acquire high quality products" with a later time when everyone had to "fasten their belts in a drastic way" (115). For El Ouafi's children, this deterioration of their comfortable living situation was experienced as the embodiment of a secret related to their father's absence. A reaction as simple as a tantrum, in this context, signals the child's awareness of a disruptive occurrence transforming their lives. El Ouafi's youngest son always wonders "[w]hy the breakfast was not similar to when [his] father was around." The

dilemma, then, for El Ouafi was "[h]ow to explain to them that their [former] life was finished and that they have to erase it, let go of it?" (115). Interestingly, this tension between the mother, who tried hard to hide the troubling reality that turned their life upside down, and the children's critical awareness of the abnormality of their situation created conditions for transference of this unnamed event that submerged their lives in unspoken suffering.

Deep fear, especially regarding the loss of the remaining parent, is yet another manifestation of the inherited Tazmamart-induced intergenerational trauma. In an extremely revealing passage, Kalima El Ouafi describes how her youngest son was haunted by the idea that, whenever she went to Rabat to follow up on her requests for the father's release from Tazmamart, she might disappear as well. Because of the particular nature of the circumstances in which he grew up, Redouane, El Ouafi's younger son, surmised that his mother's advocacy was dangerous for her life. At a pivotal point in his coming of age, Redouane had gained enough consciousness to internalize his father's disappearance as a *modus operandi* in the country. The scary knowledge that he had acquired in unclear circumstances pushed him to demand that his

mother suspend her efforts to obtain his father's release. The children kept to themselves in school and displayed signs of social aloofness, which Rabea Bennouna characterizes in her son as a tendency to exhibit "reserved or even taciturn behavior" (69). Therefore, without overriding their agency, it could be concluded that feelings of uncertainty and distrust among the children's generation is another manifestation of their inheritance of their mothers' traumas.

2 Houda Hachad: A Child's Recounting of Tazmamart Intergenerational Trauma

If testimonial writings of both Bennouna and El Ouafi report on their children's internalization of Tazmamart-induced havoc in their lives, this intergenerational trauma found its clearest expression in Houda Hachad's testimony in *Kabazal*. This chapter, entitled "Houda Hachad," is an explicit illustration of the way Tazmamart-induced trauma was transmitted from the mothers' generation to the children's. After her father's release, Houda tells her mother that "[s]he was looking for neither comfort nor answers to her questions." She only wanted to "confide, to talk about herself and the 'problem' that has colored in our existence with black." Aïda informs her readers that, in her need to express her pain, "she [Houda] chose [...] her

mother to listen to her wound say what it had to say" (296). After all the years that they had spent together avoiding this secret that had overshadowed their existence, the time had finally come for Houda to confront her mother.

Unexpectedly, Houda Hachad's testimony is a reversal of the traditional model of intergenerational trauma. Here the child from the younger generation serves as a mirror for the mother's generation, reflecting the trauma the mother inadvertently passed down to her. Contrary to what many of the mothers' generation assumed about preventing their children from knowing about Tazmamart, Houda reveals to her mother that she knew from an early age that their family was hiding a big secret involving her father, and that her mother was in fact the one who imparted this knowledge to her. Not only did Houda hear from one of her classmates about her father's disappearance, but she also searched her mother's belongings to find out what really happened to the father. Furthermore, Houda reveals that she was able to decode her mother's embodied trauma, deciphering that her mother's solitary suffering was a sign of the problem connected to the absent father:

You lived alone; you worked alone.
You were raising your two children

alone. You were a sad woman. Even if you tried, you were not able to hide your sadness from us. I have linked this sadness to the absence of family, to the absence of moral support. [...] I understood that you were a woman whose destiny was marked by a huge trial. [...] But my brother and I did not know the nature of this tragedy (297).

Thus, what Aïda assumed had been hidden from her children had actually been passed on to them. Whether Houda gained access to truthful information about Tazmamart does not matter as much as her use of her agency to figure out that her family harbored an unsettling secret that was the source of their abnormal status in society. Houda, thus, shows that she not only knew what was happening, but she also articulated the secret her mother harbored for many years in order to allow herself and her mother to bring this traumatic experience to the discursive realm.

3 Sa'ïd al-Haddan: An Adult Who Seeks to Re-bury His Childhood Traumas

'Allal al-Haddan's family story illustrates the future-oriented nature of the intergenerational transmission of Tazmamart-induced trauma. In one of the scenes, *Nos lieux interdits* films the al-Haddan family

meeting an Equity and Reconciliation Commission delegation. Meeting with the visitors in the family's modest living room are Sa'ïd, his mother Rahma, and a newborn infant—most likely Sa'ïd's baby—held by his grandmother (Rahma). As Salah al-Wadi', an ERC member, explains the ERC's mission to the family, the camera zooms in closely on Sa'ïd, Rahma, and the infant, thus declaring the intergenerational theme that underlies *Nos lieux interdits*. The symbolism of this unnamed baby's presence is powerful in the sense that s/he is already witnessing the older generations' discussion of a thirty-year-old problem that will nevertheless have a bearing on his/her own future, as we realize that the baby's life has been set up to inherit this past from her/his grandmother and father.

Sa'ïd al-Haddan, now in his thirties, is the son of pilot 'Allal al-Haddan, a soldier who died in the early years following his transfer to Tazmamart. When the 1972 coup d'état erupted, Sa'ïd's parents had not been married for long, and Sa'ïd himself had not even been born when his father was disappeared to Tazmamart. Although Sa'ïd had never had a tangible relationship with his father, his requests to the ERC include uncovering the truth about his father's death, securing his reburial, and

transforming Tazmamart prison into a site of memory. Slowly, the film uncovers that throughout his childhood, Sa'id's mother not only kept silent on his father's whereabouts, but she also erased his connection to him through a name change, thus explaining Sa'id's fixation on the reburial of his father's remains' according to the Islamic rites of death. These impulses are the crucible in which his unaddressed childhood traumas are manifested. In fact, his irrational need to rebury his father is his last chance to overcome the fact that he "ha[s] never seen [his] father and [his] relationship with him remained [...] imaginary" (Kilani).

Sa'id's compulsive need to know his father's death story and rebury his remains is an endeavor to achieve some closure for his childhood trauma. The father's reburial would have afforded Sa'id the opportunity to revisit the source of his inherited trauma to make sense of his own, internally shattered existence. However, ERC adduced religious considerations to reject his demand to reconnect with his father through his remains. When informed of ERC's decision, Sa'id cries in front of the camera, indicating his disappointment at the ERC's process, which denied him his right to work through his intergenerational trauma in the manner he thought was

appropriate. In his interview with an ERC psychiatrist, Sa'id gives some revealing answers:

ERC psychiatrist. The image you have of your father is fragmented? [...] Are you overwhelmed by all of this?

Sa'id. Overwhelmed, I have always been overwhelmed.

ERC psychiatrist. How so? What do you mean?

Sa'id. All of this is caused by the absence of my father [...] I have always felt that I was looked at as "son of a traitor" and I struggled to prove that that was not true. (Kilani).

When asked if he regained his confidence, Sa'id tells his therapist that he had not and confesses that insecurity has become his second nature. As his therapist reassures him that his confidence would be recovered, Sa'id defensively and curtly wonders if "forgetting my father?" was the price for recovery. He immediately answers with a defiant "I refuse." In this sense, he refused to forget a father he never knew, but also a father whose very absence has been cemented into years of traumatic experiences that he inherited from his family despite silence and lack of direct communication about this trauma within the family during his childhood.

Conclusion

In this article I argued that testimonial literature and docu-testimonies provide crucial clues for the theorization of the transmission of Tazmamart-induced traumas between mothers and children in the period before children's awareness of Tazmamart. I based this analysis on writings by the wives of disappeared soldiers and two docu-testimonies that make an essential contribution to the conceptualization of intergenerational and gendered traumas of state violence and its memory. This analysis charts a new path for future study of the Years of Lead and their long-term implications for collective memory and for the formation of individuals' identities and subjectivities. One might be tempted to think—as indeed the Moroccan state and the ERC do—that the ERC process, which culminated in the publication of a final report and the payment of handsome reparations checks to the victims, are in themselves sufficient to turn the page on the Years of Lead. Testimonial literature and docu-testimonies, however, demonstrate that the implications of Tazmamart-induced traumas transcend the direct victims. In fact, they are trans- and inter-generational traumas that resist any facile attempts to limit the impact of Tazmamart (and the Years of Lead) to one generation alone. Now that a significant

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amount of credible, testimonial accounts established what happened during the Years of Lead, it is high time we grappled with how these traumas and their memories have impacted generations of Moroccans.

Notes

¹This is a condensed version of Chapter V of the author's dissertation. El Guabli, Brahim. *Other-Archives: Literature Rewrites the Nation in Post-1956 Morocco*. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2018.

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